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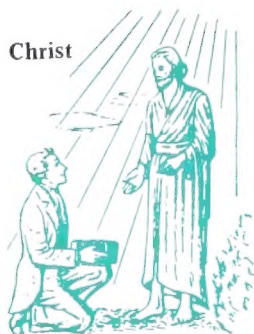
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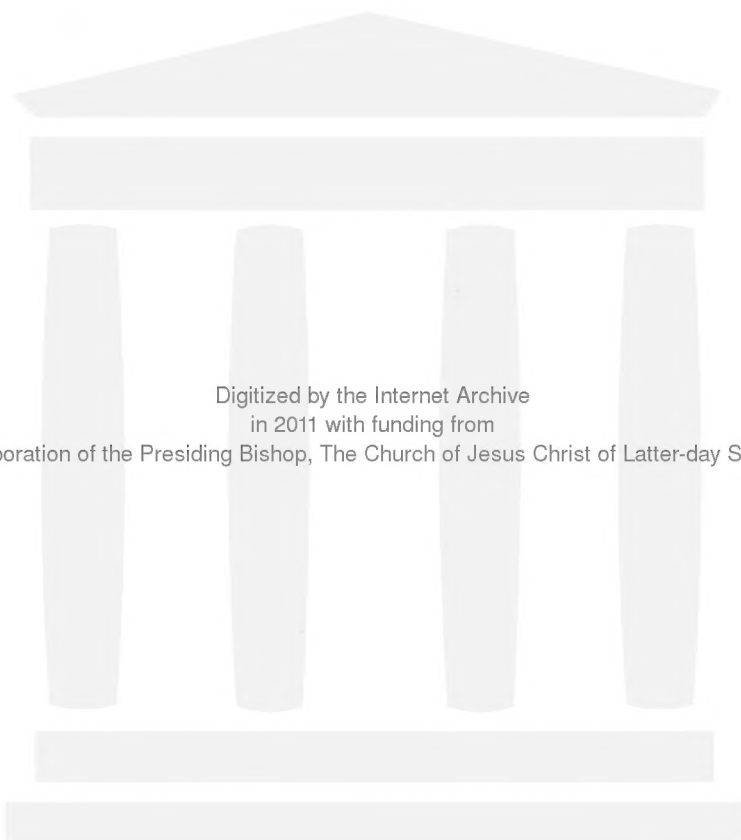
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JANUARY, 1913

# AMERICANA

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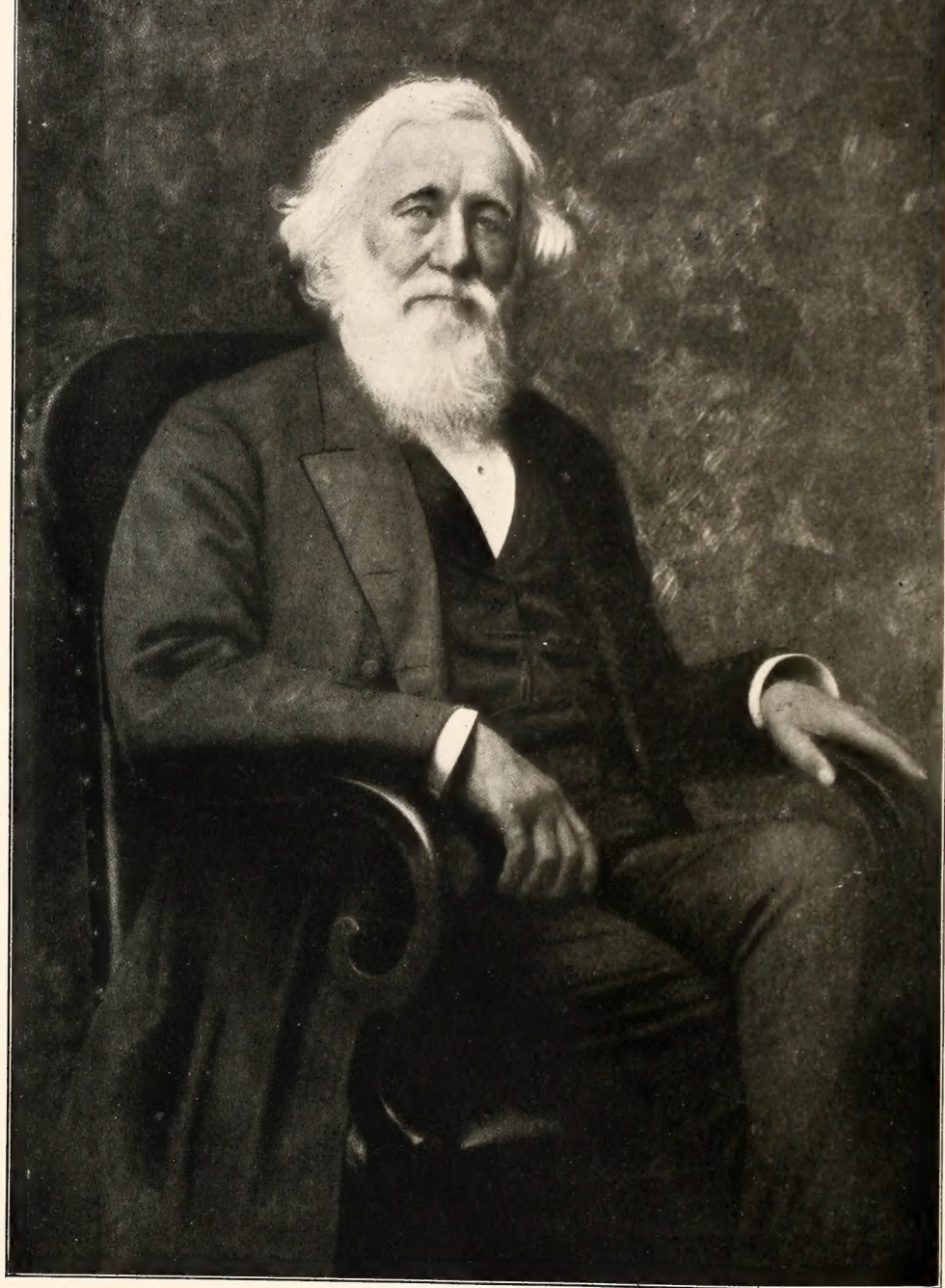
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R. T. Surratt



# AMERICANA

January, 1913

Reuben Thomas Durrett

A BIOGRAPHY

BY JOHN HOWARD BROWN

**R**EUBEN THOMAS DURRETT, A. M., LL.D., author; lawyer; linguist; poet; editor; journalist; historian; founder of the Louisville Public Library and of the Filson Club; Kentucky's bibliographer; authority on Americana, and a new and welcome contributor to this magazine, was born in Henry county, Kentucky, and spent a long and useful life in the city of Louisville.

The Durretts are of French origin, and family tradition has it, that Louis Duret, an eminent French physician and author, who flourished in the sixteenth century, is the progenitor of the family in America.

Louis Duret was the author of many learned books, including a commentary, prepared and published in Greek, Latin and French, upon the works of Hippocrates, which first appeared in the book stores of Paris in 1588. A copy of this work in folio, bound in thick boards, covered with vellum, is one of the most cherished of the works, in venerable bindings, in Colonel Durrett's library of 50,000 volumes, at his home in Louisville. He also secured for this notable, and almost unique collection, other antique volumes of which other ancestral members of his family were authors, and which are interesting specimens of the printer's and binder's art as it obtained in the sixteenth century. Of these we have record of titles as follows: "*A Commentary on the Customs of the Dutch*," by Jean Duret, a folio published in

1584 in Lyons, France; "*A Treatise on the Causes and Effects of Tides*," on which the name of Claude Duret is found on the title page as author. This work is an octavo, published in Paris, France, in 1600; and last we find "*A History of the Languages of the East*," by the same author, a quarto, published at Cologne, in 1613.

After the massacre of the Huguenots on St. Bartholomew's Day, August 24, 1572, when an undetermined number, between 2,000 and 100,000, of the Huguenots were massacred, members of the Duret family fled by way of Holland, across the channel and located in England. One of the family, Christopher Duret was a prominent member of the Baptist denomination in London in 1644, his name appearing subscribed to the articles of faith of that sect, published that year.

It was after the family settled in England that the original French name *Duret*, became pronounced Duret as it was spelled, and in course of time the pronunciation became more emphatic by doubling the r and t, hence the English Durrett.

The proverbial "Three Brothers," John, Richard and Bartholomew Durrett, came from England to America and settled in Spottsylvania county, Virginia, where they by purchasing lands, became permanent settlers. When Virginia contributed its quota of pioneers to the army of Indian fighters, pressing beyond the Ohio river under orders from Governor Henry, who had commissioned General George Rogers Clark to establish a footing for Virginia settlers anxious to occupy the new lands opening on either bank of the Ohio River beyond Pittsburgh, the Durrett family was represented in that army by Francis Durrett, and after the Illinois campaigns of 1778 and 1779, he returned to Virginia to his family, while many of his comrades made homes at once in the new country from which the Indians had been driven. He had been, however, a keen observer of soil and climate during his service, and at the opening of the nineteenth century he removed with his family to Kentucky, and settled upon lands which he had previously purchased in Henry County, on the west side of the Kentucky River. Here he lived and died, and his son William Durrett was brought up on the estate and became an extensive farmer and stock raiser. He

married Elizabeth Rawlings, and built upon the farm the first brick house erected in Henry County, which house is still standing, as serviceable as when first erected a century ago.

In this house their son Reuben Thomas Durrett was born, January 22, 1824. He was brought up on the farm, but had to endure none of the hardships that had been the heritage of seven generations of his ancestors. His father was a man of large wealth and wished his son to take up one of the learned professions. To that end he caused him to prepare for college at Georgetown University and he passed his preparatory and freshman year there. In 1846 he entered Brown University, Providence, Rhode Island, securing admission to the sophomore class after a rigid examination, and he was graduated A. B. 1849, and A. M. "for continued advancement in learning" in 1853. He was a student at law in the University of Louisville, when he graduated LL.B. in 1850, and practiced his profession in Louisville, Kentucky, 1850-80. During these twenty years practice at the Kentucky bar his most notable addresses to juries and arguments before the courts were published in the newspapers and included: Defense of Heitz for the murder of Lobstein, 1871, and his arguments in defense of the Courier-Journal, sued for libel by Hull, in 1872. These forensic efforts were rare examples of learning and eloquence. His orations delivered on public occasions were even more notable than his legal arguments and were largely copied from the Louisville papers throughout the western country. His knowledge of the Greek, Latin, French, Italian, Spanish and German languages was phenomenal, and was put to most excellent use in his writings, orations and conversations. He also expressed himself in verse with great facility and his poems in rhyme and blank verse, both grave and humorous, were printed, and read with appreciation. These included "*Night Scene at Drennon's Springs*" (1850); "*Thoughts Over the Grave of Reverend Thomas Smith*" (1852); "*Old Year and New in the Coliseum at Rome*" (1856). As a prose writer he was even more successful, and as editor and proprietor of the Louisville Courier from 1857 to 1859 he displayed a broad range of knowledge and a vigorous style of expression that was very popular with the readers of that journal. He took up historical



studies after retiring from the bar, and those published in the Southern Bivouac in the March, April and May numbers, 1886, on the "Kentucky Resolutions of 1798-99" are convincing arguments, by which he corrected the errors, which had obtained a permanent foothold in the body politics by seventy-five years of uncontradicted acceptance, in relation to the history of these celebrated resolutions, and he was eminently successful in placing the authors as well as the matter of the resolutions in their true light as viewed by a careful and disinterested historian. He also published numerous historical articles in the columns of the Courier-Journal after 1880 which were widely read. In 1884 he gathered about him a few kindred associates and established in Louisville, the now widely known Filson Club, formed for co-operative effort in collecting, preserving and publishing, historical data relating to Kentucky. The club was named in honor of John Filson, the first historian of Kentucky, and the members elected Colonel Durrett president every successive year since its inception. He read before the club its first published paper, "*Life and Times of John Filson.*"

Colonel Durrett accumulated during his active life a valuable library of over 50,000 books and pamphlets embracing the selections made by him from the literature of the world, being peculiarly rich in Americana. His collection of histories of Kentucky is unique and he has made it a point to secure a copy of every book and pamphlet available, written by a Kentuckian or printed in the state, covering the whole field of Kentucky bibliography on which subject no other library in the world has so rich a collection. He, as a book lover, grew to know his books not only so as to be able to put his hand on any particular volume at any time, but, as well, to know the contents of most of the volumes.

He was the founder of the Kentucky Public Library in 1871, and its first president; served his city as a park commissioner; held either active or honorary membership in the leading historical societies of the United States and in many in Europe; was honored by his *alma mater* with the degrees of LL.D. in 1894, and received a similar degree from the University of Georgetown in 1895, and from the University of Louisville in 1896. In 1889 he published an historical sketch of St. Paul's

Church in Louisville, and in 1893 "*Centenary of Louisville.*" He married, in 1852, Elizabeth Humphreys, only daughter of Caleb and Elizabeth (Humphreys) Bates of Cincinnati, Ohio. Her literary attainments made her a sympathetic companion, and willing helper, in the library and in research work in the cities of the old world. Her domestic life was equally helpful in entertaining the host of visitors who always found Colonel Durrett's latch-string conspicuously prominent on his hospitable door. They had in their household four children, three of whom the mother was called upon to follow to their graves. One of these, a daughter greatly beloved, Lily Bates Durrett was a companion of her parents in trips to Europe and Florida and contributed during the winter and spring of 1880 interesting letters written from points visited, and published in the *Courier-Journal*. She died in the very dawn of womanhood. This left to them only one child, William T. Durrett, M. D., who married, and with his estimable wife became associated with their venerable father in his work undertaken in his declining years. They made their home with him, residing at his house, 202 East Chestnut street, Louisville, Kentucky, from where the son, a sworn disciple of Hippocrates, practiced his humane profession.

# Traditions of the Earliest Visits of Foreigners to North America

BY COL. REUBEN THOMAS DURRETT, A. M., LL.D., President of the Filson Club

## INTRODUCTION

**A**T the beginning of our Civil War there lived in Louisville an elderly gentleman by the name of Griffin, who, though belonging to neither of the learned professions, had read many books and stored his excellent memory with much useful information. He was of Welsh descent, and proud of the long line of Cambrians he numbered among his ancestors. I knew him well, and was fond of talking with him about the many interesting things that occurred while Louisville was progressing from a straggling row of log cabins and ponds along unpaved Main Street, between First and Twelfth, to the mansions of brick and stone along the many paved streets now occupied by wealth and fashion.

Knowing that he prided himself upon being of Welsh descent, I asked him one day what he thought of the tradition that Madoc, a Welsh prince, had planted a colony of his countrymen in America in the Twelfth century. He answered that he had become interested in the subject when he was young in years; that he had read all he could secure of what had been printed about it; that he had also learned some things from tradition which had not gotten into print, and that this country in early times had many traditions on the subject which came originally from the Indians. He added that he considered the Madoc tradition as plausible and as worthy of belief as any of the stories of the pre-Columbian discoveries of America.

I then asked him if any of the traditions he had heard were connected with the Falls of the Ohio, and if they were so related



*A PLAN of the  
RAPIDS,  
in the River Ohio,  
by  
Thos. Hutchins.*

From A to B is the longest  
Place on the Northern side  
of the Ohio.

From C to D is the widest and  
shortest Curving Place

The dotted Line represents the  
Channel of the River





would he much oblige by giving them to me? He answered that he was not at the Falls of the Ohio when Louisville was founded but that he knew some of the pioneers, such as General Clark, Squire Boone, James Patten and others whose lives had been prolonged to his times. These pioneers had intercourse with friendly Indians, who frequently visited the Falls for the purpose of trade, and from them the following traditions connected with the Falls were obtained.

On the north side of the river, where Jeffersonville now stands, some skeletons were exhumed in early times with armor on which had brass plates bearing the Mermaid and Harp, which belong to the Welsh coat-of-arms. On the same side of the river, further down, a piece of stone supposed to be part of a tombstone was found with the date 1186 and what seemed to be a name or the initials of a name so effaced by time as to be illegible. If that piece of stone was ever a tombstone over a grave, the party laid beneath it must have been of the Welsh colony of Madoc, for we have no tradition of any one but the Welsh at the Falls so early as 1186. In early times the forest along the river on both sides of the Falls for some miles presented two kinds of growth. Along the margin of the river the giant sycamores and other trees of the primeval forest stood as if they had never been disturbed, but beyond them was a broad belt of trees of a different growth, until the belt was passed, when the original forest growth again appeared. This indicated that the belt had been deprived of its original forest for agricultural or other purposes, and that a new forest had grown up in its stead. He said, however, it was possible that the most important of these traditions learned from the Indians concerned a great battle fought at the Falls of the Ohio between the Red Indians and the White Indians, as the Welsh Indians were called. It has been a long time ago since this battle was fought, but it was fought here and won by the Red Indians. In the final struggle the White Indians sought safety on an island since known as Sandy Island, but nearly all who sought refuge there were slaughtered. The remnant who escaped death made their way to the Missouri River, where by different movements at different times they went up that river a great distance. They

were known to exist there by different parties who came from there and talked Welsh with the pioneers. Some Welshmen living at the Falls of the Ohio in pioneer times talked with these White Indians, and although there was a considerable difference between the Welsh they spoke and the Welsh spoken by the Indians, yet they had no great difficulty in understanding one another. He further said, concerning this tradition of a great battle, that there was a tradition that many skeletons were found on Sandy Island mingled promiscuously together as if left there unburied after a great battle, but that he had examined the island a number of times without finding a single human bone, and that if skeletons were ever abundant there they had disappeared before his time.

Mr. Griffin in the foregoing statement added but little to the Madoc tradition as it had already appeared in the text and appendix of the publication under consideration, but as far as he went he confirmed the statement of others. As these traditions are fully set forth in the text and appendix they will be left there to speak for themselves. There are stranger things in Welsh history than these traditions. The Welsh stand out in history as one of the most remarkable of peoples. Their patriotism and endurance and courage have seldom been surpassed by any nation. The legions of Rome were not able to subdue them in five hundred years; the Saxons, Angles, Jutes, and Danes failed to conquer them in another five hundred years, and the Anglo-Normans, after all the bloody work of their predecessors, failed to subdue them. They were not subdued until the reign of Edward the First of England, and were then the victims of fraud. When David and Llewellyn, the last princes chosen by the people, were gotten rid of by the foulest of means and the principedom of Wales without an acceptable sovereign, King Edward had an act of Parliament passed attaching Wales to England. But when he came to the appointing of a Prince of Wales the Welsh gave him to understand that they would never submit to a prince of English appointment unless the prince chosen were a native of Wales, who spoke the Welsh language and whose life was spotless. King Edward, seeing that the Welsh were in earnest in their demands for a

prince and being anxious for such a peace in the country as would enable him to invest certain Welsh estates in his English friends, bethought him of a fraud to satisfy the Welsh. His wife Eleanor was soon to become a mother, and he had her removed from England to Caernarvon Castle in Wales, where she soon gave birth to a son. King Edward then summoned the barons and chief men of Wales to meet him at Ruthin Castle, also in Wales. When they were assembled he told them he was now prepared to give them a prince who was a native of Wales, who could not speak a word of English, and whose life no one could stain. He then made his infant son Prince of Wales, and the first born of the English sovereign has ever since been Prince of Wales. The fraud—which was quite unworthy of a King of England—had the effect of subduing the Welsh after the Romans, the Saxons, the Jutes, the Danes, and the Normans had failed to conquer them in a thousand years. They fought against odds among their protecting mountains, and could neither be conquered nor driven from their rugged homes nor made to submit to a foreign ruler. After twelve centuries of hard but successful fighting against frightful odds and after many frauds and deceptions practiced both by themselves and the English, they at last were captured by a fraud and deception which it would seem ought not to have deceived them under the circumstances. They had often before been deceived by the English to their cost, and ought not to have given credence to the words and promises of a king whose words and promises they had often before found unworthy of belief.

It has been the habit of The Filson Club to illustrate its publications with a likeness of the author and such other pictures as were deemed appropriate. When it came to selecting illustrations for the twenty-third publication but little that was deemed appropriate seemed to be in reach. It was at last determined to illustrate the Madoc tradition, which is the principal part of the book, with pictures from Wales, the native land of Madoc and his colony. In a book entitled "Wales Illustrated" enough and more than enough beautiful steel engravings were found to answer the purpose. Many of the originals of these illustrations were connected with Prince Madoc by having



been in the possession of different members of his family, which made the pictures particularly appropriate. There are but few lands which present such an array of natural and artificial scenes of beauty and grandeur as Wales. The antiquarian will find there castles and the remains of castles, churches and the remains of churches, cathedrals and the wrecks of cathedrals, abbeys and the ruins of abbeys which the Welsh built in different ages from the ancient Celts to the modern English. The buildings show the style of architecture used in fortifications by the Celts, the Romans, the Saxons, the Danes, and the Anglo-Normans as the centuries advanced from the First to the Thirteenth, and during these centuries castles were built on the mountains' heights at almost every accessible point, until the whole country seemed to be covered with castles and castellated structures to secure the inmates from the assaults of those on the outside. Abbeys and churches and cathedrals were also erected in the valleys on which the mountains frowned, at places enough to indicate that the Welsh had early been converted to Christianity and that they had kept the faith through the centuries. The lover of nature will look in vain to find elsewhere so many striking views of mountains and valleys, of picturesque villages, of cataracts and of natural passes between mountain peaks.

One of the most charming of these illustrations is the picture of the village of St. Asaph and its cathedral which dates back to the middle of the Sixth century. In pioneer times the name of this Welsh village was given to a station erected by General Ben Logan in Lincoln County, Kentucky, in 1775. Logan afterward, in 1781, donated a part of his land to the District of Kentucky for a court house and other public buildings, and the town of Stanford was built thereon and took the place of the original St. Asaph. Who in the wilderness of Kentucky could have suggested the name of St. Asaph?

Another is the castle of Caernarvon, which is perhaps the finest castellated structure in Wales. It was chosen by the King of England as an abode worthy of royalty when Edward removed his Queen Eleanor there from England and she there gave birth to the first English Prince of Wales. He was born in fraud,



St. Asaph Cathedral



made prince in fraud, and was nothing more than a fraud all his life.

Another is the castle of Harlech, which was besieged and taken by Owen Gwynnedd, the father of Prince Madoc, in 1144. The assault was desperate against a fortress up to that time deemed impregnable, but Owen Gwynnedd, a prince of exceptional courage, endurance, and tact, by perseverance reduced walls that had stood firm since the days of William Rufus.

These illustrations, with but a single exception, represent scenes in Wales with which Prince Madoc and his colony must have been familiar. That exception is a view of the Falls of the Ohio as they existed in their primeval state, when Madoc and his Welsh colony are said by tradition to have been here in the Twelfth century. The picture was drawn by Thomas Hutchins while viewing the Falls in 1766, before the white man had felled a tree or in any way interfered with the work of nature. The picture drawn by Hutchins, who was a fine engineer and accomplished artist, shows well beside the Welsh pictures, and if it had had the advantage of a steel plate, as they have had, it would have equaled some of them as a striking landscape.

A picture might be drawn of the fleet of Prince Madoc leaving Wales, of the passing through the Sargasso sea, and of the landing in America, but it would only be a picture of imagination. So might an artist take from Southey's poem of Madoc fine word-pictures of the battles between Madoc's men and the Mexicans and convert them into descriptive pictures, but they would also be pictures which added the doubt of tradition to the illusion of the imagination. On the contrary, the pictures presented from Wales—the landscapes, the castles, the churches, the cathedrals, the abbeys, the cataracts, the villages, etc., are all realities drawn by the finest of artists and engraved on steel by eminent engravers. They are all worthy of artistic admiration, and we seem while looking at them to be viewing the originals from which they have been taken.

All that is known of Prince Madoc and his colony of Welshmen in America in the Twelfth century is tradition. No authentic history comes to our relief in telling or hearing the story. All that is claimed of the daring prince sailing across unknown



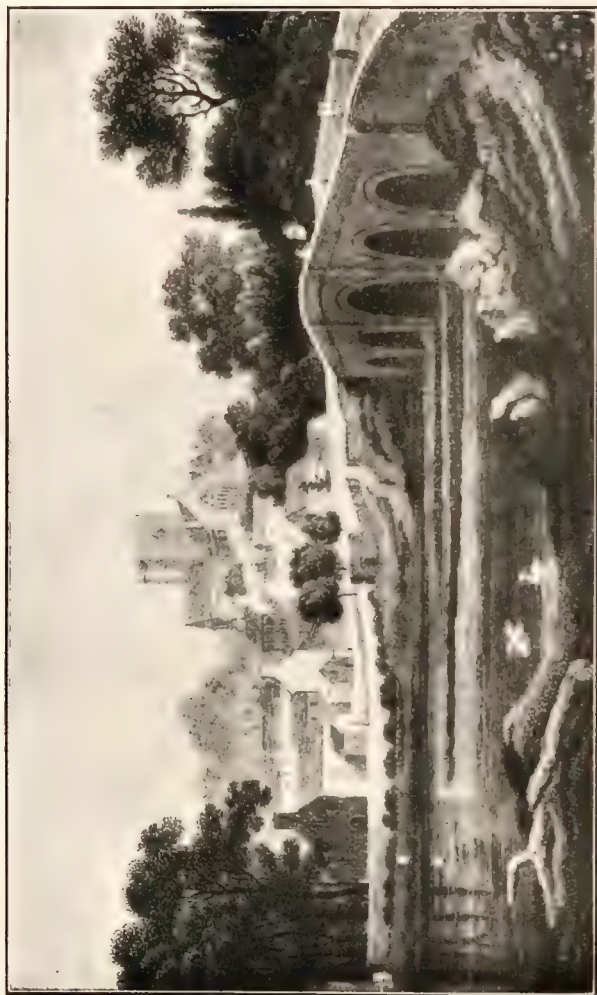
seas and into an unknown world may be true and it may be false. But even when all is apparent tradition there may be some hidden truth worthy of our further research. The wise Humboldt, when alluding to the Madoc tradition, said "I do not share the scorn with which national traditions are so often treated, and am of the opinion that with more research the discovery of facts entirely unknown would throw much light upon many historical problems."

Tradition, however, has but little to do with that part of the book under consideration which attempts to show that America was the first formed and the first inhabited of the continents, All that is claimed on this part of the subject is the result of scientific research. Tradition could not well go back to the rising of our globe above the universal ocean, because there was no one there to hand the matter down from father to son through the generations. But geology has examined the structure of the earth and found the first sedimentary rocks along the line which separates the United States from Canada, and claims that here was the first continent begun. There is no tradition in the facts of this, and none in the conclusion drawn from them. All is science, with facts gathered from the rock-ribbed globe and conclusions drawn from them.

Neither is the assertion that America was the first of the continents which was inhabited by man dependent upon tradition. Man could not well have started a tradition about the first of his race and sent it down his descending line through the centuries. He would have had to employ some such machinery as the Greeks and Romans had in their numerous gods to account for his own origin. Immortals might give the information, but it would be beyond the scope of plain mortals. Again, science has taught us what we know about the subject. It has gathered facts from the bones and works of man found in the caverns and hidden places of the earth, and from these drawn conclusions as to where and when and how he first existed. Science may not be able to prove its conclusions to the satisfaction of others, but it would be equally hard to prove the contrary. It would be as difficult to prove any well-known tradition void of historic truth as to prove the nebulous origin of our solar system and the mil-







St. Asaph Village

lions of years our planet has been in progression before reaching its present state, void of scientific determination. We should not aim to know too much and to know that all we know is truth. If tradition can amuse us without injury, if the doubtful story of King Arthur and his Knights of the Round Table can give us pleasure, it may be as well not to spend too much time in learning whether the story is true or false. There are many such stories that are just as good as if they were true, and let us have them as they are.

The story of Madoc I would give as I have given it in this monograph whether I believe it or not. It was believed by Kentuckians in pioneer times, and that is reason enough for repeating it in later times. It amused the patriarchs of our country and gave them many happy moments as it was told in their log cabins. And not only this, but it amused many of our cultured pioneers as they recited it and believed it. We put in books many things of the truth of which we know no more than we do about Madoc and his Welsh colony, and if the tradition is here repeated at this late day as an historic story it will do no harm.

#### FOREWORD

When Kentucky was a part of Virginia there was a tradition widespread and generally believed that a Welsh prince by the name of Madoc planted a colony of his countrymen in America about the year 1170. This colony was believed to have been located for some time at the Falls of the Ohio, where, after it grew strong and became offensive to the more numerous aborigines, it was attacked by overwhelming numbers and nearly all the members slaughtered. Some remnants who escaped the tomahawk and scalping-knife were scattered among the different tribes, and absorbed by them. In this way, a race known as Welsh Indians came into existence in different parts of the country, and kept alive the tradition until a comparatively recent period, when a considerable body of them, located some sixteen hundred or more miles up the Missouri River, were exterminated by the smallpox. This wholesale destruction by pestilence gradually diminished the generality of the belief in the tradition and de-

prived it of many of its advocates. The belief, however, did not entirely die, and will bear reviving even at this late date. It has never been fully written up in this country, and an historic sketch of it can hardly fail to be interesting. It is of kin to the pre-Columbian discoveries of America, of which quite a number have been credited and a still greater number rejected. Five of these seem to be sufficiently divested of myth and absurdity to approach historic truth, and may be mentioned here as a kind of introduction to the Welsh tradition which is the principal subject of this paper, because this Welsh colony, according to tradition, once resided at the Falls of the Ohio.

### I. THE ATLANTIS TRADITION

Our first authority for the existence of America, and its habitation by human beings thousands of years before the discovery of Columbus, was Plato, the famous Grecian philosopher. He does not mention America and its inhabitants in so many words, but when he designates a large island called Atlantis in the Atlantic Ocean opposite the Pillars of Hercules, from which the inhabitants passed over to the continent beyond and vice versa, the location of the continent is such that we can reasonably infer it was America, although it presupposes a knowledge of geography far in advance of the times. This was about twelve thousand years ago, when our orthodox teachers instructed us there were no human beings on the earth. Modern ethnologists, however, assure us that twelve thousand were far too few for the years of man upon the earth, and different ones give him an existence here of from twenty to two hundred thousand or more years. If man was in America twelve thousand years ago, as Plato says, he was earlier here than any of the many peoples from which his origin has been erroneously claimed, and was therefore the true autochthon of the land.

Plato, in his "Timæus" and "Critias," gives the Atlantis tradition as Solon, the wise man of Greece, learned it from the Egyptian priests, while visiting their country in search of knowledge during the later years of his life. These priests informed Solon that nine thousand years before that time there

was a vast island opposite the Straits of Gibraltar, in the Atlantic Ocean, and a number of smaller islands near to it, by which there was communication with a continent beyond; that this great island had a dense population of warlike inhabitants, ruled by powerful kings, who had subdued some of the smaller islands and parts of the continent beyond; that these kings finally combined their forces for the purpose of conquering the countries inside the Straits of Gibraltar, but were repulsed by the Athenians, and that afterward the great island and all its inhabitants were submerged by earthquakes and inundations in the depths of the ocean.

This island was called Atlantis, and if there ever was such a body of land between Europe and America, it might have been easy enough for some of its inhabitants to have crossed over to America and for the Americans to have crossed over to Atlantis. There have not been wanting scientists who believed they had found, in the modern world, evidence of the existence of this island in the ancient world. On the southern coast of England strata of fluviatile deposit two hundred miles long and two thousand feet thick had been laid down there by a large river of fresh water running for a long time. The England of our day does not afford enough land for such a river, and even if England once joined France, as geologists teach, such a river running from France or Germany into England would hardly have had land enough for its course. If Plato's island, however, existed and joined the British Islands, it would have afforded territory for such a river running from the southwest. No small river coursing through limited territory could form such a fluviatile deposit. Nothing short of a volume of water such as flows in the channel of the Amazon, the Mississippi, the Ganges, or the Nile could have made such great deposits in any conceivable length of time. Scientists, moreover, assure us that some of the islands now in the Atlantic Ocean, between America and Africa, indicate that they were once mountains or highlands of a country sunk beneath the sea, and that a ridge of volcanic wrecks along the trend of these islands, on the bottom of the Atlantic Ocean, assures us of a sunken continent or vast island submerged. An island, extending east and west from the neigh-



borhood of the Straits of Gibraltar to the vicinity of the Gulf of Mexico, with a sufficient width from north to south, would be large enough for the Atlantis of Plato and for such a mighty river, and to leave when submerged such remnants of its former greatness as the British Isles, the Azores, the Madeiras, the Canaries, and the Bermudas.

It was about three hundred and fifty years before the Christian era when the Egyptian priests told Solon that nine thousand years before that time the Atlantis island was sunk in the sea; so that from the date of that catastrophe to our times about twelve thousand years have elapsed. This was time sufficient to have so changed the geography of the Atlantic Ocean and the surrounding continents as to make us moderns unable to determine whether such an island ever existed.

It may be wiser, however, to accept as founded in truth what the Egyptian priests told Solon about Atlantis than to dismiss it as a myth. They lived nearer the time of Atlantis than we do, and may have known more about it. They stated that they had records in their temples about the cataclysm which destroyed the island, and although nine thousand years seem a long time for such records, modern discoveries of human relics in buried cities of both hemispheres are yearly taking us back further and further toward this shadowy past. The way is yet long to the confines of this remote period, but while older and older records are constantly being found on the land, human relics and seismic wrecks may also be lifted from the bottom of the sea, which will help to convince the incredulous that a vast island between Europe and America was once submerged with all its people, as stated by the Egyptian priests.

This account of Atlantis by Plato leaves undetermined whether America was originally peopled from Atlantis or whether Atlantis drew its primal inhabitants from America. It is as easy to assert or prove the one as the other; but as Plato has not specifically decided the question, I shall not presume a decision. It is sufficient for my purpose that Plato says the Atlantians subdued parts of the continent which by its location must have been America, which they could not have done unless there had been continental inhabitants there to subdue. The Atlantians would

hardly have peopled the neighboring continent for the sole purpose of its subjugation, and it can not be an unwarranted inference, therefore, that America was not indebted to Atlantis for its population.

## II. THE PHOENICIAN TRADITION

Diodorus Siculus, who flourished three-quarters of a century before the Christian era, furnished a somewhat detailed account of a great island in the Atlantic Ocean west of Africa. In the second chapter of the fifth book of his "Historical Library" he says that opposite to Africa lies a very great island in the vast ocean, of many days' sail from Libia westward, which was unknown for a long time because of its remote situation; that it was finally discovered, accidentally, by some Phœnicians sailing along the west coast of Africa, who were prevented from landing and driven far to the west by violent storms; that they found a new country, rich in fauna and flora and in everything suitable to the wants of man; that it was the intention of the Etrurians to plant colonies there, but they were prevented by the Carthaginians, who feared too many of their people might emigrate, and, besides, who wanted to preserve the new country for their own use as a place of refuge in case of trouble at home.

Now, if the Phœnicians in ancient times discovered a very great island west of Africa in the Atlantic Ocean, it could hardly have been one of the Azores, the Madeiras, the Canaries, or the Cape Verdes, because no one of these groups is large enough or distant enough from Africa to answer the description. It could not have been one of the British Islands, because they are specifically mentioned in the same history. Newfoundland was too far north and had too severe a climate and was not large enough for the description. It might have been the Atlantis of Plato before that island had gone to the bottom of the sea.

All of Plato's island, however, might not have gone down. Indeed, it is possible that the Azores, the Madeiras, the Canaries, and even the British Islands, as parts of the ill-fated island, may have been left above water when the main island went

down amid earthquakes and inundations. Diodorus might have found his island in a combination of the unsubmerged remnants of Plato's great island which were afterward submerged, or the island indicated by him might have been America. He certainly could not have found such a country and such a people as he describes in America as it was at the time of Columbus. We must not forget, however, that there were people in America for many centuries before the Red Indians. We call some of them Mound-builders for want of a better name, and we know precious little about them. They left mounds of earth and implements of copper and vessels of pottery and other evidences of a civilization far above that of the Indians found here at the Columbian discovery of America. If a European had been in America some thousands of years ago and seen one of these old Mound-builders seated upon his mound smoking his pipe and giving orders to numerous subjects who were working his fields of maize and tobacco, cultivating his gardens and orchards, and having plenty of the fruits of the earth and the product of the fields around him, he might have seen something of the picture Diodorus drew for his island. These Mound-builders, however, passed away many centuries ago and left neither a history, a tradition, or a name. They may have been exterminated by immigrants from the east, who after a conquest established themselves as the modern Indians on a lower plane of civilization. The following is what Diodorus says of his island:

“The soil here is very fruitful, a great part whereof is mountainous, but much likewise champaign, which is the most sweet and pleasant part of all the rest; for it is watered with several navigable rivers, beautified with many gardens of pleasure, planted with divers sorts of trees, and abundance of orchards, interlaced with currents of sweet water. The towns are adorned with stately buildings, and banquetting houses up and down, pleasantly situated in their gardens and orchards. And here they recreate themselves in summer-time as in places accommodated for pleasure and delight.

“The mountainous part of the country is clothed with many large woods and all manner of fruit trees, and for the greater delight and diversion of people in these mountains they ever



and anon open themselves into pleasant vales, watered with fountains and refreshing springs, and indeed the whole island abounds with springs of sweet water, whence the inhabitants not only reap pleasure and delight, but improve in health and strength of body.

“There you may have game enough in hunting all sorts of wild beasts, of which there is such plenty that in their feasts there is nothing wanting either as to pomp or delight. The adjoining sea furnished them plentifully with fish, for the ocean there naturally abounds with all sorts.

“The air and climate in this island is very mild and healthful so that the trees bear fruit (and other things that are produced there are fresh and beautiful) most part of the year; so that this island (for the excellency of it in all respects) seems rather to be the residence of some of the gods than of man.”

In addition to this glowing description of the island, Diodorus expressly states that the Carthaginians permitted no colonies to be planted there, but reserved the island for their own habitation if political events should make it necessary for their abandoning their own home. If, therefore, the island of Diodorus was America, it was not indebted to the Etrurians, the Carthaginians, or any other ancient nation for its inhabitants. It was fully inhabited when discovered by the Phœnicians, and must have been inhabited for a long time to have enabled its people to have arrived at such a stage of civilization and luxury as is assigned to them.

### III. THE CHINESE TRADITION

The third account we have of an early visit to America is that of a Buddhist priest from China, in the Fifth century of our era. When the religion of Buddha was introduced into China the Celestials became propagandists. Their missionaries went from land to land bearing images of Buddha and preaching his doctrine for the conversion of souls. A monk by the name of Hœi Schin made a very long voyage and claimed to have reached what has been pronounced the American continent, in the year 499. He called the country Fusang, and it was claimed

to have been explored probably as far south as Mexico. An account of his discoveries is recorded in the Year Books of China, and a translation of the important parts of the narrative is given in Leland's "Fusang, or the Discovery of America." There is no sufficient reason why Hoei Schin might not have made the journey to America at the close of the Fifth century. He could have gone from China to the Japanese Islands and thence sailed to the Kurile Islands, thence to the Aleutian Islands and thence to the continent of America, without being out of sight of land long enough to alarm any experienced or capable sailor. It is quite as likely, however, if there was a Mongolian discovery of America, that some of those Scythians who inhabited the north-east of Asia were the pioneers who led the way across Bering Strait and landed in America, as that another Mongolian from distant China made the discovery. The Scythians who dwelt in bleak Siberia went farther to make war upon distant countries than they would have to go to cross Bering Strait and become discoverers of America. The resemblance of the American Indian to the Asiatic races is held by some to establish the theory that Mongolians did cross from the northeast of Asia to America, but would it not have been as easy for Americans to have crossed over to Asia as for Asiatics to have come to America? Either would have been possible, and one is as probable as the other. The Asiatic races could as satisfactorily be traced back to the Americans as the Americans to the Asiatics. Hoei Schin, however, if he was a discoverer of America, found America according to his own account already peopled, and by a people who must have been here for a long time.

#### IV. THE NORSE TRADITION

The next in age of the alleged pre-Columbian discoveries was by Norsemen at the close of the Tenth century or the beginning of the Eleventh. Iceland is claimed to have been visited by the Greek geographer Pytheas several centuries before the Christian era, but little was known of it until the Norwegians discovered it in 860. Whatever civilization has done for this cold and barren island, in fitting it for human habitation, it owes to the

Norsemen, who founded there a republic in the year 874. It is claimed that Bjarne Herjulson, while searching for his father, who in his absence had emigrated from Iceland to Greenland, was driven by contrary winds as far south as Nantucket, on the American shore, and in coasting northward in search of Greenland saw Newfoundland and Nova Scotia before he reached Greenland. The Norse discovery of the continent of America, however, is with better evidence attributed to Lief Erickson, in the year 1000. Nor is there sufficient reason why this discovery may not have been made by Lief as claimed. If Norwegian ships could sail from Norway to Iceland and from Iceland to Greenland, as they admittedly did, they could surely go to America. They were great navigators, and made voyages to England, France, Italy, Greece, and other countries far more distant, and there can be no good reason why they should not have crossed the comparatively few miles of water between Greenland and America, as their sagas record they did. Their discovery, however, amounted to nothing so far as the planting of a permanent colony is concerned. Neither the round tower of Newport nor the hieroglyphic rock of Dighton, nor the armored skeleton of Fall River, has taught us anything more than that if the Norsemen came, they also went. It would have been as easy for the aboriginal Americans to discover Greenland and Iceland and Norway as for the vikings of these countries to discover America. The same arguments which apply to the discovery of the one apply with equal force to the other. The Norsemen, moreover, fought battles with the natives, which show that America was already inhabited when they visited it.

#### V. THE IRISH TRADITION

Rasmus B. Anderson, in his book entitled "America Not Discovered by Columbus," published in 1877, besides giving a full account of the Norse discovery of America and partial accounts of other discoveries, also gives the substance of a saga which credits the Irish with a colony in America before 1029. They were found there by some Icelanders who had been to Ireland on a trading expedition, and were called Irish because "it rather

appeared to them that they spoke Irish." This was putting the Irish speech of the colonists rather mildly, but the colonists themselves were not so mild when an Icelandic ship, in after years, landed among them. They seized and bound the captain and his crew, with the inhospitable intention of putting them all to death. When, however, they brought the prisoners before their chief, he released them and bade them get out of the country and never return. The chief who was thus merciful was a famous viking named Bjarni Asbrandon, who had been compelled to leave Iceland on account of his too free habits with married women. He was expatriated with the understanding that he was to be gone one year, but had never been heard of since his departure until this occasion, after thirty years had elapsed. He had in some way gotten into this Irish colony, south of the Norse settlement and supposed to be somewhere between Chesapeake Bay and Florida. It was known as Great Ireland or White Man's Land, and it is not impossible that the Irish should have discovered this part of the country. They were good navigators in the early centuries, and are known to have gone to the Fargo Islands and to Iceland. It would have been as easy for the Americans to discover Ireland by way of Iceland and the Faroe Islands as for the Irish to discover America by the same route. When the Irish colonized or discovered land in America they were taken prisoners by the Americans, and when they were released (instead of being put to death) they proceeded to depopulate America, so far as they were concerned, by going back to Ireland, instead of helping to people it. America was not, therefore, indebted to Ireland for her population.

#### VI. THE MADOC TRADITION

And now, having presented five of the principal traditions of pre-Columbian discoveries in America, all of which occurred before the close of the Eleventh century of the Christian era, I shall take up that of the Welsh in the Twelfth century. This was one of the most popular of these traditions, especially in Virginia, Pennsylvania, and Kentucky. It was not only believed by the common people, but got into the newspapers and maga-



zines and books, and was credited by the learned as well as by the ignorant. There were a few Welshmen among the pioneers, and they took pride in making the Welsh tradition as popular as possible. There was scarcely a log cabin in which the subject was not discussed by the family, and in the stations where families were numerous it furnished the material for many stories which were told to eager listeners. Madoc was the hero of the hour. His leaving Wales with ships loaded with his countrymen, and sailing across an unknown sea to inhabit an unknown land to avoid civil war with his brothers for the crown of his father, was an act of self-sacrifice which they deemed worthy of universal admiration. They were not sure at what point he landed in America, but they were sure that he did land and that his descendants once dwelt at the Falls of the Ohio, from which they were driven by a force too powerful to resist. They believed that the mounds and earthworks in the Ohio and the Mississippi valleys had been built by the Welsh for purposes not fully understood by moderns, but nevertheless erected by them for purposes of their own. They believed that those strange tombs made by encasing dead bodies between six flat stones forming the sides and ends and top and bottom of rough sarcophagi and placing them side by side and piling one upon another, until a kind of pyramid was constructed holding a great number of their dead, were made by the Welsh. If they had any doubt about the Madoc colony, all doubts were removed by an occasional Welsh Indian coming among them from a distant tribe, for the purpose of trade, and talking to Welshmen among the pioneers in their own language.

I propose now to present what I have been able to learn concerning this Welsh tradition, both in Europe and America I shall quote from the authorities so as to make somewhat of a documentary narrative and thus place the authorities within reach of the general reader, which is not possible while they are scattered through rare manuscripts and prints both in this country and in Europe. With these rare documents before them all can judge for themselves as to the reliability of the Madoc tradition.

*(To be continued.)*

# Louis Swift, Ph.D., F. R. A. S.

ASTRONOMER, FAMOUS DISCOVERER OF COMETS AND NEBULAE, DEAD  
AT THE AGE OF 93

## A BIOGRAPHY

BY JOHN HOWARD BROWN

### *Dispatch Announcing His Death.*

*“Binghampton, New York, January 5, 1913.—Dr. Lewis Swift, the well-known astronomer, died this morning at his home in Marathon. He never recovered consciousness after a stroke of paralysis sustained on New Year’s Day. The funeral will be held on Tuesday, and the body will be buried in the village cemetery.”*

**D**URING his long and useful life Dr. Swift had and observed but twenty-one anniversaries of his birth in the ninety-three years of his life, leap year being the only year on which he could find the date of his birth on any calendar, and the year 1900 being the only leap year in which it did not appear.

Lewis Swift, astronomer, was born in Clarkson, Monroe county, New York, February 29, 1820. He was the fourth son and last survivor of a family of nine children of General Lewis Swift who removed from Windham, Connecticut, to Monroe county, New York, and settled in a dense forest in which five log houses and a saw and grist mill had but recently been built to accommodate five families. General Swift, with his wife Anne Forbes made the sixth family in the settlement which became the village of Clarkson. General Swift’s father was Rowland Swift, a Revolu-



tionary soldier who died in De Ruyter, Madison county, New York, in 1849, aged ninety-six years. His first America ancestor, William Swift, came from Bocking, Suffolk county, England, in 1630, lived in Watertown, Massachusetts Bay colony, 1630-37, settled in Sandwich, Cape Cod, Plymouth colony, in 1638, and died there in 1643. Louis Swift's line of descent from this ancestor is as follows:—*William I, born in 1600; William II, born in 1627; Uirah III, born in 1665; Rowland IV, born in 1721; Rowland V, born in 1753; Lewis the soldier VI, born in 1783; Lewis the astronomer, VII, born in 1820.*

He was brought up in the wilds of Central New York, and received his school training in the Clarkson Academy. He was a healthy boy of normal physique up to his thirteenth year when he accidentally met with a fall which broke the bone of his left hip. This left him permanently lame and of little value as a pioneer farmer's helper in subduing the wilderness. The Clarkson Academy at that time was little more than an average grammar school and he owes but little in his mastery of the science of astronomy to teachers. On leaving the academy he took up the study of electricity and electro-magnetism, then but little understood, and not taught at the academy. He made lecture tours through the Western states and Canada, teaching large audiences what he knew of the science which he illustrated in a rude portable laboratory, which he carried with him. This science he also mastered without a teacher. By these lectures he accumulated a sufficient sum of money to venture upon the uncertain sea of astronomy as a profession, and his success was first made manifest, when thirty-four years of age, at which time he began to make observations with instruments of his own construction, mounted on a platform tower which he built on the gable end of his barn.

On November 13, 1835, when fifteen years old, he re-discovered Halley's comet, but at its next visit his sight had almost departed, and he saw it largely through the description given by one of better eyesight. His first view of the visitor in 1835, was while lying on his back, gazing into the starry heavens with his naked eyes. In 1858 he first came into prominence in the scientific world by a paper he read after observing Donati's great

comet discovered in October of that year by Giambattista Donati (1826-1873), the Italian astronomer. This observation caused him to study and search the heavens for these infrequent visitors, and after four years' search from his rude observatory attached to his barn in Marathon, Courtland county, New York, he was rewarded by the discovery of the great comet of 1862, having a period of 123 years. He demonstrated the influence which this comet had on the star showers which were witnessed on August 10-11, 1862, the time of the comet's visitation that year. He likewise discovered Winnecke's comet from his observatory in Marathon, and in 1872 he removed to Rochester, New York, where he engaged in the hardware business and continued his observations of the heavens each clear night. He used as an observatory in Rochester the tower of Duffy's cider mill and from this elevation he discovered, in 1873, Coggia's comet, and the same year the Brooks-Swift comet, William Robert Brooks, of Phelps, Ontario county, N. Y., founder of the Red House Observatory, claiming priority of discovery by fifteen minutes. During the succeeding five years he discovered six new comets, and the old cider mill thereby became historic, and one of the attractions for visitors at the "Flour City." The dates attached to these comets are one in 1877, one in 1878, one in 1879, one in 1880 and two in 1881.

These discoveries gave to him a world wide notoriety and three gold medals from the Imperial Academy of Sciences, Vienna, Austria; the Lalande prize of five hundred and forty francs and a silver medal from the Astronomical Society of France; Mrs. Jackson Gwilt's bronze medal from England, he being the first recipient of this medal, and four bronze medals from the Astronomical Society of California. He also received in cash prizes \$1,000 from Austria, and in 1879 he was elected a fellow of the Royal Astronomical Society of England (F. R. A. S.), and in 1880 the University of Rochester conferred in him the honorary degree of Doctor of Philosophy (Ph.D.). In 1882 the citizens of Rochester contributed \$13,000 to enable him to purchase a sixteenth inch telescope, a spectroscope and a sidereal clock, and H. H. Warner of that city built for the use of these instruments one of the finest observatories in the world, construct-

ed of white sand stone, costing upwards of \$100,000, and made Dr. Swift its director in 1882. From this observatory he discovered 900 nebulae. In 1878 while observing a total eclipse of the sun at Denver, Colorado, Dr. Swift discovered at the same time two intra-Mercurial planets, and from the Lowe Observatory, Echo Mountain, California, he discovered several comets, and 242 nebulae.

Failing eyesight and total deafness forced him to discontinue his professional life, and his telescope and implements were transferred to the Lowe Observatory, California.\*

In April, 1903, he was elected a fellow of the Royal Astronomical society of Canada, and the same year an honorary member of the Astronomical society of Mexico. He was also made a fellow of the American Association for the Advancement of Science and a member of the British Astronomical association, and of the Boston Scientific society.

Dr. Swift was married twice, and in 1912 he was a widower with four children living. Upon retiring from professional life, he re-established his home at Marathon, New York. At an interview with Oliver P. Newman, at his home in Marathon, on New Year's Day, 1912, Dr. Swift wrote with the aid of a powerful magnifying glass, and gave to Mr. Newman this autograph biography, as follows:

"I was born February 29, 1820. February 29, 1908 was my 21st birthday, not my 22d, Why? Because there was no leap year in 1900 and I was eight years without a birthday. Lewis Swift, F. R. A. S."

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\*Dr. Thaddeus S. C. Lowe, who established the Lowe Observatory in the Sierra Madre Mountains, California, died at the home of his daughter, in Pasadena, Jan. 16, 1913. He was born in Jefferson, N. H., Aug. 20, 1832, and during the eighty years in which he lived he devoted his extraordinary attainments as a scientist and experimenter in inventing and perfecting appliances now in general use, which have proved of great benefit to mankind. Besides building the largest aerostat of his day in which, in 1861, he made a 900-mile trip from Cincinnati to the South Carolina coast of the Atlantic ocean in nine hours, he served as Chief of the Aeronautic Corps of the Army of the Potomac in Virginia, and made observations of great value to the commanding generals and of great personal peril to himself. He invented the first ice-compressing machine in 1865, by which he made the first artificial ice used as a substitute for natural ice; originated water gas from which he acquired a large fortune and which became of universal use in all large cities; constructed and operated a railroad from the base to the top of Mount Lowe in California, and in 1887, built one of the finest private residences in the state, at Pasadena, where he died. He was a Yosemite Valley Commissioner and president of the Citizens' Bank of Los Angeles. He lived but eleven days after the news came to him of the death of his friend, Dr. Swift.

In a conversation following the preparation of the autograph biography, written under so great difficulties, he said: "I am happy. I am content. My hearing is dead. My sight is poor, but my conscience is clear and my stomach is strong." Speaking of his birthdays he said: "And that's not the worst of it. I'll lose another in 2100." In speaking of his uniformly good health he said: "I attribute my good health and old age to the fact that I never touched liquor or tobacco and that I've always drunk lots of strong coffee. I have studied the stars all my life, but feel that I know so little. Maybe in the next life—for I believe God rules all these worlds and great reaches of space and time and peoples—we will know more, if we have lived right here."

Mr. Newman closed the record of his interview with the venerable astronomer with the comment: "Those were the two things I took away with me after an afternoon with Dr. Swift: His implicit faith in God and a future life, and his happiness in the life he is now living."







*Andrew M. Sherman.*

# Historic New England Towns Revisited, or Back on my Native Heath

BY ANDREW M. SHERMAN,

*Author of "In the Lowlands of Louisiana in 1863;" "Historic Morristown, New Jersey: The Story of Its First Century;" "Life of Captain Jeremiah O'Brien, Machias, Me.;" "Phil Carver: A Romance of the War of 1812," Etc.*

## CHAPTER I

BRIDGEWATER, MASS.

*"A people which take no pride in the noble achievements of remote ancestors will never achieve anything worthy to be remembered with pride by remote descendants."*

IT WAS in the month of July, 1911, that the author received a letter from his elder brother, George W., a resident of Lynbrook, N. Y., informing him that he purposed soon making a trip to the eastern part of the Old Bay State with the view to procuring additional data concerning our first paternal American ancestor, William Sherman, and extending to me a hearty invitation to accompany him.

The invitation was duly accepted and a day was mutually agreed upon for our meeting in New York to undertake the trip.

We met on a Monday afternoon in the early part of September of the year above mentioned, and attended to the usual preliminaries of such a trip.

We left New York at about five o'clock in the evening of the same day on the superb Fall River steamer "Priscilla" with the orchestra on board discoursing some of its sweetest music, which was far from being "long drawn out," for, as I am now able to recall, we had scarcely passed out of the East River into Long

Island Sound when the leader of the orchestra hung up "de fiddle an' de bow" and with the other performers took—a rest.

Early on Tuesday morning we found ourselves in Fall River, Massachusetts.

Rising soon after the "Priscilla" reached her destination, we remained on board until nature began to clamor for food, and, procuring our dress suit cases we went ashore, or more strictly speaking, a-wharf.

After a brief effort to regain our land-legs we proceeded to the "ancient" and dingy brick structure at the end of the steamboat wharf in which is situate the restaurant where for many years we had been accustomed, on our arrival in Fall River by sound steamer, to going for our morning lunch, where we ate with some relish what had been ordered. Whether the New England crullers and apple pie and imported coffee set before us were "not as good as they used to be" or our gastronomical taste had, with the passing years, become more highly developed, I will not now venture an opinion. Certain it is, however, that we did not enjoy our morning luncheon as in former days.

Taking an early train of steam cars on what in "the good old times" was the Old Colony Railroad, but now the New York, New Haven and Hartford, we arrived at Bridgewater, twenty-seven miles to the southward of Boston, at about nine o'clock of the same morning, and were promptly conveyed to the home of an aged sister, where we received a beloved sister's cordial welcome, and were each soon inquiring after "everybody in creation" and "part of York State."

Although, during the half century past, I have frequently revisited this fine old New England town, it is, nevertheless, always an exquisite pleasure to return thither, since it was there I spent a portion of my early boyhood; and there, also, I still have several near blood relations whom I am, of course, always more than glad to meet and together review the past with its lights and shades.

It is almost superfluous for me to explicitly say, what I have already intimated, that the sight of the numerous and varied scenes of my early boyhood in Bridgewater again strangely revived the oft slumbering memories of those truly delightful days

of which the poet has aptly said: "Ah, happy days! once more who would not be a boy."

The friends of my early boyhood in this rare New England town, however, have nearly all passed on into the "land where everlasting suns shed everlasting brightness." One, at least, of my fondly-remembered playmates nobly died in defense of "Old Glory" in the immortal sixties of the century past; and his remains now lie in an unknown and unmarked grave in southern soil. In the early part of the Civil War my old schoolmate and playfellow enlisted in a Massachusetts infantry regiment, which served under Grant, in Virginia. In one of the series of bloody battles fought in the Wilderness during the spring of 1864, he was severely wounded, and, with many others, was left helpless on the field where he had fallen. The woods in which the Union wounded lay took fire from the incessant discharge of cannon and musketry, and the flames were soon sweeping mercilessly over the grounds where the brave boys in blue lay, and my old schoolmate and playfellow of many years ago was burned to death; and the remains of his charred body still lie in Old Virginia. Ah! many a game of "old cat"—sometimes "one old cat" and sometimes "two old cat" and at other times "three old cat," according to the number of boys we could muster—did he and I and the other boys of about our age play in the large, open field in the rear of the picturesque and somewhat dilapidated village church at "the works;" and many a happy hour did we and the other boys in the immediate neighborhood spend in playing tag on the broad, flat stone wall enclosing the old cemetery adjacent to the church (the Protestant Episcopal), sometimes, when hard pressed, leaping from the wall and running helter-skelter through the burial place of the dead in our eagerness not to "get tagged."

Of the many incidents of our boyhood which I distinctly recollect was that of a quarrel we once had over so simple a thing as a ripe tomato—a ripe tomato I had presumed to take, without leave, from a small wagon load of the fruit he was taking home to his mother for culinary purposes. Of course, the quarrel, like other boys' quarrels, was soon forgotten; and we continued to be good friends, and had many a fine time together afterward,



swimming and skating, and romping the fields and woods, and in playing on the big haymow in father's barn and getting caught once in a while, and reprimanded by my kind-hearted father.

I cannot, on Memorial Day, drop a spring flower upon the grave of my old playmate of years ago, whose remains quietly sleep in the sunny South, but I can, and I do recall his ardent devotion to the country which gave him birth, and for which he sacrificed his young and promising life in the War for the Union.

To follow, in thought, the varied careers of other of the friends of those early days passed in Bridgewater would stir in the heart of author and reader emotions of mingled pleasure and pain.

Its seven prosperous churches, including the Congregational Unitarian, Congregational Trinitarian, Swedenborgian and Roman Catholic; its State Normal School, organized in 1840, one of the largest, best equipped and most famous in the country; its substantial public library building containing not far from fifteen thousand volumes; its beautiful and varied scenery, composed of hill and dale, with Town River running like a bright silver thread through the outskirts; the numerous fresh water lakes and ponds, including Nippenicket Pond, lying within convenient distance of the business center, furnishing excellent opportunities of gratification to those of piscatorial tastes; the several flourishing manufactories, including the iron foundry and machine shop of the Perkins Brothers, a business established by Henry Perkins, their father, now deceased, about seventy years ago; the savor of antiquity (from an American point of view, of course) which greets the observant visitor in not a few sections of the township; the superior educational privileges afforded youth and young manhood; the numerous comfortable dwelling houses everywhere to be seen, in one of which the family has resided for upwards of sixty years and the genuine culture and the healthy material prosperity so generally diffused throughout the township make Bridgewater a most desirable place for residence and a most interesting one to visit and study.

I have referred to the excellent opportunities for fishing in this old town; and the following brief account of a fishing trip to Nippenicket Pond a few years since will be the best evidence of the



correctness of the implied statement that one can catch fish in Bridgewater: I was in Bridgewater with my family on a visit from the Berkshire Hills, where I was then settled as a pastor. Having casually remarked at table that I still retained my boyhood fondness for fishing, I subsequently expressed the wish to "go a fishing" sometime; in consequence of which a party was a little later made up, with one of my nephews, a skilful and enthusiastic fisherman, as our prospective "guide."

Upon reaching Nippenicket Pond a day or two afterward we procured a large flat bottom boat and the expectant party of three nephews and two nieces and the writer were soon gliding merrily over the smooth waters of Old Nippenicket toward the fishing grounds. I remember it as a charming day in September and only slightly cloudy; "just cloudy enough to make the fish bite," was the concensus of opinion "on board ship." While on our way to the fishing grounds selected by "our guide," two or three of the party, including the writer, impatient of the seeming delay in "getting to work," threw out our hastily baited hooks, and with the boat drifting (by sufferance of our "guide") we caught several handsome horned pout weighing at least a pound each, beside several red perch weighing somewhat less; but our "guide" who had been accustomed to catching larger and more "gamey" fish persuaded us to throw overboard these "small fry," which we did; not, however, without a mental protest on my part, at least.

After fishing for an hour or more in different spots with no "luck" except a few undesirable fish, we anchored late in the afternoon beside a rock which rose about four feet out of the water, and here we began throwing out our freshly baited hooks. Our hooks had scarcely sunk out of sight when, one after another, men and women, we began pulling in white perch weighing from three-quarters of a pound to two pounds each; in fisherman's parlance, we had "struck" a school of the coveted game. For an hour or longer (we were too busy to keep track of the time) we were as delighted a party of fishermen as a boat ever held.

Fully satisfied with our splendid "catch" we adjusted our fishing tackle, pulled "for the shore" and were soon on our way home by the family horse and carriage.

To add, that after our arrival home we had a fish feast would be superfluous. Our expert "guide," who would rather catch fish, or assist others in doing the same "trick" any time than eat them, derived his chief enjoyment from seeing the other members of the fishing party empty the large platter, while they sounded the praises of Old Nippenicket unstintedly.

Whether Nippenicket Pond is as good fishing ground as it was during my all too short visit from the salubrious Berkshire Hills above mentioned I am unable to say. I do know, however, that it is now a favorite summer resort, with an abundance of pretty boats and other means of enjoyment.

It was positively refreshing, during my recent visit to Bridgewater, to spend even a few days in a community where the spirit of democracy (the word "democracy" is employed in its broad sense) is everywhere in evidence, as it is in the town mentioned—a community in which, to quote the remark of a life-long and highly respected resident, "one man is considered as good as another so long as he behaves himself." Of not a few communities with which I am acquainted the predominant characteristic, so far, especially, as their controlling elements are concerned, may be most aptly described in the words: Cash, creed, character; but the greatest of these is CASH. In such communities character is scarcely a secondary consideration; and slavish devotion to creed and sect frequently dims and obliterates that fine appreciation of character which is really the thing of supreme importance! But in truly, not conventionally, Christian communities, character is the accepted passport to respect and consideration, and sordid cash and medieval creed and sectarian domination are relegated to their proper places.

If human nature were not inherently and essentially good, and if the visible signs of the times did not unmistakably foreshadow the early return of the American people to the fine old days of the prevalence of the spirit of democracy among us, the genuine patriot might well despair of the permanence of the Republic founded in the humble cabin of the Mayflower and preserved and perpetuated by the shedding of precious blood during the subsequent years of our national history.

During our all too brief sojourn in Bridgewater (and by "our"

I mean my brother, George W., and I) we made a trip by trolley to Braintree, a few miles out from the "hub," to pay a short visit to some near relations, passing through, on our route, West Bridgewater, the original home of the Ames family of national repute and the birthplace of the extensive iron business which brought them their well-earned millions; the flourishing city of Brockton, formerly North Bridgewater, noted for its extensive shoe manufactories; and Stoughton, one of the staid old towns of the Bay State.

On our way to Braintree, and while we were still within the limits of Bridgewater, we passed the home of my early boyhood, the sight of which again revived many of the episodes and experiences of my care-free young life; such as playing on the big haymow in father's barn, especially on rainy Saturdays; light-heartedly romping the beautiful green meadows in the rear of the house—meadows stretching back to the sluggishly flowing river, which, in my youthful eyes, was full as big as the stately Hudson; breaking up hornet's nests in New England stone walls, and being punished severely sometimes by the sharp stings of the infuriated little insects as we ran "for dear life" from them; skating and sliding in winter—what hills for sliding!—and swimming in summer in "the basin" behind the rolling-mill of the Bridgewater iron works; running, stark naked, with my younger brother, through an immense cornfield nearby on sultry days in summer time, to "get cooled off;" hanging May baskets in May and June boxes in June, one of the rarest sports in the New England of those delightful days; writing love letters to our girl sweethearts and depositing the ardent missives in a strictly private post office in some isolated stone wall, and going stealthily to the same post office for our fondly anticipated replies, and—well, I will not further enumerate the diversions, innocent and mischievous, in which we, as boys, engaged during those superlatively happy days, long gone by. Indeed, it is better, perhaps, to allow some of those youthful diversions to fade into oblivion; not, however, that any of those diversions were so very, very bad, but they were simply a little "off color," as we now look back upon them from the viewpoint of maturer years.

## CHAPTER II

BRIDGEWATER, MASS.

*(Continued)*

*“Our Fathers saw Thy beck’ning hand,  
That bade them to this goodly land,  
Nor men, nor beasts, nor raging sea,  
Could daunt those hearts that trusted Thee.”*

In view of the exceedingly interesting early history of Bridgewater I am quite certain that my readers will welcome the relation of some of its more salient facts; and these I proceed to give in as concise a manner as practicable.

It is probable, indeed, some local historians so state, that as early as 1641 or 1642 the English from Plymouth and Duxburrow had found their way into the region which subsequently became Bridgewater. Whether they were there for settlement or as prospectors it is hardly possible, at this late day, to determine.

In 1649 (having in 1645 been authorized by the court at Plymouth so to do) Captain Miles Standish, Constant Southworth (then Deputy-Governor) and Samuel Nash, on behalf of the inhabitants of Duxburrow township (the second, by the way, in order of settlement in the Plymouth Colony, but the third, however, in order of incorporation), purchased of the Indians, through their Chief, Massasoit, (who, at the time called himself Ousamequin), a large tract of land, the Indian name of which was Saughtuchquett, or, translated into English, Satucket. Regarding the changing of Massasoit’s name the reader may be interested to learn that—I now quote a local historian—“It was no uncommon occurrence for these Chiefs or Sachems to assume new names, which were probably appropriate and expressive of the principal exploits or events, which had occasioned the change.”

I have spoken of the tract of land purchased of the Indians through their Sachem as “a large tract of land,” for it contained about ninety square miles, and was to extend from the wear (an



Indian fishing place) at Satucket, now West Bridgewater, "seven miles due east, and from the said wear seven miles due west, and from the said wear seven miles due north, and from the said wear seven miles due south."

The price paid the Indians for this extensive tract of land "in the wilderness" was "7 coats, a yard and a half in a coat, 9 hatchets, 8 hoes, 20 knives, 4 moose skins, 10 yards and a half of cotton, and twenty pounds."

In view of the present high valuation of the land thus bartered by the Indians the compensation seems insignificant; but they were satisfied, and that, after all, was the essential consideration, so far as the Indians were concerned.

The deed conveying this extensive tract of land, signed, on behalf of the English by Standish, Southworth and Nash, is now among the archives of the Old Bridgewater Historical Society, at West Bridgewater, and is a most interesting document.

The large tract of land purchased of the Indians was divided among fifty-four "original proprietors," to which two more were subsequently added, making fifty-six in all.

Each of the "original proprietors" of old Bridgewater was granted six acres of land at what is now West Bridgewater, the lots being contiguous, thus making the new settlement compact; this was necessary for protection against the Indians. These lots, or shares, as they were also called, were situated on both sides of the stream known to the Indians as Nunkatest or Nunkatetset. As to the rude dwellings erected by these settlers the following quotation from the address delivered by the Hon. Nathan W. Littlefield, of Providence, R. I., at the two hundred and fiftieth anniversary of the incorporation of old Bridgewater in 1906 will, I am certain, be found of special interest to the readers of this book: "Let us in imagination enter one of these buildings. Walls of rough hewn logs meet the eye and overhead the floor beams are exposed to view. No carpet was there. It may be that a few rugs, made of rags braided by the thrifty housewife, lie here and there on the rough floor. Light is admitted through windows filled with oiled paper. A large fireplace with the swinging crane supporting a huge kettle, furnishes warmth for the household in winter, and suffices for cooking the simple fare



of the inmates. In place of a piano stands a spinning wheel and perhaps a handloom. Pine knots, or at best candles, supply the little artificial light which is needed for people who usually retire and rise with the birds. A row of shining pewter ware, the pride of the worthy matron of the house, is ranged along the dresser. On a shelf may be seen a well worn Bible and a few other books. Everything betokens the *res angustae domi*, which characterized also the homes of the early settlers of imperial Rome. And from homes like this, wherein dwelt the antique virtues of faith, honesty, purity, love of home and love of country, sprang the imperial nation whose achievements in the arts and sciences, and in the elevation of humanity are eclipsing the glories of even the ancient mistress of the world."

Among the early inhabitants of old Bridgewater, and by "old Bridgewater" is meant Bridgewater township from its incorporation, in 1656, to 1821, when the division of the original township began, were Nicholas Byram, Robert Latham, Thomas Whitman, Benjamin Willis and John Kingman; these, however, were not among the "original proprietors."

Of these early inhabitants of old Bridgewater, and their numerous eminent descendants in the arts and sciences and in the ministerial, medical and legal professions, many volumes could be written!

Concerning Nicholas Byram there is a family tradition of more than ordinary interest; I give it in the language of a local historian, although by the New Jersey descendants of Mr. Byram I have frequently heard the story related. "Nicholas Byram, according to family tradition, was son of an English gentleman of the county of Kent, who removed to Ireland about the time this son was born. His father sent him at the age of sixteen to visit his friends in England in charge of a man who betrayed his trust, robbed him of his money, and sent him to the West Indies, where he was sold into service to pay his passage, and after his term expired he made his way to New England and settled at Weymouth." He subsequently removed to old Bridgewater, where, late in the seventeenth century he purchased two lots or shares of land on which he settled. To the Morris County, N. J., Byrams it is a matter of great interest to be able to say that from





1. Home of the Rev. James Keith, the first minister of Bridgewater, 1662-1719
2. First Church, in West Bridgewater, organized 1661

Nicholas Byram, one of the early settlers of old Bridgewater, Massachusetts, they have descended.

Bridgewater was incorporated as a township in 1656, and the entry made in the records at Plymouth authorizing the incorporation is well worth citing, and is as follows: "Ordered, that henceforth Duxburrow New Plantation bee allowed to be a townshipe of yt selfe, destinct from Duxburrow, and to be called by the name of Bridgewater, provided that all the publick rates bee borne by them with Duxburrow upon equal proportions." The newly incorporated township, however, had for some time prior to its incorporation been called Bridgewater.

Bridgewater was named after an old seaport town in Somerset County, England, which is situated on both sides of the Parnel River, and now has a population of about fifteen thousand. As early as the days of William the Conqueror, says the historian, this town was spoken of as the "Bridge of Walter," and contained a castle at the beginning of the thirteenth century, by reason of which it became a noted stronghold of the Royalists in the days of the commonwealth.

It is claimed by some local historians that Bridgewater was so named as a reminder to the early settlers of their beloved home in old England; but by others it is said to have received the name because of the proximity of Taunton and Bridgewater in old England and of the two townships of the same names in the colony in America.

The first minister to be settled in old Bridgewater was the Rev. James Keith; this was on the 16th of February, 1664. He conducted his initial religious service, some time prior to his settlement, from the top of a rock now known as "Pulpit Rock," which is sacredly preserved. The Rev. Mr. Keith was scarcely twenty years of age when he conducted his first service in old Bridgewater. He was fresh from Aberdeen, Scotland. As the text for his first sermon he chose the following words from the Old Testament book of Jeremiah, first chapter and sixth verse: "Behold, I cannot speak, for I am a child." The people of the new settlement, however, were so favorably impressed with young Keith that he was soon called and was duly settled over the church "in the wilderness," and there remained as minister

for the period of fifty-six years, and his name is still mentioned with a feeling akin to reverence.

The house occupied by the Rev. James Keith in old Bridgewater as a parsonage is still standing and is one of the numerous things of historical interest in what is now West Bridgewater.

The compensation received by the Rev. Mr. Keith consisted of "A double houselot, including twelve acres of land, with a good house built on it. A whole share in the original proprietorship of the land of the town with forty pounds as annual salary and other provisions. About fifty years later the salary was increased to fifty pounds with thirty cords of wood added."

The first meeting house (or church, as we should now call it) erected in old Bridgewater was in the year 1661, and it stood near the site of the present Old Bridgewater Historical Society Building, in what is now West Bridgewater. For more than fifty years the people of the different sections of old Bridgewater attended divine worship at what is now West Bridgewater; and for nearly one hundred and sixty years the town meetings were held at the same part of the extensive township.

"In 1646 the Massachusetts colony re-enacted the English law compelling church attendance, and required a fine of five shillings for absence from church on the Lord's Day, Thanksgiving or Fast Day, without good cause. Therefore everybody attended church and it was not uncommon for the people to go ten or fifteen miles to meeting.

"The court order was that 'every soldier, bring his arms fixed to meeting with six charges of powder and shot, and if any neglect or refuse to perform, he shall be fined two shillings to be gathered by the constables.'"

Sachem's Rock, as it is now called, where the deeds conveying the land constituting old Bridgewater were signed by the Indian Chief Massasoit under the name of Ousamequin, may also still be seen in what is now West Bridgewater, and is seldom omitted by the tourist.

Mention has been made of John Cary, the first constable of old Bridgewater; and a modest monument has been erected at West Bridgewater to his memory. He was the clerk of the corporation of the Duxburrow New Plantation, as well as constable, which latter office was "second only to that of governor." Of John



Cary as constable it has been said that "he was the only officer in the town (old Bridgewater) whose duty it was to execute the laws, and his power was almost absolute. He could arrest on suspicion, without precept, a power scarcely allowed at the present day to the chief magistrate of a nation."

Old Bridgewater, which, at its incorporation in 1656, contained about ninety square miles has since been divided as follows: In 1821 North Bridgewater, now Brockton, was set off as a township; in 1822 West Bridgewater, and in 1823 East Bridgewater were also made separate townships, since which time the south portion of the original township has borne the name of Bridgewater. The division of the original township into precincts or parishes, however, was begun in 1716, when the north and south parishes were instituted; and in 1717 the east parish was instituted.

At the dedication of the new church in what is now Bridgewater on the 17th of June, 1717, the Rev. James Keith preached the sermon. In 1719 this greatly beloved minister died, at the age of seventy-six years.

Among the prominent men of old Bridgewater was the Hon. William Baylies, an eminent lawyer, who, by many, was considered the peer of Webster, of whom he was an associate in practice in the courts of Plymouth County. Mr. Baylies' law office was in that part of old Bridgewater now known as Bridgewater. While residing in that part of the original township which is now Brockton, William Cullen Bryant, the subsequent American poet, studied law with Mr. Baylies in his Bridgewater office; and in 1815 he was admitted to the bar of Plymouth County. While a student in the office of Mr. Baylies, Bryant is said to have scrawled "with a barbarous pen" the following lines:

"O'er Coke's black letter page,  
Trimming the lamp at eve, 'tis mine to pore,  
Well pleased to see the venerable sage  
Unlock his treasured wealth of legal lore;  
And I that loved to trace the woods before,  
And climb the hills a playmate of the breeze,  
Have vowed to tune the rural lay no more,  
Have bid my useless classics sleep at ease,  
And left the race of bards to scribble, starve and freeze."

Bryant evidently met with "a change of heart," for later in life he devoted himself to the poetic muse, and became one of our most eminent poets, acquiring a national reputation. At the age of eighteen years he is said to have composed the poem entitled "Thanatopsis," which by some is regarded as a masterpiece of versification; indeed, it may properly be considered an American classic.

I distinctly recall, as if it was only yesterday, that while attending a district school in West Bridgewater, during my early boyhood, the school was visited on a previously designated day by that then regarded august body of men "the committee." In due course the first class in reading was called up by the teacher that "the committee" might pass judgment upon the proficiency of its members. Bryant's "Thanatopsis" was selected as the lesson to be read, which, as not all the readers of this book may be able to recall, begins with the lines:

"To him who, in the love of nature, holds  
Communion with her visible forms, she speaks  
A various language; for his gayer hours  
She has a voice of gladness, and a smile  
And eloquence of beauty, and she glides  
Into his darker musings, with a mild  
And gentle sympathy, that steals away  
Their sharpness, ere he is aware."

One by one the members of the class read the portion of the poem allotted to him or her; and at the conclusion of the reading exercise "the committee," after the usual "hums and haws," declared that a little curly-headed boy, who has since been a resident of Morristown, New Jersey, was the best reader in the class. This curly-headed boy, now grown to manhood, also distinctly recollects that one, at least, of the members of that reading class, a girl several years his senior, who subsequently became a successful public school teacher in the Old Bay State, was suddenly thrown into a state of mind far from comfortable in consequence of the report of "the committee;" and the report was rendered all the more irritating to this disappointed pupil

because of the fact that she was among the few favorites of the young woman who then taught the school.

To Taunton, Massachusetts, belongs the honor of having been the first township in New England to establish iron manufactories, and old Bridgewater was the second to engage in this important industry; but old Bridgewater has probably surpassed all other towns in New England in the invention of mechanical appliances which have proved to be invaluable in its own development, and, indirectly, in that of the country at large.

As early, for example, as 1740, Hugh Orr—"Hon. Hugh Orr" he was called—a Scotchman "from the banks and braes of Bonny Doon" came to old Bridgewater. In his native country he had learned the gunsmith's trade, and soon after his arrival in the colonies he erected near what is now East Bridgewater a mill in which he set up a trip hammer. In the construction of this mill he used the timbers of the first meeting house erected in that part of the original township in which he settled. In this mill, erected on what is now known as the Matfield River, the enterprising gunsmith from Scotland began the manufacture of firearms. To quote from a local historian: "Providence ordained that he was to be the man whose fertile brain and cunning hand was to fashion the bayonet, the musket, and the cannon, that later were to wake the echoes at Charlestown, Dorchester Heights and elsewhere."

Thus, as we have seen, the first firearms manufactured in this country were manufactured in that part of old Bridgewater now known as East Bridgewater.

The machinery used in carding and spinning cotton was also manufactured in Mr. Orr's mill on the Matfield River.

But I should not omit mentioning that the iron works in that part of the original township now known as Bridgewater share with Mr. Orr the honor of having manufactured cannon which contributed to the achievement of our national independence. Of these iron works more will be said at a later stage of our story.

In that part of old Bridgewater now known as West Bridgewater the first gins for cleaning cotton were manufactured.

Coming down to more modern days it should be said that in what is now known as East Bridgewater, Samuel Rogers is sup-



posed to have invented and made the first machine for cutting and heading nails at one operation.

More than a century ago shoes were manufactured in different sections of old Bridgewater; and this industry has grown to enormous proportions, especially in what is now the thriving city of Brockton, where shoes by the million are annually made. For many years these shoes were made entirely by hand, but now ingenious and complicated machinery has wholly supplanted the hand made product.

How well I remember the numerous shoe shops of the Bridgewater of my early boyhood days, when the shoes were made by hand from beginning to end! It was a great pleasure to me to get into one of those shoe shops in Bridgewater and watch the workmen, seated on their low benches, make shoes. Sometimes the pleasure of those visits may have been mutual, but more frequently, I think, the pleasure was entirely on my side; for various and persistent were the means employed by the author and other youthful visitors to annoy the busy workmen crouched in unhealthy position on the low benches occupied by them. Frequently I had to run at the top of my speed and into places difficult for the pursuer to enter in order to escape the leather strap in the hand of the justly angry shoemaker I had persisted in annoying.

Of the once famous Bridgewater Iron Works of my boyhood days, Ah! what a book I could write! These works were established in the early part of the nineteenth century. To my boyish mind and eyes they were wonderful! The many buildings of varied dimensions and shapes covered not less than fifty acres. The employes in the various departments of the concern numbered, when business was good, at least a thousand men. There were iron foundry, forge mill, rolling mill, pattern shop, nail factory, machine shop and other minor departments which I do not now recall, making the Bridgewater Iron Works in my boyhood days the largest of its kind in this country; and of the amount of business done there in its most flourishing days I can only say, it was enormous!

Some of the largest cannon used in the Civil War were made at the Bridgewater Iron Works; and one of these was on exhibi-

tion, during the war, at the fair of the Plymouth County Agricultural Society. This cannon, of enormous dimensions, was subsequently mounted before Charleston, South Carolina, and was used for the bombardment of that city.

Many of the largest anchors used in our merchant marine and naval service were made in the iron works mentioned.

Here, too, some of the largest wheel shafts of the old style side-wheel steamers used in the United States navy and elsewhere were welded and shaped in the forge department of the iron works at Bridgewater. In the process of forging these immense circular shafts gigantic steam drop hammers were used, hammers weighing many tons each. It was a sight not to be missed if one had the opportunity of watching the process of welding and shaping one of these shafts about fifty feet in length, eighteen or more inches in diameter and weighing several tons. To stand at a safe distance from the massive anvil on which these great shafts rested, and watch the cloud of red hot sparks as they flew in all directions as the ponderous steam drop hammer came in contact with the shaft soon after it had come from the furnace, was a sight worth traveling a long distance to witness. Because of the employment of the latest devised mechanical appliances used in removing the immense shafts from the fire and in manipulating them at the anvil, the skilled workmen handled them as if they were small rods of iron.

It was really amusing to hear a company of women who were sometimes drawn to the forge department to watch the welding and shaping process utter their chorus of tiny shrieks as the bright, star-shaped sparks flew from the great shaft as the steam drop hammer came down upon it. And I confess that when I, a boy of eight or ten years of age, watched the process, it was blink, blink, blink, as I heard the short, sharp concussions of the tremendous blows of the drop hammer and witnessed the veritable shower of glistening sparks as they scattered right and left and sometimes to a considerable distance from the solid anvil. But it was "great fun" for all that; and I visited the forge department whenever opportunity offered, and sometimes, I confess, when I should have been otherwise engaged.

I wish I could speak as enthusiastically of the present Bridge-



water Iron Works as of those of my happy boyhood, but alas! their former glory has largely departed! The iron industry has gone into Pennsylvania and the sunny South where the iron ore and coal are to be found in abundance, and can be utilized for manufacturing purposes without the great expense of distant transportation.

Ah! how many episodes and experiences of my early boyhood days in Bridgewater, now ever and anon recalled in memory, rehabilitate the former buildings of the old Bridgewater Iron Works!

It was in the rear of the rolling mill that a young Irishman, just coming from his day's work, saved me from an untimely death by drowning in "the basin."

Through the large iron foundry I once, when pursued by several boys in our game of tag, ran, and heedless of consequences, in my intense eagerness to escape my pursuers, burned both my feet in a puddle of hot iron poured on the ground by the workmen after the conclusion of their day's labor, from the effects of which it took me about six weeks to recover so as to step on my "understandings."

In the nail shop, before I had "cut my wisdom teeth," the workmen would sometimes, "just for a little fun," hand me a nail recently cut and still far from cooled off; for which, the reader may be assured, I sooner or later repaid the offender in one way or another.

And then, those delicious July sweets in the orchard contiguous to our swimming place in "the raceway," which were such a temptation to the boys that, well, occasionally, at least, we found it well nigh impossible to resist; and up into the orchard we would steal, and though sometimes threatened with dire punishment by the owner, who had been "laying for us," would take a modest supply of the luscious fruit to some isolated spot, and eat and eat to our stomach's content.

Do I remember the bookkeeper of the Bridgewater Iron Works in the diminutive office at the main entrance to the premises, an office, which in dimensions, corresponded "to a T" with his short, thick, dumpy body, but not with his mind, for he was a man of more than ordinary intelligence, and withal was a con-

sistent member of the Roman Catholic Church of Bridgewater? Ah, yes, I remember him, with his short, quick steps, his rapid mode of conversation; and the spectacles he invariably wore, for he was not a young man, by any means, when I knew him in the days of long ago. I believe he is at rest in the "paradise of God."

Thus I could continue to recall the incidents and striking personalities of those early days spent in one of the finest old towns in New England; but here I must call a halt.

I have spoken of the State Normal School at Bridgewater; and I should not forget to speak of the Bridgewater Academy, where many young men were trained and prepared for college, but which has in these later years become absorbed into the Bridgewater High School. I have, personally, a most vivid recollection of the old academy, for it was there that I was receiving private instruction from the principal as a preparation for entering the State Normal School at Bridgewater, when I for the second time entered the Union service. That was in the winter of 1863-64. I had already served in the Union army, as a soldier, upwards of a year; but the "war fever" again laid hold of me, and, abruptly dropping my books, I returned to the "Nutmeg State" and enlisted "for three years or the war," and served as one of Lincoln's Boys in Blue until the surrender at Appomattox. A few years after the close of the Civil War I entered the Christian ministry.

I could continue almost indefinitely to sound the praises of Bridgewater, but it must suffice for me to add that as a manifestation of their appreciation of the labors, struggles and sacrifices of the founders and developers of this fine old town the inhabitants of the Bridgewaters, in 1906, suitably celebrated the two hundred and fiftieth anniversary of its incorporation as a township; and the published account of the elaborate program will undoubtedly prove an inspiration to future generations of this town in the Old Bay State.

## CHAPTER III

## A CROSS COUNTRY AUTO RUN TO PLYMOUTH, MASS.

*"They trusted Thee without a fear,  
Or creep of flesh at danger near,  
The iron of their rigid creeds  
They hammered out in noble deeds."*

After the rare days spent in Bridgewater we began to make arrangements for a trip by trolley across country to Plymouth, this, and the adjacent historic towns of Kingston, Duxbury and Marshfield being among the chief objective points of our visit to the Old Bay State. A previous trip by trolley to Plymouth, a few years since, had given us a taste of the pleasure to be anticipated from a second ride over the same route.

One of our nephews, to whom we had innocently made known our contemplated trip by trolley to Plymouth and adjacent towns, kindly offered to have us taken by his auto; and because, partly, of the anticipated novelty of such a means of conveyance and partly because of the time to be saved, the offer was duly accepted.

After providing ourselves with overcoats and laprobes, for the thermometer had taken a sudden tumble of several degrees, and with other things to minister to our comfort on the way, we bade a brief adieu to Bridgewater and joyously turned our faces toward Plymouth, the first of the towns mentioned to be visited.

With a good machine, in excellent condition, and a competent and careful driver (or chauffeur, in aristocratic quarters), the ride to Plymouth was a most delightful one, taking us through a succession of typical New England towns and villages and hamlets, including East Bridgewater, Hanson, Hanover, Marshfield, Kingston and Duxbury, each abounding in fertile farms and handsome residences and charming scenery. Every now and then we passed a shop, some still in use and others abandoned and rapidly going to decay, each of which was a vivid reminder of the days of small business conducted by enterprising individuals, but which have, for the most part, been absorbed or driven

to the wall by modern monopolistic enterprises; they were formerly shoe shops, nail and tack factories, chiefly.

I must speak of the excellent macadam and tarvia roads over which we passed on our way from Bridgewater to Plymouth, a good proportion of which were "as smooth as a barn floor;" this, of course, adding in no slight measure to the pleasure of our long ride. Some of the roads over which we passed were constructed at the state's expense.

Retracing, in thought, our course, for a few minutes, I will say that as we were approaching that portion of Marshfield in which I first saw the light of this fair and marvelous world, it was mutually agreed that we should go out of our way a mile or so in order to afford the writer the great pleasure of seeing once more, and perhaps for the last time, the house in which he was born.

*"This fond attachment to the well known place  
Where first we started into life's long race,  
Maintains its hold with such unfailing sway  
We feel it e'en in age, and at our latest day."*

The house in which I was born, now owned and occupied by strangers (it having long since passed out of the family), is a one and a half story structure, shingled on roof and four sides, unpainted, and is still in a good state of preservation, although it must have been built upwards of a century ago. It belonged, originally, to my paternal grandfather, Aaron Sherman, who for many years occupied it; and from this earthly dwelling he passed on into the "house not made with hands, eternal in the heavens." For many years he was one of the deacons of the Baptist Church, of North Marshfield, known for miles around as "the old skunk," from the duly authenticated fact that one of the deacons on taking the large, old style contribution box on a Sunday morning to pass it for the usual collection found a skunk cuddled up in said box, where it had evidently spent the night. There is, however, another version of this skunk story, and as I wish to do full justice to all parties concerned, I will give it; it is, in brief, to the effect that on the arrival of the faithful sexton at the church one Sunday morning he discovered a skunk seated on the pulpit desk.



The excellent imperial size photograph of my grandfather's house I have in my collection at home is, it is needless, perhaps, to say, very highly prized; and will doubtless be still more highly valued by my descendants.

My paternal grandfather (and I ask the reader's indulgence for this family allusion, as well as for others I may have made, or may hereafter make) commanded a company of Massachusetts militia at the time of the War of 1812, and my father, a lad of about fifteen years of age, was the drummer boy for the company. When it was reported that the British purposed landing a force of redcoats at Scituate Harbor, a few miles nearer Boston than Marshfield, grandfather's company marched to the first mentioned place with a view to assisting in repelling the anticipated attack upon the village. Upon reaching Scituate Harbor, however, it was ascertained that the British had been frightened away by two brave and resourceful Yankee girls. The story of the attempted landing of the British at Scituate Harbor, as written by Charles Barnard, and published in the St. Nicholas Magazine of July, 1874, is well worth a careful reading.

Catching up the thread of our story which was dropped for the purpose of referring to the story of Rebecca Bates and Sarah Winsor frightening the British out of Scituate Harbor, in the War of 1812, I will now say that while looking from the auto (for we did not leave our seats) at the roof which for a short time covered my infant head, my elder brother, who is the family genealogist and historian, pointed out, once more, the identical room of grandfather's former home in which I was born. I must, however, confess, that as I think of the house whose walls heard my first infant cry, I share somewhat the sentiments of the poet, Byron, when he penned the following lines:

*“He enter'd his home—his home no more,  
For without hearts there is no home—and felt  
The solitude of passing his own door  
Without a welcome.”*

Soon after entering Marshfield township we began to get fine views of Massachusetts Bay, two or three miles distant to the





1. The Mayflower in Plymouth Harbor
2. Birthplace of Andrew M. Sherman, Marshfield, Mass.



eastward, and of the gracefully winding creeks that run into it at different points along the irregular shore. The extensive salt marsh lands that lie all along the shore are also a sight worth seeing; this marsh land is highly prized by the owners for the abundance of grass, such as it is, which it annually furnishes.

The distance from Bridgewater to Plymouth, by the route taken by our driver, was about thirty-seven miles, and we covered it in a few minutes over two hours; from which it may be easily inferred that we (there were four of us) were no mere "joy riders" or "dare-devil-dicks."

## CHAPTER IV

### WE ARRIVE IN PLYMOUTH, MASS.

*"No lust for power, no greed for gold  
Could lure to shame those settlers old.  
The virtues that to them belong  
Rebuke each age of selfish wrong."*

It was a few minutes after the noon hour when we drew up in front of one of the best restaurants in Plymouth, and, without waiting to "hitch the auto" which had brought us safely to our journey's end, we lost no time in entering and finding a table that would accommodate the entire company of "weary travelers;" and there we sat down. A genuine shore dinner, somewhat tardily served, eaten with the relish of four hungry men, soon restored our chilled bodies to something like their normal condition; and, after thus attending to the needs of the inner man the two friends who had accompanied us from Bridgewater to Plymouth bade us adieu and turned their faces homeward.

After "pulling ourselves together," mentally, my brother and I began to plan as to how we should most profitably, and pleasantly, for that matter, spend our time in the historically rare but ("tell it not in Gath") sleepy old town into which we had been brought.

A most excellent and concise description of old Plymouth recently appeared in the columns of *Young People*, a Baptist publi-

cation, written by Antonio J. Stemple, and from this article the following excerpt is quoted:

“Plymouth has often been described, but to get the real flavor of the place and to experience the real thrill, you must see it for yourself. It has a distinct atmosphere of its own, quiet and dignified, and an air of being sufficient unto itself. The town appears to have a righteous consciousness of its superiority and does not clamor for attention. It is quite content to have its loving friends to do the advertising. All Plymouth is divided into two parts—those who are tourists or visitors and those who are not. The former are as thick as blueberries in a New England pasture, and the latter mind their own business and seem to take the fact that they are on sacred ground very complacently. The town is big and rambling, with a glorious outlook over the sea. Guide books or guides are not at all necessary. The old town is one big, historical treasure trove, and you can’t possibly escape the historical places even if you wander forth with your eyes closed. The first thing the Pilgrims did when they landed was to create a ‘point of interest,’ and they never stopped. The only modern thing in Plymouth is a splendid new library. Sacred memories cluster about everything else in sight.”

It would, of course, weary my readers if I should attempt to describe in full detail our sojourn in old Plymouth, so I shall content myself with taking a sort of hop, skip and jump through the original home of the Pilgrim Fathers and its numerous points of historic interest.

When I say that here in old Plymouth my first paternal American ancestor, William Sherman, settled, about 1630, readers of this modest volume will, I think, pardon me for my peculiar fondness for the place, yes, every inch of it; as well as for the frequency with which I shall speak of my ancestors and their immediate descendants and of some of the incidents of their lives in “the olden times.” But perhaps, after all, the asking of my readers’ pardon for this portion of my story is superfluous, since my ancestors were a part of old Plymouth and helped to make its history, which is now eagerly devoured by every true American.

It was from Old England that my first paternal American ancestor came; and there is some evidence that he came from the old country in the same vessel with the Rev. Francis Higginson, the ancestor of the late well known Colonel Thomas W. Higginson, author as well as soldier, of Boston.

Several plots of land were duly granted to my ancestor by the colonial authorities in what was then Duxburrow township. It must have been about the year 1631 that the first of these plots of land was granted to "the emigrant" William Sherman, for in the earliest records of the Plymouth Colony he is mentioned as having paid taxes in 1632. "He was granted," I now quote from the Plymouth Colony records, "a Garden place on the Duxburrow side; five acres of land at Powder Point and a meadstead about Stony Brooke, in Duxburrow, and land towards Green Harbor in 1640." He was chosen Surveyor of Highways of Duxburrow township about the year 1641.

In 1642 Marshfield (spelled, also, Marchfeeld and Marshfeeld) was incorporated, and the land owned by William Sherman was included in the territory composing the newly incorporated township set off from Duxburrow; and thereafter my paternal ancestor was a resident of Marshfield. On the 13th of November, 1644, he was admitted an "Inhabitant of Marshfield." And it is fact of no small interest to lovers of our national history that from, but exclusive of, William Sherman, all my paternal ancestors have been born in this old New England town; and, with the exception of two of the seven generations of those ancestors, there they married, there they lived and died and were interred, and the locations of their graves are with but two exceptions known to the present generation. Only my immediate family ties deter me from arranging for my own interment in this old town in which I began my terrestrial existence.

It may be of interest to the readers of this book to know that the Indian name of Marshfield was Missaucatneket; and it has also been known as Rexham and Green Harbor.

It is probable that Marshfield township received its English name from the extensive marshes along its eastern borders, which occupy 5,000 acres or more.

From "History of Marshfield" by Lysander Salmon Richards,



of Marshfield Hills, the following interesting facts concerning early Marshfield are gleaned:

"A few hostile Indians, as with a few hostile whites to-day, worried their neighbors. Our forefathers did not rob the poor Indians of their lands, as currently reported among our people from time immemorial, but paid for them, not large amounts to be sure, but satisfactory prices to the Indian nevertheless, in corn, blankets and trinkets.

"Our forefathers in Marshfield found the ground already tilled when they settled here. The Indians cultivated corn, one of the greatest products to-day, the 20th century. Into a hill of corn they put a couple of alewives, or other fish, and thus gave us of the 20th century a hint in the growth of this staple article; hence the Indian was the earliest user of commercial fertilizers.

"At the time of John Smith's voyage along our coast, years before the advent of the Pilgrims, he saw large and thrifty fields of corn grown by the 'poor' Indian. The country in Marshfield and thereabouts, except on the marshes, was covered with a large growth of trees—chestnut, hickory, oak, maple, pine, also the hazlenut, beechnut, butternut and shagbark. It was indeed pleasant for our forefathers to locate in a region where the strawberry, the raspberry, the blackberry, the huckleberry and the cranberry grew in abundance, and then they were delighted to find in their midst the mountain laurel, the azalia, the rhododendron, the gentian, the aster and the water lily.

"Our North River to the sea furnished abundant cod, shad, halibut, trout, herring, smelt, haddock and pickerel. Again, they were blessed with a large supply of pigeons, geese, ducks, quail, partridge, woodcock and wild turkey.

"Bears, wolves and wildcats chiefly constituted the dangerous animals; but they could hunt the moose, the deer and the racoon for meat, and for fur, the beaver, the otter, the skunk, the sable and the fox; and Marshfield at the beginning of the 20th century is yet troubled by foxes and racoons, who make their meals of chickens, ducks and geese in the farmer's poultry yard."

According to the Plymouth Vital Records, from which I quote, "William Sherman and Prudence Hill married the XXIIIth January, 1638." Prudence Hill, the bride of William Sherman,

as seems practically certain, was the daughter of the Rev. William Hill, rector of an Episcopal Church in Mell, Somerset County, England.

Sarah Hill and Hester Hill, sisters of Prudence Hill, the wife of William Sherman, Sr., married, in Old England, John Washer and Robert Marks, respectively; and that these marriages were worthy of the brides will appear from the following extracts from "Weaver's Somerset Inductions," an English authority:

"John Washer and Robert Marks, both designated 'Mr.' except in one instance, when Marks was styled 'Doctor,' were parsons, and parsons moreover of parishes not very far removed from Mells.

"Merriot:—1626, Oct. 12, Robert Marks, A. M., inducted Vicar of South Petherton, 21 May, 1617. S. T. P. and Prebendary of Bristol Cathedral, went from South Petherton to Merriot, 1626, where he was Incumbent until about 1660."

From the above quotations it seems that both of Prudence Hill's sisters married clergymen of the Established Church, of England.

The Rev. Philip Bisse, D. D., of Magdalen College, Oxford, seems to have been the maternal grandfather of Prudence Hill.

It is probable that in Old England William Sherman and Prudence Hill were lovers; and, on her arrival in Plymouth Colony sometime between 1630 and 1638, the "twain were made one," as is learned from the colonial records at Plymouth.

Upon the plots of land which had been assigned at different times to William Sherman in what is now Marshfield he and his young bride established their home; and there several children were born to them, among the number being William Sherman, Jr., our second paternal American ancestor.

A part of the land assigned to our first ancestor was near that of Peregrine White, with whom he was more or less associated; and it is a great pleasure to the descendants of the former to be able to locate, approximately, at least, the land once owned and tilled by our ancestor before the beginning of the eighteenth century.

In Marshfield, William Sherman, Sr., and his wife lived until their decease. The date of the decease of the latter is not, at

present, known to us; but we know that William Sherman, Sr., was buried Saturday, October 25, 1697. The burial place of neither of these early settlers of Marshfield is certainly known to us, their ancestors. Mr. William T. Davis, in his book entitled "Landmarks of Plymouth" gives it as his opinion that "the earliest colonists were buried on their own estates, and that in course of time, through neglect or indifference on the part of their descendants, the place became unknown; or their lands were sold to strangers who had still less interest in remembering the graves of the ancestors of their predecessors. This seems less strange when one tries to recall something that one of his own family had knowledge of scarce two generations back, and finds how uncertain and indefinite is his memory regarding the occurrence."

I have seen several private burial grounds in the "Nutmeg State;" and many of them had, for one reason and another, been neglected so long as to be in a most deplorable condition. The fences once surrounding the plots had either disappeared altogether, or, what was worse, a portion of the fence had disappeared and the remainder was either swaying with every strong wind or had sagged over on the ground and rapidly going to decay. The headstones were seldom in position; some were partially broken, and in some instances there was no trace of either headstone or grave mound. If fence and headstone had survived either wholly or in part the once tenderly cared for plot had become overgrown with coarse grass and weeds. Advancing civilization, we should be glad to know, has almost entirely outgrown private burial grounds.

After prolonged effort to ascertain the burial places of William Sherman, Sr., and his wife, Prudence, we had settled down to the conclusion that they were both interred on their own farm at Green Harbor; but further investigation has inclined us to the belief, which we shall entertain until we have sufficient evidence to the contrary, that their remains now lie in the Winslow burial grounds near the Webster place, but that all traces of their graves have disappeared.

# History of the Mormon Church

BY BRIGHAM H. ROBERTS, Assistant Historian of the Church

## CHAPTER LXXIX

### THE STATE OF DESERET

**N**OTWITHSTANDING the national congress did not admit the state of Deseret into the American Union, but on the contrary granted a charter for a territorial government, the state of Deseret continued to be the government of the people in the Great Salt Lake region until the arrival and installation of the territorial officers late in the summer of 1851. The general assembly of the state of Deseret, on the 28th of March of that year, took notice of the act of Congress for "the organization of the territory of Utah," the mail having but recently been received, that conveyed information of that fact. In joint session the general assembly unanimously resolved that they cheerfully and cordially accept the legislation of congress in the act to establish a territorial government for Utah, welcomed the extension of the U. S. Constitution over the territory, and advised that all provisional state officers be requested to furnish their territorial successors every facility in their power by turning over public documents, etc. Also they granted "Union Square," in Great Salt Lake City, for the use of public buildings of said territory.<sup>1</sup> They appointed Governor Young to be their agent to make drafts upon the treasury of the United States for the amount appropriated (\$20,000) for said buildings, and directed that measures be taken for their immediate erection, and appointed an architect and superintendent of

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1. It is Block 102 in the original plat, two blocks north and two west of Temple Square, and is now occupied by Salt Lake City's High School buildings.



construction for said buildings. Also resolved that "the provisional state of Deseret finally dissolve on the 5th day of April following, 1851."<sup>2</sup> As already stated, however, the state government continued in fact until the installation of the territorial officers some months later.

During its existence of more than two eventful years the state of Deseret was a good government, and gave peace, security, good order, and a fair administration of justice, as we shall presently see. Its general assembly prescribed the boundaries and organized seven counties;<sup>3</sup> passed ordinances granting charters for five cities; Great Salt Lake, approved January 19th, 1851; Ogden, Provo, Manti, and Parowan, all chartered on the same date, *viz*, the 6th of February, 1851: also a charter for the University of Deseret, approved February 28th, 1850; an ordinance incorporating the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-Day Saints, approved February 8th, 1851; one incorporating the Perpetual Emigration Fund company, September, 1850;<sup>4</sup> another regulating the manufacture and vending of spirituous liquors; several ordinances granting the control of timber lands together with canons leading to them, and mill sites to certain individuals; creating the necessary officers for the state and county governments, and prescribing the manner of their ap-

2. Hist. of Brigham Young, *Ms.*, Journal entry for March 28, 1851, pp. 14, 15. Doubtless some of these acts were in excess of the provisional state's authority, but they show in what spirit the government ordained by the National Congress was received by the general assembly of Deseret. The time of the final dissolution of the state as understood by its founders, is perhaps best fixed by the memorial passed by the territorial legislature—most of the members of the latter body having been members also of the general assembly of the state—asking Congress to appropriate a sufficient sum to meet the expenses of the provisional government "from 1849, to September, 1851." The sum asked for was \$27,735.35. (Laws of Utah 1852, first session of the legislature pp. 223-4). Bancroft says that "for many years the shadow of a state government was preserved, the members of the ideal state assembly, after each session, re-enacting and sanctioning by vote and in due form the laws which they had previously passed as a territorial legislature" (Hist. of Utah, p. 445; also Stenhouse, Rocky Mountain Saints, p. 276).

3. These were Salt Lake, Weber, Davis, Toole, Utah, San Pete, and Iron Counties. See History of Brigham Young, *Ms.* Bks. for 1849, 1850, 1851, *passim*. The enactments of the general assembly creating these counties seem to be lost, as they are not to be found in our annals. The collection of the acts of the general assembly of Deseret published by the Territorial legislature of 1855 is but a fragment of the legislation of the older state. They publish but twenty-two ordinances in all, whereas, in the History of Brigham Young, *Ms.* (April, 1851, pp. 16, 17), he gives a list of thirty-two enactments approved by him in the single session of 1850-51. See *Ms.* Hist. Brigham Young, *Ms.* pp. 16, 17.

4. The act was approved 7th of Sept., 1850, see *Liverpool Route*, ch. III. This is one of the acts not listed in the 1855 collection.

pointment or election. In a word the acts of the general assembly extended to all the rightful subjects of legislation, and were quite comprehensive. The last enactment but one was a resolution approved February 12th, 1851, authorizing and requesting the governor of Deseret to procure a block of marble from the best specimens of stone that he could find in the state, for a contribution to the Washington Monument, then in progress of erection in Washington City, D. C.; and cause the same to be suitably sculptured and forwarded to the Washington Monument committee, as soon as practicable, all expense incurred to be defrayed out of the public treasury.<sup>5</sup>

The judiciary of the state of Deseret no less than the legislature was useful to the colonists, to the great procession of emigrants that passed through the state, and the non-Mormons, who, for the time being, made their abode in Latter-day Saint communities. But chiefly was it a convenience and necessity to the non-Mormon emigrants and residents because principally appealed to by them for the settlement of controversies. Appeals to the courts by church members were discouraged by the church leaders, the Saints being counseled to settle their controversies by appeals to the ecclesiastical courts and methods of procedure.<sup>6</sup> This ecclesiastical procedure, in the main, was satisfactory to the Saints; but not, of course, to the non-members of the church, though in some cases there was voluntary submission by choice to the church tribunals<sup>7</sup> by the "Gentiles."<sup>8</sup>

Happily there are Gentile witnesses who had ample opportunity for observation and personal contact with the Mormon

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5. Ordinances, etc., of Deseret, Laws of Utah 1855, p. 109. The state legislation of Deseret has been quite generally censured for the grants made of special privileges to prominent church leaders of timber lands, mill sites, etc.; but the requirements in opening and maintaining roads into the timber belts, and the construction of mills upon the sites granted, resulted in public benefits that offset the special privileges acquired in these instances.

6. These methods of procedure and all that pertains to the Church ecclesiastical judiciary system are treated at length in this History, chapter LXV, *Americana* for September, 1911.

7. See Biography of Daniel Spencer in L. D. S. Biographical Encyclopedia, pp. 286-9, where instances are cited as occurring in the high council of the church at Salt Lake City, over which Daniel Spencer presided, where Gentiles preferred a hearing before the church rather than the civil courts.

8. The term "Gentile," I shall use, and perhaps quite frequently from now on, instead of "non-Mormons," as being a more euphonious term and the one used both in Mormon and anti-Mormon literature to designate those not of the Mormon faith; but it is used in no other sense than this, certainly not as a term of reproach.

communities, who testify of the substantial fairness of the Deseret courts, officered by leading elders of the Church of Latter-day Saints. Among these were Captain Howard Stansbury and Lieutenant J. W. Gunnison, of the United States topographical engineers, who came to Deseret in the fall of 1849, for the purpose of exploring and surveying for the government the Great Salt Lake.<sup>8½</sup> The work occupied them one year, and during that time these U. S. officers were often in contact with the leading officials of the church and the Latter-day Saint communities, making them competent witnesses of the status of the community in which they thus lived. On the one hand they were removed even from the suspicion of religious sympathy with the Saints, because not favorably impressed with their faith or their church; and on the other hand, they were men of such standing and character that they could not be suspected of falsely coloring their reports, neither indeed did there exist any incentive to prompt such coloring.

Of the administration of justice by the courts of Deseret, Captain Stansbury reports:

“Their courts were constantly appealed to by companies of passing emigrants, who, having fallen out by the way, could not agree upon the division of their property. The decisions were remarkable for fairness and impartiality, and if not submitted to, were sternly enforced by the whole power of the community. Appeals for protection from oppression, by those passing through their midst, were not made in vain; and I know of at least one instance in which the marshal of the state was despatched, with an adequate force, nearly two hundred miles into the western desert, in pursuit of some miscreants who had stolen off with nearly the whole outfit of a party of emigrants. He pursued and brought them back to the city, and the plundered property was restored to its rightful owner.”<sup>9</sup>

<sup>8½</sup>. Stansbury and his party of surveyors arrived on the 28th of August, 1849. There was some misunderstanding with reference to the object of the Captain's mission, to which he himself refers in a passage too extended to be used in a foot note, but too important to be omitted from this History, the reader will therefore find the passage in *Note 1*, end of the chapter.

<sup>9</sup>. Stansbury's Report to the government of the survey of Great Salt Lake, *Executive Document*, No. 3. Special session March, 1851, pp. 130-1. After making the above statement relative to the substantial fairness of the courts of Deseret, he notes what was inevitable under the circumstances, and which he himself admits to be inevitable, *viz.* the close union of the temporal state government with the ecclesiastical authority. On this head his report said:

“While, however, there are all the exterior evidences of a government strictly



After noting that a large portion of the great emigration overland to California passed through the Mormon settlements, Lieutenant Gunnison, the associate and chief lieutenant of Captain Stansbury, writes:

"Of the parties organized in the states to cross the plains, there was hardly one that did not break into several fragments, and the division of property caused a great deal of difficulty. Many of these litigants applied to the courts of Deseret for redress of grievances, and there was every appearance of impartiality and strict justice done to all parties. Of course, there would be dissatisfaction when the right was declared to belong to one side alone; and the losers circulated letters far and near, of the oppression of the Mormons. These would sometimes rebel against the equity decisions, and they were made to feel the full majesty of the civil power. For contempt of court they were most severely fined, and in the end found it a losing game to indulge in vituperation of the court, or make remarks derogatory to the high functionaries.

"Again, the fields in the valley are imperfectly fenced, and the emigrants' cattle often trespassed upon the crops. For this, a good remuneration was demanded, and the value being so enormously greater than in the states, it looked to the stranger as an imposition and injustice to ask so large a price. A protest would usually be made, the case then taken before the bishop,

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temporal, it cannot be concealed that it is so intimately blended with the spiritual administration of the church, that it would be impossible to separate the one from the other. The first civil governor under the constitution of the new state, elected by the people, was the president of the church, Brigham Young; the lieutenant-governor was his first ecclesiastical counsellor, and the secretary of state his second counsellor; these three individuals forming together the "Presidency" of the church. The bishops of the several wards, who, by virtue of their office in the church, had exercised not only a spiritual but a temporal authority over the several districts assigned to their charge, were appointed, under the civil organization, to be justices of the peace, and were supported in the discharge of their duties, not only by the civil power, but by the whole spiritual authority of the church also. This intimate connection of church and state seems to pervade every thing that is done. The supreme power in both being lodged in the hands of the same individuals, it is difficult to separate their two official characters, and to determine whether in any one instance they act as spiritual or merely temporal officers.

"The establishment of a civil government at all, seems to me to have been altogether the result of a foreseen necessity, which it was impossible to avoid. As the community grew in numbers and importance, it was not to be expected, as has been before remarked, that the whole population would always consist solely of members of the church, looking up to the Presidency, not only as its spiritual head, but as the divinely commissioned and inspired source of law in temporal matters and policy also. It became necessary, therefore, to provide for the government of the whole, by establishing some authority which could not be disputed by any, and would exercise a control over them as citizens, whether they were members of the church or not; and which, being acknowledged and recognized by the government of the United States, would be supported by its laws and upheld by its authority." (Report pp. 131-132).



and the costs be added to the original demand. Such as these were the instances of terrible oppression that have been industriously circulated as unjust acts of *heartless Mormons*, upon the gold emigration.”<sup>10</sup>

Next to the judiciary system of the state of Deseret, the thing which attracted both large attention and unfavorable comment was the tax that was levied upon goods brought into the state, reports concerning which not only reached “the states,” but congress. The charge was made in the senate in connection with a memorial, before referred to, signed by William Smith—brother of the prophet, Joseph Smith—Isaac Sheen, *et al*, and introduced by Senator Joseph R. Underwood of Kentucky, who when introducing the above named memorial also read an article from a newspaper charging that two Indian agents had been seized and subjected to trial by the Mormons upon a charge of having been instrumental in driving the Saints from the state of Missouri, and were only cleared in consequence of being able to prove that they had not participated in that act.<sup>11</sup> “It also charged the Mormons with having imposed duties upon all goods

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10. “The Mormons”—Gunnison—p. 65. Gunnison also notes what under the circumstances was the inevitable mingling of church and state affairs: “We found them in 1849, organized into a state with all the order of legislative, judicial, and executive offices regularly filled, under a constitution eminently republican in sentiment, and tolerant in religion; and though the authority of congress has not yet sanctioned this form of government, presented and petitioned for, they proceeded quietly with all the routine of an organized self-governing people, under the title of a territory [should be “State of Deseret,” for that was the title of the civil government]. \* \* \* While professing a complete divorce of church and state, their political character and administration is made subservient to the theocratical or religious element. They delight to call their system of government, a “Theocracy,” and that, in a civil capacity, they stand as the Israelites of old under Moses.” (The Mormons, p. 23).

11. The only incident I find in our annuals which could be the foundation of this story is one in relation to a Mr. Pomeroy, who arrived in Salt Lake valley in the summer of 1849. He was a merchant from St. Louis, and brought with him a stock of goods to the value of about \$50,000. (See letter of John Taylor to the Frontier Guardian of June 9th, 1850; Taylor refers to “Messrs. Pomeroy,” as “merchants from Missouri,” hence more than one of that name. The Pomeroyes were of the number of merchants who found it impracticable to go further than the Salt Lake valley with their loads of merchandise, and hence decided to sell their goods at auction in Salt Lake City, Brigham Young in his Journal History, under entry of the 12th of August, records the following:

“A strong prejudice having arisen against Mr. Pomeroy, a merchant, founded on rumors of his being connected with the Missouri mobs in the expatriation of the Saints from that state, his case was considered and testimony was heard upon it in a public meeting of the people, Elder John Taylor presiding. The investigation resulted in a unanimous vote in favor of the innocence of Mr. Pomeroy.” (Hist. of Brigham Young *Ms.*, Aug. 12, 1849, p. 121).

imported into Salt Lake region from the United States.”<sup>12</sup> Senator Douglas, who had made inquiries of Mr. Babbitt, the delegate from Deseret, was able to make answer to Senator Underwood upon the item of imposing taxes upon goods by the Salt Lake community, to the effect that these people had found it necessary, when they had established their government, to provide the means of raising revenue for its support. “The course adopted,” Senator Douglas proceeded to say “was to impose duties on all goods brought in and sold within the city of Salt Lake, whether by Mormons or anti-Mormons, residents or non-residents, all being placed upon an equality.” Mr. Douglas also assured the senate on the authority of Mr. Babbitt, that this duty was only levied upon goods to be sold in the city, not upon goods *in transit*, nor sold outside the limits of the Mormon settlements; and the taxation “was merely for the purpose of providing revenue for the support of the government they had established until congress should provide one for them.”<sup>13</sup>

Fortunately upon this subject also Captain Stansbury has an enlightening passage. After describing the tithing system of the church, and saying that “the treasures of the church” were “freely devoted when necessary, to the promotion of the temporal prosperity of the body politic,” he then adds:<sup>14</sup>

“A tax is also laid upon property as with us, which is levied upon all, both ‘saint’ and ‘gentile,’ and which constitutes the revenue of the civil government. All goods brought into the city, pay as the price of a license, a duty of one per cent., except spirituous liquors, for which one-half of the price at which they are sold is demanded: the object of this last impost being

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12. This in the proceedings of the U. S. Senate on the 31st of December, 1849 (Congressional Globe, Vol. XXXI, p. 92).

13. Congressional Globe, Vol. XXI, p. 92. It is evident that the tax was more in the nature of a municipal license than a state tax.

14. In passing judgment, or drawing inferences upon such remarks as this, it should be remembered that the permanent communities of the state of Deseret were nearly exclusively of one religious faith; that conditions were very primitive and community life very simple; that almost absolute unity prevailed, there being perfect accord between the initiative of the leaders and the acquiescence of the people that things were being done practically by unanimous consent; hence whether acting through the agency of the Church or that of the state, the common welfare of the community being the end in view, it mattered little to the people which agency was used, as they were both state and church; and therefore it is not to be marveled at if the nice distinctions between the funds of church and state, and even the spheres of church and state, were not as nicely observed as would be expected in the midst of a more complex community life, where men were of variant religious faiths, and of opposing political parties.

avowedly to discourage the introduction of that article among them. It has, indeed, operated to a great extent as a prohibition, the importer, to save himself from loss, having to double the price at which he could otherwise have afforded to sell. The result of this policy was, when we were there, to bring up the price of brandy to twelve dollars per gallon, of which the authorities took six; and of whisky to eight dollars, of which they collected four dollars."<sup>15</sup>

From the first there was manifested a strong determination on the part of the colonists to suppress traffic in liquor;<sup>16</sup> and when from apparent force of circumstances it had to be tolerated, then the policy was to severely regulate the disposition of it.

A military organization was early effected, even before the state of Deseret existed, namely, on the 3rd of March, 1849. A direction was given to have "all able bodied men over fourteen and under seventy-five years of age in the valley to constitute the military force of the people, under the name of the Nauvoo Legion." But after the state legislature came into existence a reorganization of this "Legion" was effected in harmony with a report made by the legislative assembly's committee on military affairs, *viz.*, Charles C. Rich and Daniel H. Wells; in which it was provided that the legion should consist of two cohorts of four regiments in each cohort; two battalions in a regiment; five companies in a battalion. The legion itself to be commanded by a major general. The first cohort was to consist of mounted men, commanded by a brigadier general; and the second cohort to consist of footmen also commanded by a brigadier general.<sup>17</sup> This fore-shadowed a rather extensive military organization, and later the outlines of it were filled out; but during the existence of the state of Deseret, eleven companies comprised its utmost strength; six horse companies, and five

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15. Stansbury's Report, pp. 132-3.

16. The following incident is offered in proof: "On the 2nd [Feb., 1849] being informed that Wm. Tubbs was coming into the city with whiskey for sale, I gave an order to Elder C. C. Rich to apprehend him, take the liquor into custody and await a hearing. The next day Tubbs was tried before Bishop Tarlton Lewis and cut off for evil speaking against the first Presidency." *His. B. Y. Ms.*, Bk. 4, p. 4, Feb. 2, 1849). So throughout the moral law, and trespasses upon decency were promptly punished in the Salt Lake colony even before the state government went into commission.

17. History of Brigham Young *Ms.*, entry for March, 1849, p. 25.



foot companies. Daniel H. Wells was elected major general of the legion; Jedediah M. Grant brigadier general, of the first cohort; and Horace S. Eldridge, brigadier general of the second cohort.<sup>18</sup>

The state of Deseret also had its Indian troubles and carried on successful expeditions against hostile tribes. As noted in a previous chapter the Salt Lake region was occupied by two hostile tribes of Indians at the advent of the Mormon pioneers—the “Utahs,” or “Utes,” and the Shoshones (or Snake Diggers,) intermittently at war with each other.<sup>19</sup> It so happened that the settlement of the Saints in Salt Lake valley was on the border line between these tribes, the Shoshones extending north and westward, and the Utahs to the south, and westward to California. From the views entertained by the Latter-day Saints respecting the Indians—knowing their origin, as given in the Book of Mormon, and entertaining high hopes for the future of the race, because of what the Book of Mormon prophecies have declared concerning their ultimate redemption—it could not be otherwise than that the attitude of the Latter-day Saint colonists would be sympathetic towards their red brethren. Still it was no part of the policy of Brigham Young and the church leaders to be unduly familiar or treat as equals these degraded tribes of the Salt Lake region.<sup>20</sup> President Young was too deeply read in human nature generally, and in Indian nature in particular, to think that the Indians could be helped by the whites

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18. History Brigham Young *Ms.*, entry for May, 1849. The names of all the subordinate officers of the respective companies, etc., are given in detail in the above History, pp. 78-82.

19. *Americana* for September, 1912. This History ch. LXXIV. See also Liverpool Route, pp. 104-5.

20. Stansbury in his report, 1852 (Executive Document, No. 3) of these tribes says: “The native tribes with whom we came in contact in the valley were the most degraded and the lowest in the scale of being of any I had ever seen. They consisted of the “root-diggers,” a class of Indians which seemed to be composed of outcasts from their respective tribes, subsisting chiefly upon roots dug from the ground, and the seeds of various plants indigenous to the soil, which they grind into a kind of flour between two flat stones. Lizards and crickets also form a portion of their food. At certain seasons of the year they obtain, from the tributaries of both the Salt Lake and lake Utah, a considerable quantity of fish, which they take in weirs or traps, constructed of willow-bushes. Those that we saw were branches from the Shoshones or Snakes, and from the large and warlike tribe of Utahs, which latter inhabit a large tract of country to the southward. They are known among the traders by the designation of “snake-diggers,” and “Utes;” those of the latter tribe, which inhabit the vicinity of the lakes and streams and live chiefly on fish, being distinguished by the name of “Pah-Utahs,” or “Pah-Utes,”—the word Pah, in their language, signifying water.” (p. 148).



condescending to approach in any degree their level of life and manners, or by receiving them on terms of equality. "I am opposed to James Emmet's method of converting Indians," said President Young. When Emmett and Bishop Miller on the outward journey from the Missouri had come in contact with the Pawnee Indians about Loupe fork and thence went to the Running Water on the Missouri to winter with the Indians, in 1846-7, Emmett and his company never washed hands or faces for months, and in other things conformed to the Indian manner of life, a course which they supposed would win them favor with the Indians.<sup>21</sup>

Again, in a letter to Isaac Higbee under date of October 18, 1849, in reply to a communication detailing certain peace overtures just completed with the Indians in Utah valley, yet complaining of Indian thefts and intrusions, President Young, after cautioning the colonists at Fort Utah to make every provision against treacherous surprise, gave the colonists this instruction and reproof, which indicates his whole policy with respect to Whites and Indians:

"Stockade your fort and attend to your own affairs, and let the Indians take care of theirs. Let your women and children stay in the fort, and the Indians stay out; but, while you mix with them promiscuously, you must continue to receive such treatment from them which they please to give. This is what we have told you continually, and you will find it true.

"Let any man, or company of men be familiar with Indians, and they will be more familiar; and the more familiar, you will find the less influence you will have with them. If you would have dominion over them, for their good, which is the duty of the elders, you must not treat them as your equals. You cannot exalt them by this process. If they [consider that they] are your equals, you cannot raise them up to you.

"You have been too familiar with them, your children have mixed promiscuously with them, they have been free in your houses, and some of the brethren have spent too much time in smoking and chatting with them; and instead of teaching them to labor, such a course has encouraged them in idleness and ignorance, the effects of which you begin to feel.

"You must now rid yourselves of these evils the best way you can, by righting up everything and doing your first works, or probably what you would have done at first, if multiplied

21. Hist. Brigham Young Ms., May, 1845, pp. 76, 77.

cares had not rested upon you, as is common in all new settlements.

"A steady and upright and persevering course may yet restore or gain the confidence of the Indians, and you be safe."<sup>22</sup>

Brigham Young had no illusions respecting the Indians, and what might be expected of them from the Mormon point of view. "As for the old Indians now alive entering into the new and everlasting covenant," he remarked on one occasion, "they will not do it. \* \* How long does it take to train a white man? We have been training eighteen years; and how much longer an Indian? They will not be converted in many years."<sup>23</sup>

Naturally this necessary aloofness from the Indians—in such marked contrast to the course of the "trappers" and "pathfinders" with whom they had come in contact, while ultimately to result in the best good both of the white settler and the red man, led at first to estrangement of the Indians, thence to depredations on the part of the Indians against those whom they doubtless regarded as intruders, and so the early Indian wars.

I wish I might let all the cause of the Indian wars of Deseret rest upon these general grounds; but this may not be, with the evidence which lies before me. As one of the contributing causes to the outbreak of the Indians at Fort Utah in the winter of 1850, was the cowardly killing of a somewhat noted Indian called "Old Bishop," so-called, it is said, on account of his resemblance in looks and gestures to Bishop N. K. Whitney. Three men from Fort Utah met "Old Bishop" some distance from the fort wearing a shirt which one of the men claimed to be his and he demanded it. The Indian refused to give it up saying he had bought it. Whereupon a struggle ensued, between the white men and the Indian for possession of the shirt, and the latter to defend himself in the unequal struggle of three against one, drew his bow, when one of the white men shot him to death, and his body was thrown into the Provo river. The Indians on missing the somewhat noted character, became suspicious, instituted a search and found the body, and then began the depredations which led to the "Indian War" of the winter of 1850. While this murder

22. Hist. Brigham Young *Ms.*, 1849, p. 155.

23. Hist. Brigham Young *May*, 1849, pp. 76, 77.

seems to have been a matter of some talk among the colonists of Fort Utah, it did not come to the knowledge of President Young until June 12, 1854, when the facts were stated to him by James Bean, who, however, was not of the party of three guilty of the crime. Following the recital of the killing as given above, President Young comments: "These facts which were kept hid at the time, explain to me why my feelings were opposed to going to war with the Indians, [i. e. winter of 1850] to which I never consented until Brother Higbee (president at the time at Fort Utah) reported that all the settlers in Utah were of one mind in relation to it."<sup>24</sup>

The expeditions against the Indians under the authority of the state of Deseret were three in number. The first in February and March, 1849. Late in February a report reached the principal colony that Indians from Utah valley had run off fourteen head of horses from Tooele valley, some twenty miles west of Salt Lake City; and it was also reported that they had been stealing and killing cattle at other places. Whereupon Captain John Scott and forty men of the state militia started in pursuit. The small predatory band was located with the aid of a friendly Indian, the son of "Little Chief," a Ute, on a small stream where it emerges from the base of the Washatch mountains. The militia company divided into four parties and surrounded the Indian encampment during the night.

The fight next morning took place in the presence of chief "Stick-in-the-Head" and his band of Timpany Utes, who from a table land overlooking the scene of conflict shouted encouragement to the Indians, and themselves giving evidence of willingness to fight. Fortunately, however, this band did not attempt to assist the other Indians further than shouting encouragement and bidding them to come in their direction in their fight. Four of the Indian men of the thieving party were killed and their women and children, fourteen in all, were sent to their relatives among the Snake Indians.<sup>25</sup> The stream on which this

24. Hist. Brigham Young, *Ms.* (Addenda note in February) entry for 1850, pp. 17, 18.

25. Hist. of Brigham Young, *Ms.*, entry for February, 1849, pp. 24, 25. Others say the number of Indians killed was five, Whitney (Hist. Utah, Vol. 1, 423); he also says that Captain Scott's course was not approved. (Ibid) Tulledges account of this is so defective that he says "none were killed on either side," (Hist. Salt Lake City,—1886, p. 69).



incident took place was, from the foregoing circumstance, called "Battle Creek." The thriving town of Pleasant Grove now utilizes the stream for irrigation purposes.

In the summer of 1849, between the first and second Indian disturbance of this year, Walker, the Utah Indian chief, and twelve of his tribe held a notable interview with Brigham Young and other high church authorities at Salt Lake City.<sup>26</sup> The chief came to encourage more of his "Mormon brethren" to settle on what he called "his lands," further to the south, in San Pitch (San Pete) valley. Walker desired his white friends to settle Sevier valley, and in the region of "Little Salt Lake," a shallow sheet of salt water, about seven by one mile in width, some sixty miles south of Sevier Lake, and near the present towns of Parowan and Paragoonah. President Young promised the chief that he would send settlers among them in "six moons." President Young also told Walker that he had an understanding with "Goship" and "Wanship,"—Indian chiefs ranging in the mountains eastward of Salt Lake valley—"about this place," that is, about the settlement in Salt Lake valley. The talk was all for peace. "It is not good to fight the Indians;" said President Young. "Tell your Indians not to steal," he added, "We want to be friendly with you. We are poor now, but in a few years we shall be rich. We will trade cattle with you." To which Walker replied, "That's good."

The interview was quite protracted ranging over the subject of the Indians changing from depending on the uncertainty of the chase to the raising of cattle and sheep for their subsistence, the weaving of blankets from wool by the Indian women, schooling of Indian children, to fixing the terms of barter in articles between the red men and white, thence back to peace talk, during which Walker said: "It if not good to fight. It makes women

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26. The interview was preceded with the Indian ceremony of smoking the "Peace Pipe," and the interesting fact that very clearly established that these mountain tribes, as well as many other native American tribes, were "sun worshippers"; following is the evidence as related by President Young; "When Walker had filled his pipe [preceding the interview], he offered the Lord the first smoke, pointing the pipe and stepping towards the sun. Walker then smoked it and passed it round the ring [the smokers are always seated in a circle] by the right hand to Heber C. Kimball, who smoked. It was then passed by the left to me and the rest of the company, ending with the Indians." (*Hist. Brigham Young Ms.* June, 1849, p. 90). Huntington, the interpreter also explained at this time that the Indians "have more idea of God than I was aware of. Their tradition is that God cut a man in two—the upper part remained man, the lower part was made into woman." (*Ibid.*).



and children cry. But let the women and children play together. I told the PIEDS [a sub-tribe] a great while ago to stop fighting, and stealing, but they have no ears."<sup>27</sup>

Dimick B. Huntington was the interpreter in the above interview, though it is said of chief Walker that in addition to several of the native dialects, he could converse fluently in Spanish and make himself understood in English.<sup>28</sup> He was now in the prime of life, having been born, as nearly as the time can be ascertained, in 1808, and therefore about forty-one years of age at the time of the foregoing interview. His birthplace was on Spanish Fork river in Utah valley—"Pequi-nary-no-quint," was the Indian name of the stream, meaning "Stinking Creek;" the odor which the name suggests is occasioned by streams from warm sulphur springs flowing into the mountain brook in one of the canons through which it passes. Dimick B. Huntington, the interpreter in the above interview, is the authority for these and many other facts recounted of Walker's life, including an alleged vision of the chief's following a serious illness, about two years before the advent of the Mormon Pioneers, in which alleged vision he saw God who warned him of the coming of "white friends," and gave him a new name—"Pannacarra-Quinker" meaning "Iron twister."<sup>29</sup>

"Long before the advent of the Mormons," writes Bancroft, Walker, "anglicised from Walkara" (Whitney) and to which the whites also pre-fixed the English name "Joseph"—hence "Joseph Walker"—"made frequent raids into the Mexican states where he laid the people under contribution and took captive persons of rank and condition whom he held for ransom." On these expeditions he went forth decked out in a strange mixture of whitemen's modern clothing and the tawdry trappings of the savage.<sup>30</sup> Fremont met this Ute chief in Sevier valley in May, 1844, when the former was returning from California during his second expedition. Walker and his band of warriors, well armed and well mounted, "were journeying slowly towards the Spanish trail, to levy their usual tribute upon the great Cali-

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27. This interview took place on the 14th of June, 1849. (Hist. Brigham Young, *Ms.*, pp. 89-92).

28. Bancroft's Hist. of Utah, p. 473.

29. Liverpool Route—1855—pp. 104-5.

30. Bancroft's Hist. Utah, pp. 473-4.

fornian caravan. They were robbers of a higher sort than those of the desert. They conducted their depredations with form, and under the color of trade and toll for passing through their country. Instead of attacking and killing, they effect to purchase—taking the horses they liked and giving something nominal in return. The chief was quite civil to me. He was personally acquainted with his namesake, our guide, (Joseph Walker) who made my name known to him. He knew of my expedition of 1842; and, as tokens of friendship, and proof that we had met, proposed an interchange of presents. We had no great store to choose out of; so he gave me a Mexican blanket, and I gave him a very fine one which I had obtained at Vancouver.”<sup>31</sup>

Walker was baptized a member of the Church on the 13th of March, 1850. His brother Arapeen was also baptized, and later these two chiefs together with Sowiette, and Unhoquitch were ordained elders in the church, Brigham Young, Heber C. Kimball, Willard Richards and Elijah Ward, as interpreter, being present. The Presidency would, of course, ordain the chiefs.<sup>32</sup>

President Young strongly suspected James Bridger of being

31. Fremonts Report, p. 272

32. “Brother Morely [Isaac] had baptized Walker the Utah Chief, on the 13th (March, 1850). The settlers, notwithstanding their limited supply of provisions could not refrain from administering to the Indians, who would sometimes cry of hunger.” (Hist. of Brigham Young, *Ms.*, March, p. 25). For the account of the ordination see Hist. Brigham Young *Ms.* 9th of June, 1850, p. 50. The winter of 1849-50, in San Pete Valley, had been very severe, the settlers only being able to preserve the lives of their stock in some cases by shoveling the snow from the grass; and even then the little colony in San Pete lost 71 oxen; 38 cows; 3 horses and 14 head of young stock” (*Ibid*). As stated in the text, the facts of Walker’s life are given through the interpreter, Dimick B. Hunginton, who received them from the chief himself, and on the whole his report of the chief is sympathetic and favorable; that is, as Indian character is to be judged—and it should be remembered, that Indians may not be judged by the white man’s standards. Other accounts (see Tullidge and Whitney) represent Walker, though I know not on what authority, as cowardly, and disposed to be unfriendly and treacherously disposed toward the white settlers from the first; though it has to be admitted that the chief made a good end at his death, which took place on the 29th of January, 1855, at Meadow Creek, near Fillmore, (then the capital of the territory, with the legislature in session at the time). He died of a cold which had settled on his lungs. “He died,” says Huntington’s account, “with a good spirit, and spoke affectionately of President Young.” (*Liverpool Route*, p. 105). “Walker, prior to his death,” says Whitney, “became convinced that the Mormons were his friends, and among his final words was an injunction to his tribe to live at peace with the settlers and not molest them” (Hist. of Utah, Vol. I, p. 530). At his death, in accordance with their custom when a chief dies, “the Utahs killed 2 squaws, 2 Piede children, and about 15 of his best horses. \* \* \* He was buried with all his presents and trinkets, and a letter which he had received the previous day from President Young.” (*Liverpool Route*, p. 105). He was succeeded as chief by his brother, Arapeen, two years his junior, also a more daring leader than his brother, more passionate, and ungovernable.” (*Ibid*).

connected with the early Indian troubles. In May, 1849, he received a letter from Louis Vasques, a western trader and some time merchant in Salt Lake City, giving information of the killing of an Indian on Black's Fork of Green River, supposedly by white men from Salt Lake valley, and the prospect of an attack on Salt Lake settlements by the Bannock tribe in revenge.

The day following the reception of the letter, in a public meeting, the President said—in describing the meeting: "I expressed my conviction that Bridger and the other mountaineers were the real cause of the Indians being incensed against us if they were so."<sup>33</sup>

The second Indian outbreak and the consequent expedition sent against the natives under the authority of the state of Deseret, occurred in the winter of 1850. On the last day of January of that year, Isaac Higbee in person reported to the governor of the state of Deseret, that the Indians in Utah valley had killed and stolen between fifty and sixty head of cattle and horses; that they were impudent and threatened to kill more cattle and get more Indians to join them and help to kill the settlers in Utah valley. They taunted the colonists with cowardice because they would not fight. Higbee represented that the brethren at Fort Utah were agreed in asking the privilege of defending themselves and chastising the Indians.<sup>34</sup>

On this subject of making war upon the Indians President Young manifested much reluctance, the psychological reasons for which have already been given.<sup>35</sup> A council was called to consider the matter, to which Captain Howard Stansbury and Lieutenant Gunnison, were invited. These United States officers and their corps of engineers had been engaged during the late fall in surveying Utah Lake, and had suffered much annoyance from the petty thieving of these same Indians.<sup>36</sup> Speaking of

33. Hist. Brigham Young, *Ms.*, May 13th, 1849, pp. 76, 77.

34. Hist. Brigham Young, *Ms.*, 31st January, 1850, p. 17.

35. "Old Bishop" had been murdered early in January, and the bad conduct of the Indians in the latter part of the month, seeking to bring about hostilities was doubtless in consonance with their traditions bearing upon the duty of revenge.

36. Following is the captain's own account of these annoyances: "While engaged in the survey of the Utah valley, we were no little annoyed by numbers of the latter tribe, who hung around the camp, crowding around the cook-fires, more like hungry dogs than human beings, eagerly watching for the least scrap that might be thrown away, which they devoured with avidity and without the least preparation. The herdsmen also complained that their cattle were frequently



this council to which he was invited Captain Stansbury writes:

“The president [Young] was at first extremely averse to the adoption of harsh measures; but, after several conciliatory overtures had been resorted to in vain, he very properly determined to put a stop, by force, to further aggressions, which, if not resisted, could only end in the total destruction of the colony. Before going to this decision, the authorities called upon me to consult as to the policy of the measure, and to request the expression of my opinion as to what view the government of the United States might be expected to take of it. Knowing, as I did, most of the circumstances, and feeling convinced that some action of the kind would ultimately have to be resorted to, as the forbearance already shown had been only attributed to weakness and cowardice, and had served but to encourage further and bolder outrages, I did not hesitate to say to them that, in my judgment, the contemplated expedition against these savage marauders was a measure not only of good policy, but one of absolute necessity and self-preservation. I knew the leader of the Indians (Old Elk) to be a crafty and blood-thirsty savage, who had been already guilty of several murders, and had openly threatened that he would kill every white man that he found alone upon the prairies. In addition to this, I was convinced that the completion of the yet unfinished survey of the Utah valley, the coming season, must otherwise be attended with serious difficulty, if not actual hazard, and would involve the necessity of a largely increased and armed escort for its protection. Such being the circumstances, the course proposed could not but meet my entire approval.

“A force of one hundred men was accordingly organized, and, upon the application of President Young, leave was given to Lieutenant Howland, of the mounted rifles, then on duty with my command, to accompany the expedition as its adjutant: such

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scattered, and that notwithstanding their utmost vigilance, several of them had unaccountably disappeared and were lost. One morning, a fine fat ox came into camp with an arrow buried in his side, which perfectly accounted for the disappearance of the others.

“After the party left Lake Utah for winter quarters in Salt Lake City, the Indians became more insolent, boasting of what they had done—driving off the stock of the inhabitants in the southern settlements, resisting all attempts to recover them, and finally firing upon the people themselves, as they issued from their little stockade to attend to their ordinary occupations. Under these circumstances the settlers in Utah valley applied to the supreme government, at Salt Lake City, for counsel as to the proper course of action.” (Report, p. 148).

Gunnison reports on the same subject: “In the winter of 1849 they [the Indians] became insolent in Utah valley, killed cattle and boasted of it, entered houses and frightened women and children, took provisions forcibly, and compelled those on the farms to retire within the fort. Complaints of these things were sent to headquarters, and after all peaceable overtures were disregarded, the Utah war was resolved upon.” (Gunnison’s “The Mormons,” p. 146).



assistance also was furnished as it was in my power to afford, consisting of arms, tents, camp-equipage, and ammunition.”<sup>37</sup>

The force to undertake this service was made up of volunteers; the first companies raised marching for Utah valley under command of Captain George D. Grant, but overtaken by the rest of the force under Major Andrew Lytle before arriving at Fort Utah. The united forces from Salt Lake and at Fort Utah, engaged the Indians on the Provo river near Fort Utah, where they had constructed some rude breast works in the river bottom from trees they had felled, and they also occupied a settlers recently abandoned, double log house near their breast works. The Indians were led by “Old Elk,” whom, as we have seen from Stansbury’s Report, had declared his murderous intentions towards the whites; and by chief “Opecarry”—also known as “Stick-in-the-Head.”<sup>38</sup> The natives engaged—most of their women and children being concealed in the ravines and nearby canons—nearly equaled the whites in numbers, and offered a stubborn and brave resistance. On the second day of the fighting, the log house the Indians had occupied, greatly to the annoyance and danger of the assailants, was carried by a cavalry charge, highly commended by Lieutenant Howland. The Indians then dividing into several parties sought safety in flight to the canons on the east and around the south end of Utah Lake. Of the state militia, one was killed, the son of Isaac Higbee, the president of the settlements in Utah valley; several more were wounded and a number of horses were killed and wounded in the charge upon the log house, to which reference has already been made. The Indians left eight of their dead in their redoubt, but took their wounded with them in their retreat. “Old Elk” was found dead on the trail up Rock Canon, directly east of the scene of the engagement, and where a day or two later, among a few sick survivors, were found eight or ten more who had died of

37. Stansbury’s Report, pp. 149-150. See also Gunnison quoted in note 29.

38. Gunnison also refers to this old chief as “the terror of the mountains.” “He had long boasted that no single person or tapper could live with him in the valley, and numbers are supposed to have fallen under his rifle.” Gunnison’s “The Mormons,” p. 147).

39. He is called Stick-on-the-Head. (Whitney’s Utah, Vol. I, p. 427); I follow the Ms. history of Brigham Young where the orthography is as in the text above. He is also said to have desired, in this instance, peace, and had come out of the Indian redoubt to confer with the interpreter, Huntington, to that end, when the Indians began firing, and the battle was on.” (Whitney, *Ibid.*).

wounds, exhaustion and measles, which disease was then prevalent among the natives.

On the 10th of February, Daniel H. Wells, the commander-in-chief of the state's military forces, arrived on the scene and took command. Sending a small force to follow the refugees up Rock Canon—what they found has already been stated—he moved with his main force to Spanish Fork river where it was reported there was an encampment of the hostiles. Not finding the Indians on the Spanish Fork, General Wells moved round the south end of Utah Lake, and at Promontory Point—sometimes called "Table Mountain"—on the 14th, he overtook a large party of the hostiles, and nearly all—"except the women and children, all of whom were spared"<sup>40</sup>—were killed, including a number who in their flight ran out upon the ice which then nearly covered the lake. About forty of the natives, in all had been killed, and the women and children of the fallen, according to the custom of the natives, followed the victors and were distributed among the settlers at Salt Lake, where an attempt was made to wean them from their savage ways of life, and bring them up "in the habits of civilized and Christian life." The experiment did not succeed, most of the prisoners escaping upon the very first opportunity.<sup>41</sup>

The horses taken from the defeated Utahs, by unanimous vote of the volunteers in the service, were given to the band of Indians at Salt Lake; and Daniel H. Wells made a verbal report of the expedition to the general legislative assembly then in session.<sup>42</sup> Some years later, 1868, to be exact, General Wells reported in a special meeting of the brethren of the church, that twenty-seven Indians were killed at "Table Mountain."<sup>43</sup>

Peace followed this vigorous treatment of the natives, of course; but doubtless, if the true cause of the Indians' anger, distrust of the settlers, and the provocation for hostilities had been known to Brigham Young and his brethren, this sad page in the history of the state of Deseret would not, perforce, have been written.

The third expedition against Indians under the authority of

40. Hist. of Brigham Young *Ms.*, entry for Feb., 1850, p. 22.

41. Stansbury's Report, p. 149.

42. Hist. of Brigham Young *Ms.*, Feb., 1850, pp. 22, 23.

43. See addenda note Hist. Brigham Young, Feb., 1850, p. 22.

the state of Deseret was to the northward, the Shoshones or Snakes being the cause of the alarm. The trouble arose in the month of September, 1850. As reported in the *Deseret News*, the treatment of these Indians by the emigrants of 1849, and later the killing of two Shoshone women by travelers, "as we are creditably informed, from Illinois," says the "*News*" article, had wrought a very marked change in their disposition towards the white settlers in the Salt Lake region, than was at first manifested. They had become predatory in their actions and in the northern settlements on the Weber and Ogden rivers had taken to pasturing their horses in the grain fields, stealing corn and melons, running off cattle, stealing horses, etc., etc., until their actions had become insufferable. In one of the Indian night raids upon the gardens in Brownsville [i. e. Ogden], a settler of the name of Urban Van Stewart, fired upon them and killed an Indian, said to be a petty chief. The next day the Indians in retaliation killed a man of the name of Campbell, some distance from the settlement on the north bank of Ogden River, and threatened to massacre the inhabitants of Brownsville, and burn the place. The matter was reported at Salt Lake and a detachment of the state militia was dispatched under command of Horace S. Eldridge, with instructions to "stand on the defensive." Upon this show of force and promptness of action the Shoshones moved northward, taking with them some horses and cattle belonging to the settlement. A band of Ute Indians from the south were near Brownsville and to make sure of their non-interference if a battle took place, a number of them, without resistance, were taken prisoners and held as hostages for the good behavior of the band who were ordered to move south to their own lands, and have nothing further to do with the future movements of the Shoshones—orders which they obeyed. The predatory band of Shoshones moved so far northward that fear of further hostilities no longer existed, and after about a week's absence from Salt Lake, the militia under Eldridge returned.

And this is the sum of the Indian uprisings and troubles under the dominion of the state of Deseret.

The expansion of settlements under the state of Deseret's regime was remarkable. The first settlement after Salt Lake City—the first of many daughters to the queen city by Amer-



ica's Great Salt Sea—was on the site of the little town of Centerville, where Thomas Grover, in the fall of 1847, settled with his family, to care for stock through the winter; and where early in the spring following he was joined by other families, and a permanent settlement was formed, notwithstanding it seemed to be the winter rendezvous of several bands of Indians.

The same fall a few families under the leadership of Hector C. Haight, settled on a creek about eight miles north and westward from Grover's point of settlement, on a stream afterwards known as Haight's Creek. His purpose was to winter cattle on the bottoms of the creek. The town of Kaysville afterwards was founded a few miles to the northeast of Haight's encampment, on what was called at first, "Sandy Creek," but later "Kay's Creek," after William Kay, who in company with Edward Philips and John H. Green settled there in the spring of 1850. In September following the settlers were organized into an ecclesiastical ward, with William Kay as the bishop, and the settlement took its name, Kaysville, from its first bishop.

In the Spring of 1848, "Sessions' Settlement," about nine miles north of Salt Lake City was begun, by the removal of Peregrine Sessions and several families to the fertile lands bordering on, and lying between the several streams that enter the valley from the mountain gorges on the east, now called Bountiful.<sup>44</sup>

In the early summer of 1848 the Goodyear claim to a tract of land at the mouth of Weber canon, said to be twenty miles square, was purchased by Captain James Brown, of Mormon battalion fame, for the sum of \$1,950.00, "cash down." Captain Brown made the purchase "by advice of the council," says Brigham Young.<sup>45</sup> The tract is specifically described as com-

44. The settlement was known by various names during the first years of its existence—"Session's Settlement," "Call's Fort," after Anson Call, one of the early settlers; but when organized into an ecclesiastical subdivision of the church, and given a bishop, it was called "North Canon Ward," but finally settled to "Bountiful," a Book of Mormon name for one of the old Nephite cities, supposed to be near "the narrow neck of land" that separates North and South America. (Book of Mormon, *passim*).

45. In the price paid for the Goodyear claim, I follow the statement of Brigham Young, in his *Hist. Ms.*, March, 1848, p. 16. The same for the statement that Brown made the purchase by "advice of the council." (*Ibid.*). Others place the price at \$3,000.00 (Whitney's History of Utah, Vol. I, p. 375. Bancroft's Utah, p. 307, note 4). There is some confusion as to the time of the purchase; June 6th, 1848, is the time fixed upon by Jensen's Chronology,—1899—p. 35) Whitney following Brown's family tradition places the purchase late in December, 1847, or early in January, 1848, and the return of Captain Brown from California in De-



mencing at the mouth of Weber canon, thence following the base of the Washatch mountains north to the hot springs; thence westward to the shores of the Salt Lake; along the shore southward to a point opposite Weber canon; thence eastward to the point of beginning.<sup>46</sup> Goodyear was supposed to have held this tract of land on which Ogden City now stands, and within the boundaries of which claim the junction was finally formed between the two branches of the first transcontinental railway, the Union Pacific and the Central Pacific, in 1869. Goodyear's title, however, amounted to no more than a squatter's claim, as there were evidently no Mexican grants of land in the eastern and northern parts of the territory ceded to the United States by Mexico that rested upon any clearly valid evidence of title from Mexico; and the government of the United States, in subsequent years, refused to recognize the validity of the so-called Mexican grant of Goodyear's, and insisted that title inhered in the government of the United States alone, and that by virtue of the cession of the territory to the United States.<sup>47</sup>

As a squatter's claim, Goodyear's boundaries were ridiculous because of their extent; but whatever his rights were, they were purchased, as detailed above, and James Brown and his family, with a brother Chilton Brown, Mr. Myers, Mr. Thurlkill—of the Mississippi company of Saints,—and their families moved to the Goodyear purchase. It was the Mormon battalion money that was paid to Mr. Brown in California that enabled the colonists under instruction of their council to make this important purchase.

Ogden City, taking its name from the river of the same name, after Salt Lake City, soon became one of the largest and most prosperous colonies of the Latterday Saints. Before the end of

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cember, 1848; whereas President Young places the date of the captain's return, "about the middle of November," that he brought with him "about five thousand dollars, mostly in gold: (others say \$10,000 in Mexican doubloons). He was gone three months and seven days." (*Hist. Brigham Young, Ms. March, 1849, p. 16*).

46. Bancroft's *Utah*, p. 307, note 3; he cites Stanford's "Ogden City," *Ms.*, p. 1 and Richards F. D.—*Narrative Ms.* Both are very reliable sources of information.

47. President Young had a similar experience in purchasing, through Lewis Robinson, a tract of land thirty miles square of James Bridger, in 1853, on which Fort Bridger stood. As the price \$8,000 was agreed upon. (See Bancroft's *History of Wyoming*, p. 684 and note. Bancroft cites *Hist. Fort Bridger*, by Chambers, *Ms.*; also *Trans. Wyom. Acad. Sciences*, 81-2, and *Utah Hand Book of Reference*, p. 73). He thinks the statement about the purchase was a "mistake," "as there were no Spanish (i. e. Mexican) grants in that region." (*Ibid.*).

the first year of its existence as a settlement, a substantial log structure was completed for combined use as a school house and meeting house, and a place for social community functions. The site for the present city between the Weber and Ogden rivers was chosen by Brigham Young on the 3rd of September, 1849.<sup>48</sup> Soon afterwards the colony began the building of a wall about their town, as a protection against the Indians,<sup>49</sup> and by 1851, the settlement had so increased in numbers that it was divided into two ecclesiastical wards, and organized into a stake of Zion, with Lorin Farr as president and R. Dana, and David B. Dillie as his counselors.<sup>50</sup> On the 6th of February following the city was incorporated by act of the legislature of Deseret.

In 1851 a settlement was formed on Box Elder creek, about fourteen miles north of Ogden, by Simeon A. Carter. A number of Welsh and Scandinavian emigrants joined him, and near this settlement a town site was surveyed that became "Brigham City." This gathering on Box Elder creek marked the most northerly settlement founded during the existence of the state of Deseret.

On the 17th of March, 1849, a company of thirty men organized for the purpose of settling in Utah valley. John S. Higbee was chosen president; and Isaac Higbee his brother, and Dimick B. Huntington were chosen counselors.<sup>51</sup> In April they were reported to be settled in Utah valley on the Provo river, about two miles northwest of the present site of the city of Provo, where in the months of April and May, under instructions from President Young, they built a fort, mounted cannon, and were watchful of the Indians who gathered in large numbers about the settlements, but appeared friendly, though from Fort Bridger came warnings of threatened uprisings.<sup>52</sup>

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48. Hist. of Brigham Young, *Ms.*, 1849, p. 124.

49. It required three years to complete it; its cost, when finished was \$40,000, raised by taxation. Stanford's *Ogden City*, p. 4.

50. History of Brigham Young *Ms.* 1851, p. 4. The organization was effected on the 20th of January. Isaac Clark and Erastus Bingham were made the bishops of the first and second wards, respectively.

51. Hist. of Brigham Young, March, 1849, *Ms.*; p. 40. John S. Higbee retained the presidency of these settlers only about 2 months, being released at his own request, on account of his family remaining in Salt Lake City. He was succeeded by his brother, Isaac Higbee, in May, *Ibid.*, pp. 83-4.

52. Speaking of these reported threats of Indian uprisings President Young says: "I forwarded the above information to John S. Higbee and the brethren set-

About the middle of September Fort Utah was visited by the First Presidency of the church and other leading elders. A site for a city was selected, "about two miles southeast of Fort Utah"—the present site of Provo.<sup>53</sup> The city was incorporated on the 6th of February, 1851. In March of the same year it was organized as a stake of Zion.<sup>54</sup>

At the conclusion of the Indian difficulties, already detailed, settlements sprang up very rapidly in Utah valley, and before the state of Deseret ceased to exist, the settlements of Battle Creek, since known as Pleasant Grove; American Fork; Evansville, afterwards called Lehi; Springville, and Payson were all founded.<sup>55</sup>

Twenty miles south of the last named settlement, in a neighboring valley, on a stream called "Salt Creek," because in part fed by salt springs in a canon through which it ran, a settlement was formed in 1851, which developed into the county seat of Juab county and was called "Nephi," the Book of Mormon name for an ancient American city. The modern "Nephi" was on the southern route to California. Joseph L. Heywood was the leading spirit in founding the settlement. A town was regularly laid out into lots, and before the close of the year 1851, twenty-three cabins were built, chiefly of willows and mud. Brigham Young had directed the founders to begin the settlement by building a fort, but this was neglected.<sup>56</sup>

In October, 1849, a company of brethren under the leadership of Isaac Morely left the Salt Lake colony to settle in San Pete valley, sometimes called San Pitch valley—variations of the same name, borne by a Utah Indian chief in that region. The

tled on the Provo river, advising them to speedily complete their fort, to keep near the settlement, to place their cannon on the top of the fort, to gather a sufficient quantity of round stones, for grape shot, to secure and guard their horses and cattle, to keep a vigilant guard at night, to look out for the Indians, not to make presents to them, but if they would be friendly to teach them to raise grain and to order them to quit stealing." *Hist. Ms.*, April, 1849, pp. 67, 68.

53. "It was decided to build a city a mile square," is President Young's account, "in blocks of four acres each, divided into lots of one-half acre each, reserving the centre block of four acres for the site of a chapel and for school houses, the streets to be five rods wide." (*Hist. of Brigham Young, Ms.*, Sept. 14, 1849, p. 133).

54. *Hist. Brigham Young, Ms.*, March 19, 1851, p. 12, Isaac Higbee was made the President, Elias H. Blackburn was ordained the Bishop.

55. See *Hist. Brigham Young Ms.*, for years 1849-1851, *passim*; and *Church Chronology—Jensen—for 1850, 1851,—passim.*

56. Bancroft *Hist. of Utah*, p. 313, *Hist. of Brigham Young Ms.*, 1851, p. 138.



sending of this colony to San Pete was in fulfillment of the promise made to Walker, the Utah chief, that settlers would be sent into his country in "six moons" or "maybe sooner," from the time of the peace smoke in June, to teach his people the white-mans ways of living.<sup>57</sup> The place of location was about one hundred miles south of Salt Lake City, and certainly was a bold step in colonization, since it was so far removed from the main colony, and in the very heart of the Indian country, and among the most war-like bands of the Utahs.<sup>58</sup> The settlement was visited by President Brigham Young in August, 1850, when the site for a city was selected and surveyed by William Lemon. The plat shows 110 blocks, each 26 rods square, the streets six rods wide,<sup>59</sup> The town thus laid out was named Manti, a Book of Mormon name for an ancient Nephite city.<sup>60</sup> The city was given a charter of incorporation on the 6th of February, 1851, by act of the legislature of Deseret.<sup>61</sup> Other prosperous settlements soon sprang up in other parts of the San Pete valley.

In December, 1850, a company which numbered 118 men, in which there were thirty families, with 101 wagons, left the Salt Lake Colony for "Little Salt Lake Valley," to make a settlement. This in further fulfillment of the promise made to Walker, the Utah Chief, that settlers would be sent to his country. The party was under the leadership of George A. Smith, cousin of the Prophet Joseph Smith, and a very practical, sturdy character, hence forth active and prominent in nearly all the colonizing movements in southern Utah.<sup>62</sup>

57. See Interview with Walker Hist. of Brigham Young, *Ms.*, June 14, 1849, pp. 89-92.

58. Moreley's company numbered 224 souls, and they arrived at their place of settlement the 22nd of November, 1849. At first the settlers were not very well pleased with the location; but as they became acquainted with the timber, water, and grazing resources they became better satisfied (Hist. Brigham Young, *Ms.*, November, 1849, p. 161). In President Young's first mention of Moreley's company of settlers for San Pete Valley, he mentions it as consisting of "about thirty brethren," (*Ibid.*, p. 159). The company was afterwards enlarged, and in the company of 224, women and children were counted as well as men. Bancroft twice states that Moreley settled San Pete County in 1848. (His. Utah, p. 303 and 313), which is beyond question a mistake.

59. Hist. of Brigham Young, *Ms.*, August, 1850; p. 62. Bancroft says the town of Manti was laid out in November, 1850, and that it was surveyed by Jesse W. Fox. His authorities are Utah's *Early Records, Ms.* and Maiben, in Utah sketches *Ms.* I follow President Young as the more reliable authority.

60. See Book of Alma, in Book of Mormon,—*passim*.

61. See Acts of Deseret in Utah legislature proceedings, 1855, pp. 81-83.

62. George Albert Smith was the son of John Smith, a younger brother of



The company of settlers arrived in Little Salt Lake valley, over 200 miles south of Salt Lake City, on the 13th of January, 1851, and settled on a mountain stream "about three yards wide, one foot deep, with rapid current, and gravel bottom and banks;" afterwards called "Centre Creek." The first site of the settlement, after thorough exploration of the surrounding country, was made permanent, and named Parowan, after a Utah Indian chief of the vicinity. The settlers were welcomed by chief Peteeneet and his people, a miserable tribe known as "Piedes,"<sup>63</sup> who expressed themselves as pleased that the brethren were settling in their valley. Peteeneet said his tribes owned the country—a declaration afterwards confirmed by Chief Walker. The pipe of peace was smoked by the Indians and whites.

Canarra, another Piede chief, having first sent in one of his braves to ascertain if it would be safe for him to venture into the settlers' camp, paid them a visit. "His apparel consisted of a pair of moccasins, short leggings, and a kind of small cloak made of rabbit-skins. He was tall and stately in appearance, though apparently suffering from hunger. His followers were not as well dressed, being, really, specimens of humanity in its most degraded form."<sup>64</sup>

In March chiefs Walker and Peteeneet and about seventy braves visited the settlement and smoked the peace pipe with President George A. Smith. Walker was very friendly and expressed the desire to build a house and teach his children to work.

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the Prophet's father. His mother was Clarissa Lyman Smith. He was born June 26th, 1817, in Potsdam, St. Lawrence county, and reared in the faith of the congregational church, but was early converted to the divine mission of his cousin Joseph, the Prophet, and gave his energies to the promulgation of the new dispensation of the gospel. He was in his 34th year when he took the leadership of this colony bound for Little Salt Lake valley. Later, from 1868 to 1875, he was counselor to Brigham Young in the First Presidency, and church historian and recorder from 1854 to the time of his death, September 1st, 1875.

63. "They possessed scarcely a horse, and were compelled to travel on foot. Their houses consisted of a few boughs of sagebrush or stunted greasewood, laid up in a manner to break the force of the wind, and were seldom over five feet high. In storms they would sometimes go for shelter among the cedars. They built very small fires, being too lazy to get much fuel. They were armed with short bows. Some of their arrow points were made of greasewood, others of flint. The chiefs were of iron, and not more than an inch and a quarter long. Not having weapons appropriate for killing the few deer in the mountains, the Piedes lived principally on rabbits, snakes, lizards, mice, etc., and even this kind of game appeared scarce." (*Hist. Brigham Young, Ms.*, January, 1851, pp. 2, 3).

64. *Hist. Brigham Young, Ms.*, Jan. 1851, p. 2.

He represented that he had visited all the Indian bands in the surrounding country and advised them to be friendly with the colonists, and not disturb even a brute belonging to them. The object of his visit was to exchange horses for cattle as his people were in need of beef. Walker made known his intention of making a raid into California, but President Smith persuaded him not to go, warning him of the likelihood of coming in contact with United States troops.<sup>65</sup>

In the first year the settlers built a fort, at Parowan, inclosing a stockade for their cattle and horses, and on the bastions of the fort placed their cannon in such manner as to command two sides of the fort.<sup>66</sup> Later other settlements sprang up in Little Salt Lake valley,<sup>67</sup> but Parowan marked the southern limits of the settlements founded during the actual existence of the state of Deseret.

In May, 1851, the settlement was visited by Brigham Young and a party of Church leaders. They were met some distance from the Centre Creek settlement by a large company of horsemen and escorted into the fort, amid the salute of cannons and the rejoicing of the people. Public meetings were held through three successive days—11th, 12th, and 13th of May. The counsel of President Young to these settlers was of unusual interest, and is thus recorded by himself:

“I spoke upon the importance of the Iron county mission and the advantages of the brethren fulfilling it. I advised them to buy up the Lamanite children as fast as they could, and educate

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65. Walker had “previously sent a party of about thirteen warriors, led by San Pete, to California, to steal animals. The party succeeded in taking about 800 or 1000 horses, but the Mexicans pursued them for two or three days and overtook them. A battle ensued, in which one of Lugos’ peons was killed, but his companions recovered all except 120 of the animals. Walker felt poor, as he had expected to get one thousand horses, having been accustomed to do so in such forays. He thought that if he had gone himself, he would have done better, and intimated that San Pete was not a good general. Walker talked of going on another expedition, but Geo. A. Smith persuaded him not to go, as the U. S. soldiers in that country would be likely to scalp him. San Pete and his party stated that in California they met Mr. Williams, of Williams’s rancho, who gave them beef and agreed to keep their presence in the county a secret, provided they would not run off his stock. San Pete’s party rested several days at Williams’s and then went to Lugos’ corral, and stole his animals.” (Hist. Brigham Young, March, 1851, pp. 10, 11).

66. *Ibid.*, p. 38.

67. “Little Salt Lake” lying some several miles northwesterly from Parowan, the Indians, called “Paragoona”—i. e. “stinking water,” Hist. Brigham Young, *Ms.* 1851, p. 3.

them, and teach them the gospel, so that not many generations would pass ere they would become a white and delightsome people, and said that the Lord could not have devised a better plan than to have put us where we were, in order to accomplish that thing. I knew the Indians would dwindle away, but let a remnant of the seed of Joseph be saved. I told the brethren to have the logs or pickets of their fort so close that the Indians could not shoot arrows through. I recommended the adoption of the Indian name Parowan for the city.”<sup>68</sup>

Parowan became one of the five incorporated cities under charters enacted by the general assembly of the state of Deseret, February 6th, 1851.

The most westerly settlement founded during the existence of the state of Deseret was Tooele City, in the valley immediately west of the valley of the Utah outlet, about twenty-five miles southwesterly from Salt Lake City, and reached from the latter place *via* the southern shore of the Great Salt Lake, there turning the point of the mountain range into the valley of “tule,” or bulrushes, from which the settlement took its name; but the word “tule,” being misspelled by President Young’s secretary, Thomas Bullock, it is written “Tooele,” in our annals and maps, and has passed into common acceptance. It was first settled by John Rowberry and Cyrus Tolman in the autumn of 1849.

It has already been noted that seven counties had been organized in the state, extending from Weber in the north to Iron county in the south. Explorations of the country, however, had extended far beyond this organized territory. As early as the summer of 1847 Cache valley had been explored and reported upon as an available stock range; well watered and of rich soil.<sup>69</sup> In November, 1849, a southern exploring company of about fifty persons was commissioned by the governor and legislative assembly of Deseret and organized with Parley P. Pratt as leader, to explore the southern country. The purpose of the expedition was to pass over the southern “rim of the Great Basin,” to be-

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68. Hist. Brigham Young Ms. 1851, p. 46. President Young also mentions as an item of interest the following: “While I was at Parowan, brothers Bringhurst and Frost welded an axle-tree which was the first blacksmith work done with stone coal in the territory. The coal was considered of very good quality.

69. *Ante* this History, ch. LXXIV.



come acquainted with the character of the country beyond, and ascertain its availability as a place for settlement.<sup>70</sup> The explorers reached Manti early in December, thence followed up the Sevier river to the point where it issued through an impassable canon; from which point the party explored a road through the mountains westerly to Little Salt Lake valley. The task occupied five days. Here the company divided, part remaining in Little Salt Lake valley to recruit the worn out oxen and make local explorations in the region, while the other division with the horses and mules continued the expedition southward. Thirty remained in the Little Salt Lake region, under the leadership of David Fulmer, while Elder Pratt with nineteen others continued the southern journey. Three hundred and eleven miles from Salt Lake they passed over the "rim of the Basin;" and by a rapid descent reached the Rio Virgin. "Southwardly for about eighty miles" they had come through "a wide expanse of chaotic matter; huge hills, high sandy deserts, grassless, waterless plains, perpendicular rocks, loose, barren clay and dissolving beds of sandstone; in short, through a country in ruins, dissolved by the pelting storms of ages, or turned in-side-out, or upside down by terrible convulsions."<sup>71</sup>

The company traveled down Rio Virgin, whose bottoms expanded to about a mile in width, the soil being loose, sandy, fertile, and easily irrigated, to the mouth of Rio Santa Clara. At this point, though in the mid winter season (January), the climate was like that of early spring, the buds of the trees were swelling and new grass springing fresh to life, the days were warm with occasional showers.

The exploring party began its return from this point, passing up the Santa Clara stream, followed by shy bands of Indians, prompted apparently by idle curiosity concerning their strange

70. Parley P. Pratt was president, and W. W. Phelps and David Fullmer his counselors. They adhered to the old organization of the plains "fifties," "tens," etc., though men, not wagons, in this instance were the units of the divisions. Elder John Brown was captain of the 50: Isaac C. Haight, Joseph Matthews, Joseph Horne, Ephriam Green, and Josiah Arnold, captains of tens; W. W. Phelps was topographical engineer, and Robert L. Campbell, clerk and historian. The company had 12 wagons, 1 carriage; 24 yoke of cattle, 38 horses and mules, an odometer to measure distances, one brass field piece, small arms, 7 beeves, also 150 lbs. of flour to each man, besides crackers, bread and meat. (*Hist. Brigham Young, Ms., Nov., 1849, pp. 160-1*).

71. Pratt's Report *Hist. Brigham Young Ms., 1850, pp. 8, 9.*



visitors; and who, as fear gave way before assurances of friendship, invited the white men to come and settle among them. Passing over the "rim of the Basin" on the return journey, the explorers came upon Captain Hunt's California road, then passed through the valley subsequently known as "Mountain Meadows"—of sad and painful memory—and rejoined the other division of the exploring expedition in Little Salt Lake Valley.<sup>72</sup> The reunited party started upon the return journey to Salt Lake Valley; where, after experiencing great suffering from the severity of the cold and the snow storms encountered, they arrived in scattering groups during February and March.<sup>73</sup>

Thus from the angle of territory formed by the juncture of the Rio Virgin,—flowing southwesterly—with Rio Santa Clara—flowing southwesterly—the present site of St. George, in the extreme southwesterly part of the state of Utah, to Bear river in the north, a distance of 350 miles in extent, was the intermountain country explored under the authority of the state of Deseret.<sup>74</sup>

The line of settlements described in this chapter, extending almost due north and south for an extent of two hundred and fifty miles, had a population, when the state of Deseret went out of existence, of about 15,000;<sup>75</sup> and if all the circumstances of

72. Fullers division had explored Little Salt Lake and found what Walker calls "God's Own House," in a canon of perpendicular rocks, penetrated by a branch of Little Salt Lake, and covered with hieroglyphics or strange figures cut on the rocks. Further west they found some good land and a small lake, separated from Little Salt Lake by a low mountain range; they had also explored the valley of the Muddy, and found iron ore; in the canons they found abundance of pine timber, also quarries of free stone, plaster paris, and lime stone. (Hist. Brigham Young, *Ms.*, 1849, p. 10).

73. Pratt's Report, in Hist. Brigham Young, *Ms.*, 1850, pp. 4-17. Also Pratt's Autobiography, ch. XLVI.

74. "I now (November) received a commission," writes Parley P. Pratt in his Autobiography, "from the Governor and legislative assembly of the state of Deseret to raise fifty men with the necessary teams and outfit, and go at their head on an exploring tour to the southward," (p. 408), then follows his narrative of the journey of the text above.

75. The number of inhabitants can only be approximately stated because of the confusion in our data. Brigham Young in writing to Amasa M. Lyman in California anent the proposed state to be formed by the union of Deseret and California, places the number then in the Salt Lake valley, Sept. 6th, 1849, and *en route* westward from the South Pass, "at 15,000." (Hist. Brigham Young, *Ms.*, Sept., 1849, p. 129). According to Captain Burton a Mr. Kelley, in 1849, estimated the Mormons to be about 5,000 inhabitants in the town, and 7,000 more in the settlements." (Burton's "City of the Saints," p. 294). "In 1850 the seventh official census of the United States numbered the inhabitants of Utah territory at 11,354 free + 26 slaves = 11,380 souls." (*Ibid.*). The estimate of 15,000 for 1849 I think too large, but with the government's enumeration, at between eleven and

the planting of these colonies be taken into account—the length of the initial journey from Winter Quarters to Salt Lake valley, which all had to make—the poverty of the people—the distance of some of the settlements from the principal colony—the precarious bases of supplies—the uncertain temper of the Indian tribes—the multiplied burdens of irrigated farming—all these combine to make the planting of these mountain colonies within the first four years from the arrival of Brigham Young in Salt Lake valley, the most remarkable colonizing achievement of modern times. Doubtless one of the greatest contributing causes

twelve thousand in 1850, by the fall of 1851 there is little doubt but the number would be 15,000 as stated in the text. While on this subject of early population of Utah and of the Church, the following compilation from Burton is of interest and of value: "In 1853 the Saints were reckoned at 25,000 by the Gentiles, and 30,000 to 35,000 by Mr. Orson Pratt, in the "Seer." In 1854 Dr. S. W. Richards estimated the number at "probably from 40,000 to 50,000" in the United States, and in Great Britain at 29,797. In 1856 the Mormon census gave 76,335, souls. I subjoin a synopsis of the official papers:

"The following is a condensed report of the enumeration of the inhabitants of Utah territory, taken February, 1856:

Counties.		Males.	Females.	Total.
Great Salt Lake County.....		12,730	13,074	25,804
Utah	"	6,951	7,614	14,565
Davis	"	4,765	4,575	9,340
Weber	"	3,486	3,585	7,071
Iron	"	2,474	2,943	5,417
Tooele	"	1,315	1,673	2,988
San Pete	"	1,110	1,133	2,243
Juab	"	807	1,034	1,841
Box Elder	"	822	717	1,539
Washington	"	742	778	1,520
Millard	"	544	512	1,056
Green River	"	394	345	739
Cedar	"	312	309	681
Malad	"	259	208	467
Cache	"	240	223	463
Beaver	"	118	126	244
Shambip	"	83	64	147
Salt Lake Islands	"	125	85	210
		37,277	39,058	76,335

"Great Salt Lake City, March 1st, 1856.

"I do hereby certify that the above is a correct enumeration of the white inhabitants of Utah territory, according to the reports furnished by my assistants, and which are now on file in my office.

Leonard W. Hardy, Census Agent."

"Great Salt Lake City, September 13th, 1860.

"The above is a correct transcript from the originals on file in the historian's office. Thomas Bullock, Clerk."

In 1858 the peace commissioners sent to Utah territory reported that the Saints did not exceed 40,000 to 50,000 souls, half of them foreigners, and that they could bring 7,000 men, of whom 1,000 were valuable for cavalry, into the field. In 1859 M. Remy made the number of Saints in Utah territory not including Nevada, 80,000 souls, and the total in the world 186,000." By far too large an estimate.

of that success was the state of Deseret. It represented the organized forces of the people. It gave confidence and strength and stability to all these colonizing movements. Its strength was apparent through the military legion it had organized, and the promptness and effectiveness of its movements in giving protection to the settlers. Wisdom was manifested through its legislation; notes of statemanship were struck by the regular and occasional messages of the governor to the state's general legislative assembly; in proof of which, let the following excerpts from the message of Governor Young of December 2nd, 1850, bear witness:

*Of Manufactures:*

"It is highly desirable that the capitalists of this state should introduce machinery for the manufacturing of all kinds of machinery, that will hereafter be wanted for factories, etc.; also stoves, and other articles of heavy exportation should be manufactured by our own enterprise and industry. Incalculable benefits would result to this community, if they would engage in almost every kind of manufacture, not only iron, but paper, books, woolen cloth, leather, crockery, stone-ware, and sugar. Upon this last named article I will submit a single estimate for your consideration. Not more than twenty thousand persons would use 456,250 pounds, allowing only one ounce a day to each person; the expense of the transportation alone, at the low rate of ten cents a pound, would amount to \$45,625; a sum adequate to construct the most extensive sugar manufactory; and when considered in connection with the superior quality of the beet, and facility with which it can be raised in these valleys, renders it almost a suicidal policy for us to be dependent upon other than our own resources for that article."

*Of Guarded State Assistance to Struggling Industries:*

"There is no doubt but that the demand and price consequent upon the distance of any successful competition, will prove sufficient inducement for the capitalists to invest their means, in whatever will necessarily prove a safe investment and ensure an abundant return; any and all kinds of encouragement, by throwing around them an energetic and efficient government, should unquestionably be given. It is wisdom to let capital be associated in infant settlements, because there is a necessity for it, for a time; but to lay the foundation for monied capitalists to monopolize against labor, is no part of my policy, politics or religion. To encourage enterprise in constructing works of magni-



tude, it may be well to grant privileges; but they should be so guarded, as to be made amenable to the power granting them at all times for the abuse of the powers granted, or diverting them to any other object than the one designed."

*Of Iron Manufactures and Railroads:*

"In the neighborhood of what has usually been termed Little Salt Lake, (now Iron county,) our exploring party of last winter, discovered inexhaustible beds of the very best of iron ore. A settlement is now being made at that point. \* \* \* From this city [Salt Lake] a railroad will most probably be constructed to Iron county, as also continuously to Southern California, terminating at San Diego. Whatever encouragement you may find it in your power to extend to an object so full of interest to our citizens, I shall most readily acquiesce therein, being within the range of my constitutional duties."

*The Policy in Founding Colonies:*

"In extending, and making new settlements, one uniform course has been recommended; that of building and settling in forts, in the first instance, and farming in one enclosure. This course has proven highly successful."

*Education:*

"Under the fostering care of the government, [state of Deseret of course] the subject of education is fast assuming an importance that will reflect great credit upon our exertions. The board of chancellors and regents of the University have already established schools in various parts of the state, mostly, however, without incurring any expense to the institution. The enlightened course pursued by that board, will unquestionably redound to the benefit of the institution, as well as to a general system of education, throughout the state; and must certainly meet with your cordial approval, and warmest encouragement. The situation, [location] selected for educational purposes upon the eastern side of the city, will probably be enclosed the ensuing winter; and suitable buildings erected as soon as the necessary funds can be obtained for that purpose." 75½

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75½. Captain Stansbury bears witness to the interest manifested by the state of Deseret in the matter of education. He says: "While all these exertions are making for the physical development of a new empire among the mountains, the mental elevation of the people by education has been by no means lost sight of. Liberal appropriations of land and money have been made for the establishment of an university, the grounds for which are laid out and enclosed, being situated on one of the terraces of the mountain overlooking the city. A normal school, designed for the education of those who desire to become teachers, is already in successful operation. School-houses have been built in most of the districts, both in the city and country, which are attended by old as well as young, and every effort is made to advance the mental improvement of the people." (Stansbury's Report, p. 143).



*Pride in Economic Government:*

“We have the proud satisfaction, of having sustained a quiet, yet energetic government, under all the vicissitudes incident to new and untried localities; and when the general government shall have assumed to pay the expenditures consequent upon the Indian expeditions—of being comparatively free from debt.

“Unlike the golden browed neighbors of our sister state; no agent of ours is hawking about our state bonds, to obtain the necessary means to defray the sixteen dollars *per diem* allowance of the members of the legislature. In this state, no expense has been incurred by any of the departments of government, for services rendered. The auditor’s report will show, the amounts paid out, being almost exclusively for public improvements, or articles purchased for public use.”<sup>76</sup>

Pride in their state government, when these things could be truthfully said of it, may be pardoned in the early settlers of the Salt Lake valley: but while there is evidence of strong attachment for the state of Deseret, the local pride and loyalty did not diminish their larger pride and loyalty to the greater Republic, the American Union of States. Deseret was a loyal and patriotic state of the Union. From the first, and always, her people recognized her as destined to be a member of that Union, whatever action congress might now take upon Deseret’s petition for admission into the sisterhood of states. Her people knew she could have no political life apart from the national political life; the proof of which lies, first, in the fact of their persistence in seeking admission into the Union; and, second, in the state’s willing and cheerful self-effacement in order to give place to the territorial form of government determined upon by the national congress.

Under the *regime* of the state of Deseret the people were wont to give expression to their loyalty, and voice their patriotic sentiments in song and speech and public festivities. Naturally, to these early Utah colonists, the greatest thing within their experience was their deliverance from what had been to them intolerance, oppression, and bondage; and their safe arrival in the Great Basin of the Rocky Mountains. And this event, as the anniversaries of it recurred, they celebrated; but in those celebra-

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76. The Message is published in full in the *Deseret News*, of Jan. 11th, 1851.

tions, unconsciously, as I judge to be the case, they went beyond themselves and voiced the larger loyalty and patriotism that was in them, by bringing into a merely local event the celebration of the greater events, which resulted in the founding of the United States. In evidence of this view I introduce in part the account of their celebration of the second anniversary of the advent of the pioneers under Brigham Young's leadership into Salt Lake valley. The account of this celebration was published in the *Frontier Guardian* of September 19th, 1849—sixty-three years ago.

*Celebration of July 24, 1849, at Great Salt Lake City:*

"July 24th, being the anniversary of the arrival of presidents Young and Kimball, with the pioneers in the Valley, the inhabitants were awoke by the firing of cannon, accompanied by music; the brass band, playing martial airs, were then carried through the city in two carriages, returning to the bower by seven o'clock. The bower is a building 100 feet long by 60 wide, built on 104 posts, and covered with boards; but, for the services of this day, a canopy or awning was extended about 100 feet from each side of the bower, to accommodate the vast multitude at dinner.

"At half-past seven the large national flag,<sup>77</sup> measuring sixty-five feet in length, was unfurled at the top of the Liberty pole, which is 104 feet high, and was saluted with the firing of six guns, the ringing of the Nauvoo bell, and spirit-stirring airs from the band.

"At eight o'clock the multitude were called together by the firing of guns and music, the bishops of the several wards arranging themselves in the sides of the aisle, with the banners of their wards unfurled, each bearing some appropriate inscription.

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77. The night before, President Young's own flag, that formerly used to fly from the Nauvoo Temple was raised on the east side of the Bowery; and since this fact will set at rest the question as to whether or not the Saints brought with them an American flag in their flight from Nauvoo, I give President Young's Historical Journal entry: "July 23rd [1849]. Many of the brethren with their respective bishops met at the Bowery, and put up dinner tables and seats, erected a liberty pole and prepared cannon for the celebration of the next day. Some emigrants from California furnished 75 lbs. of powder for firing salutes. \* \* \* *In the evening my flag, that used to fly from the Nauvoo Temple was hoisted at the east side of the Bowery.*" (Hist. Brigham Young, Ms., July, 1849, pp. 107-8. It still might be a question, however, if this was a United States flag. The evidence that it was is beyond question. Col. Kane in his description of the enrollment of the Mormon battalion declares that "an American flag brought out from the store-house of things rescued," was "hoisted to a tree mast," and under it the enrollment took place. (Kane's "The Mormons," p. 80). Subsequently, when writing to President Fillmore in defense of President Young's loyalty, Col. Kane declares that it was Brigham Young's "*American flag*" that was thus used; and undoubtedly this was the same flag that President Young refers to so lovingly as "*My flag*," that waved on the "east side of the Bowery," at Salt Lake City that evening of the 23rd of July, 1849.

“At a quarter past eight, the presidency of the stake, twelve, and bands went to prepare the escort in the following order, at the house of President Brigham Young, under the direction of Lorenzo Snow, J. M. Grant, and F. D. Richards:

\* \* \* \* \*

Horace S. Eldridge, marshal, on horseback, in military uniform.  
Brass band.

Twelve bishops, bearing banners of their wards.

Twenty-four young men, dressed in white, with white scarfs on their right shoulders, and coronets on their heads, each carrying in their hands the Declaration of Independence and Constitution of the United States, and swords sheathed in their left hands; one of them carrying a beautiful banner, inscribed on it

*“The Zion of the Lord.”*

Twenty-four young ladies, dressed in white, with white scarfs on their right shoulders, and a wreath of white roses on their heads, each carrying the Bible and Book of Mormon; and one bearing a very neat banner,

*“Hail to our Chieftain.”*

Newel K. Whitney, Bishop. Thomas Bullock, Clerk.  
John Smith, Patriarch.

Brigham Young, Parley P. Pratt, Charles C. Rich, Daniel Spencer, Willard Richards, Heber C. Kimball, John Taylor, Erastus Snow, D. Fulmer, Willard Snow.

Twelve bishops, carrying flags of thin wards.

Twenty-four silver greys, led by Isaac Morley, Patriarch, each having a staff, painted red on the upper part, and a branch of white ribbon fastened at the top, one of them carrying the flag with the stars and stripes, and the inscription,

*“Liberty and Truth.”*

The procession started from the house at nine o'clock. The young men and young ladies in passing through the streets, sang a hymn—the cannons kept up one continual roar—the musketry rolled—the Nauvoo bell pealed forth its silvery notes—and the air was filled by the sweet strains of the brass band playing a slow march. On arriving at the bower, the escort was received with loud shouts of “Hosannah to God and the Lamb,” which made the air reverberate. While presidents Young, Kimbal, and Richards, John Smith, Newel K. Whitney, and Thomas Bullock were proceeding down the aisle, cheers were given, and “Hail to the Governor of Deseret.” On being seated by the committee on the stand, the escort passed round the assembly singing a hymn of praise, when they also marched down the



aisle, and were seated in double rows on each side. The vast multitude were called to order by Mr. J. M. Grant, and when they were seated Mr. Erastus Snow offered a prayer of thanksgiving to our heavenly Father.

Richard Ballantyne, one of the twenty-four young men, then came forward to the stand, his coronet glittering as if with rubies, and in a neat speech presented the *Declaration of Independence and Constitution of the United States*, in a respectful manner, to shouts, led on by President Young, of: "*May it Live Forever and Ever!*"

"*The Declaration of Independence* was then read by Mr. Erastus Snow, after which the band struck up a lively air.

Mr. Bullock arose and read the poem "The Mountain Standard," composed by P. P. Pratt.<sup>78</sup>

At the conclusion of the reading, the multitude rose and shouted three times: "Hosannah, Hosannah, Hosannah, to God and the Lamb, forever and ever, Amen;" President Young leading, while the banners were waved by the bishops.

This was followed by the band playing a lively air, after which Mr. Bullock arose and read the following:

"ODE TO LIBERTY."<sup>78½</sup>

Fairest spirit of the skies,  
Fairest child of Paradise,  
Now Columbia's lawful prize,  
Glorious Liberty.

'Twas for thee our Fathers sought,  
For thy sake our Heroes fought,  
Thee our bleeding Patriots bought,  
Precious Liberty.

Never, never cease to wave,  
O'er the ashes of the brave,  
Shield, oh! shield the Patriot's grave,  
Flag of Liberty.

While thy banner waves abroad,  
All may freely worship God,  
Fearless of the Tyrant's rod,  
Sacred Liberty.

<sup>78</sup>. See this History, ch. LXXIII, Americana, Aug., 1912, where the poem is published in full.

<sup>78½</sup>. The Ode was written by Eliza R. Snow Smith, and when sung to the tune of "Scots Who Nae Wi Wallace Bled," deserves to become a national hymn.



Should oppression ever dare,  
From thy brow, the wreath to tear,  
Righteous vengeance shall not spare  
Thy foes, oh, Liberty.

Sooner than to bondage yield,  
Boldly in the battle field,  
Let the Sons of Freedom wield,  
The sword of Liberty."

The foregoing Ode was then sung by the twenty-four silver greys, to the tune of "Bruce's Address to His Army."

This was followed by speeches, the principal one by President Young, in the course of which he said:

"Why do we not celebrate the 4th of July? The Declaration of Independence is just as precious to me to-day as it was twenty days ago! Has it not the same validity that it had in 1776? Is it not as good to-day as it was twenty days ago? We chose this day that we might have a little bread to set on our tables; to-day we can see the bread, cucumbers, and beets, that we could not have seen twenty days ago. Inasmuch as there are some strangers in our midst, I want you to give them their dinner, for they rejoice to see us happy, and I say they are welcome, heartily welcome."

After the public speaking a procession was formed and marched to the waiting and feast-laden tables when—

"Several thousand of the Saints dined sumptuously on the fruits of the earth, produced by their own hands, who invited several hundreds of the emigrants [to eat with them], even all who were in the valley. A company who came in during the dinner were stopped, dismounted, placed at one of the tables, and were astonished by the warmth of their reception. Two or three score of Indians also partook of the repast; indeed such a feast of the body, coupled with a feast of the soul, has not been experienced on this continent for a length of time.

"At a quarter past three P. M., the band, the bishops with their banners, the young men and young ladies, and the silver greys were formed into the line of escort, and again promenaded round the vast assemblage, singing the songs of Zion, while the Nauvoo bell continued pealing, musketry rolling, and the cannon roaring. President Young declared he had never seen such a dinner in his life. Mr. Rich said that it was almost a marvellous thing that everybody was satisfied, and many grey headed veterans from different countries in the old world, united in declaring they had often sat down to the festive board in the United States, England, Scotland, France, Germany, Norway and Den-

mark, but had never enjoyed such a day as this. Not an oath was uttered—not a man intoxicated—not a jar or disturbance occurred to mar the union, peace, and harmony of the day.”

After the feast a second public meeting was held at which there were a great variety of toasts given, some after careful preparation, and others extemporaneously expressed. Among these, patriotic sentiment was frequently voiced, as witness the following:

“*The Constitution of the United States*: the Mercury of American Liberty:—Patriotism, virtue, and honesty raise it to the summer heat of happiness and prosperity; but corruption, vice, and treachery sink it below the zero of misery and wretchedness.

“*The President of the United, and the Governors of the several States*:—Wise stewards make virtue exalt a nation, and sin a reproach to the people.

“*Our God, our Country, and our Rights*:—May we fear and love Him, honor and serve that, and merit and enjoy these.

“*The Goddess of Liberty*.—We welcome her safe arrival to the Valleys of the Mountains. May she never have cause to repent her emigrating hither, or hide her radiant smiles from the children of the Deseret.”

A like celebration was held again in 1850, when Willard Richards was the chief orator of the occasion;<sup>79</sup> and again in 1851, amid the closing weeks of Deseret’s expiring authority, for by this time the Federal appointees to the territory, who resided outside of Utah had arrived.<sup>80</sup> Elder W. W. Phelps regent of the University and Daniel H. Wells were the speakers of the occasion. The oration of “Squire” Wells has become historical, since it gave offense to the newly arrived U. S. territorial officers on the one hand (of which more in another chapter), and proclaimed the loyalty of the Saints on the other, and in a manner worthy of perpetuation; these paragraphs of the speech—offensive parts omitted—were as follows:

“It has been thought by some, that this people—abused, maltreated, insulted, robbed, plundered, murdered, and finally disfranchised and expatriated—would naturally feel reluctant to

79. Mill. Star, Vol. XII, pp. 337-344.

80. See *Deseret News*, June 14, 1851, p. 276. *Id.*, July 24, p. 300. Bancroft’s Utah, pp. 455-6.

81. The speech is published in full in *Deseret News* of Aug. 19, 1851, pp. 305-6.

again unite their destiny with the American republic. \* \* \* No wonder that it was thought by some that we would not again submit ourselves (even while we were yet scorned and ridiculed) to return to our allegiance to our native country. Remember, that it was by the act of our country, not ours, that we were expatriated; and then consider the opportunity we had of forming other ties. Let this pass while we lift the veil and show the policy which dictates us. That country, that constitution, those institutions, were all ours; they are still ours. Our fathers were heroes of the Revolution. Under the master spirits of an Adams, a Jefferson, and a Washington, they declared and maintained their independence and under the guidance of the spirit of truth they fulfilled their mission whereunto they were sent from the presence of the Father. Because demagogues have arisen and seized the reins of power, should we relinquish our interest in that country made dear to us by every tie of association and consanguinity? \* \* \* Those who have indulged such sentiments concerning us, have not read Mormonism aright; for never will we be found arrayed by the side of her enemies, although she herself may cherish them in her own bosom. Although she may launch forth the thunder bolts of war, which may return and spend their fury upon her own head, never, no never, will we permit the weakness of human nature to triumph over our love of country, our devotion to her institutions, handed down to us by our honored sires, made dear by a thousand tender recollections."

The state of Deseret continued her existence about two and a half years, then passed into history. She was but a provisional state, and her authority could have no sanctions except in the voluntary submission of the people to her ordinances, and the judicial and administrative acts of her officers. Not until the legislative assembly and the governor of the territory of Utah, by enactment, declared that such of her laws as were not in conflict with the organic act of the territory of Utah, were approved and should remain until superceded by other enactments, was legal sanctions given to the proceedings of the state of Deseret. But notwithstanding these facts, the state of Deseret, her rise and rule until displaced by a territorial government is an instructive chapter in the history of civil government in our country. Her creation and triumphant and peaceful reign for more than two years over the intermountain colonies, proclaim with singular force the ability of her people for self-government.



And if the instructor in the science of civil government seeks an illustration of the evolution of civil government from society—from its early beginnings to the free development of a highly complex, political organization, competent to deal with many and varied conditions; with large and diversified interests; and at the same time prove itself efficient in conserving the liberty of the individual, and in giving peace and security to community life—then he may not do better than to use the state of Deseret as an object lesson.

NOTE 1: THE MISAPPREHENSION RESPECTING THE MISSION OF CAPTAIN HOWARD STANSBURY AND HIS COMPANY OF TOPOGRAPHICAL ENGINEERS—"Before reaching Great Salt Lake City, I had heard from various sources that much uneasiness was felt by the Mormon community at my anticipated coming among them. I was told that they would never permit my survey of their country to be made; while it was darkly hinted that if I persevered in attempting to carry it on, my life would scarce be safe. Utterly disregarding, indeed giving not the least credence to these insinuations, I at once called upon Brigham Young, the president of the Mormon church and the governor of the commonwealth, stated to him what I had heard, explained to him the views of the Government in directing an exploration and survey of the lake, assuring him that these were the sole objects of the expedition. He replied that he did not hesitate to say that both he and the people over whom he presided had been very much disturbed and surprised that the Government should send out a party into their country so soon after they had made their settlement; that he had heard of the expedition from time to time, since its outset from Fort Leavenworth; and that the whole community was extremely anxious as to what could be the design of the Government in such a movement. It appeared, too, that their alarm had been increased by the indiscreet and totally unauthorized boasting of an *attache* of General Wilson, the newly-appointed Indian Agent for California, whose train on its way thither had reached the city a few days before I myself arrived. This person, as I understood, had declared openly that General Wilson had come clothed with authority from the President of the United States to expel the Mormons from the lands which they occupied, and that he would do so if he thought proper. The Mormons very naturally supposed from such a declaration that there must be some understanding or connection between General Wilson and myself; and that the arrival of the two parties so nearly together was the result of a concerted and combined movement for the



ulterior purpose of breaking up and destroying their colony. The impression was that a survey was to be made of their country in the same manner that other public lands are surveyed, for the purpose of dividing it into townships and sections, and of thus establishing and recording the claims of the Government to it, and thereby anticipating any claim the Mormons might set up from their previous occupation. However unreasonable such a suspicion may be considered, yet it must be remembered that these people are exasperated and rendered almost desperate by the wrongs and persecutions they had previously suffered in Illinois and Missouri; that they had left the confines of civilization and fled to these far distant wilds, that they might enjoy undisturbed the religious liberty which had been practically denied them; and that now they supposed themselves to be followed up by the General Government with the view of driving them out from even this solitary spot, where they had hoped they should at length be permitted to set up their habitation in peace.

“Upon all these points I undeceived Governor Young to his entire satisfaction. I was induced to pursue this conciliatory course, not only in justice to the Government, but also because I knew, from the peculiar organization of this singular community, that, unless the ‘President’ was fully satisfied that no evil was intended to his people, it would be useless for me to attempt to carry out my instructions. He was not only civil governor, but the president of the whole Church of Latter-Day Saints upon the earth, their prophet and their priest, receiving, as they all firmly believed, direct revelation of the Divine will, which, according to their creed, forms the law of the church. He is, consequently, profoundly revered by all, and possesses unbounded influence and almost unlimited power. I did not anticipate open resistance; but I was fully aware that if the president continued to view the expedition with distrust, nothing could be more natural than that every possible obstruction should be thrown in our way by a ‘masterly inactivity.’” (“Report,” pp. 84-86).

Upon this circumstance related by Captain Stansbury Linn, in his “Story of the Mormons,” comments: “The choice between abject conciliation or open conflict was that which Brigham Young extended to nearly every federal officer who entered Utah during his reign” (p. 438). If the course followed by Captain Stansbury is relied upon to establish an instance of “abject conciliation,” I think the comment very unjust, believing that the captain’s conduct was more nearly allied to straightforward manliness, and common sense, than “abject conciliation.”

# Historic Views and Reviews

## WASHINGTON'S HEADQUARTERS FLAG AND TENT

ONE of the few flags remaining from the war of the Revolution, and one of the most interesting, is on exhibition in the Valley Forge Museum of American History.

This museum was founded in 1909 and owns Washington's marquee, the tent which he used throughout the war of the Revolution, and with it is exhibited the flag of the commander-in-chief, the property of Miss Frances B. Lovell, a descendant of Betty Lewis, Washington's sister.

It has been a treasured heirloom in Miss Lovell's family and few persons have known of its existence. Upon the death of her father she acquired the precious heirloom by inheritance.

It has always been known in the family as "Washington's Headquarters Flag" and is undoubtedly the unidentified flag of Peale's portraits of the "Father of his Country" The flag forming the background of one of these pictures is a blue jack of thirteen stars.

The flag in the Valley Forge Museum is a light blue silk jack with thirteen stars, the blue faded and the stars yellow with age. It is thirty-six inches long and twenty-eight inches wide. The heading is of homespun with three eyelets worked with thread. The stars are six-pointed, double stitched, and the silk on which the stars are stitched has been cut out so as to show the stars on both sides. The stars are not arranged in a circle but in lines following the crosses of the British flag, both the cross of King George and that of Saint Andrew being outlined by the stars. This was evidently the earlier mode of arrangement, before the hope of a satisfactory agreement with the Mother country had

been abandoned. In fact the ensign of England was not totally obliterated from the Stars and Stripes until 1777.

The large headquarters tent was purchased for the Valley Forge Museum at a cost of \$500, the purchase included the jointed poles, tent pins, and even the leather carrying case. Before it was secured for the Valley Forge Museum the owner had exhibited it in the National Museum at Washington, D. C., but the Headquarters flag has not been placed on exhibition anywhere except at the Valley Forge Museum.



#### HISTORIANS TO SHOW THE LIFE THAT WAS AND NOT THE DEATH THAT IS

At the twenty-eighth annual meeting of the American Historical Association held in Boston and Cambridge, December 27-31, 1912, a program was prescribed, both rich and varied. The West and far-West were each represented, the one by the members of the Mississippi Valley Historical Association which met with the older and larger organization, and the other by the addresses of Professor H. Morse Stephens of the University of California, and of Professor Ephraim D. Adams of Sanford University. Five other National Associations were holding their annual meetings in Boston at the same time, and members from each enriched the joint meeting held in Symphony Hall, December 27, 1912, with excellent addresses. The other societies represented, were the American Association for Labor Legislation, the American Sociological Society, the American Statistical Association, the American Economic Association and the American Political Science Association.

Colonel Theodore Roosevelt, president of the American Historical Association, addressed the joint meeting on "History as Literature." He discussed at considerable length the art of the historian from the standpoints of science, poetry, mythology, and literature. He argued that history should welcome the entrance into its domain of every science, and that future historians should make use of material from every possible source to convey life-like pictures to others of the past, whose secrets

they sought to lay bare. The great historian of the future, he said, would be the man who had the genius to reconstruct for his readers the immense panorama of the past. He must possess knowledge and wisdom. He must use his material with such potent wizardry "that we shall see the life that was and not the death that is."



#### VALUABLE AMERICANA CHANGING OWNERS

A copy of the first Directory of New York, published in that city in 1786, contains only 82 pages, bound in bluish-gray covers, of most insignificant appearance, much reminding the observer of a cheap twenty-five cent pamphlet, was purchased early in 1913 from a book dealer in New York for \$2,750.00, a record price. Last year this identical Directory was sold at the great distribution, by auction, of the notable collection of Robert E. Hoe, to the Wall Street book dealer George D. Smith, for \$2,275.00. The priceless little volume was compiled by David Franks, and printed by Shepard Killock, whose press was located in a small building on the corner of Wall and Water Streets. In his introduction the compiler modestly asks that the public "*indulgently excuse any errors, inaccuracies, or omissions which may appear and impute them only to the local disadvantages he labored under in this first attempt,*" and in closing the introduction, he asserts his claim for priority in producing and publishing the Directory in these words: "*It being the first of the kind ever attempted in the city, he makes bold to call on the citizens at large for every information that they think will prove conducive to its future correctness.*"

Less than a dozen copies of the original Directory are known to exist. Henry Edwards Huntington and Frederick R. Halsey are among the few private collectors who possess them. J. Clarence Davies, the present owner of the copy in question, made a record price for the scarce book by paying \$2,750.00 for the Hoe copy. Mr. Davies has been collecting New York material for many years, and is the owner of one of the finest collections of early New York Views. He is also the fortunate owner of the Joost Hartger pamphlet, printed in Holland in 1651, containing a brief description of the colonies at that time established in



America. The extraordinary value which is attached to this pamphlet, is due to the prized first engraved, View of New Amsterdam, forming the frontispiece of the pamphlet, and lettered on the plate "*t' Fort Nieu Amsterdam of de Manhatans.*" This pamphlet is also from the Hoe collection and was sold, at auction, for \$1,600, and afterward secured by Mr. Davies for another record price, \$1,800. Less than two years ago an equally perfect copy sold for \$1,000, and a few years before it was placed on the catalogue of a dealer as of the \$100.00 class. The highest priced work of all scarce books printed in New York is the Laws and Acts of the General Assembly for Their Majesties Province of New York "*printed in New York and sold by William Bradford, Printer to Their Majesties, King William and Queen Mary, 1694.*" There are only eight copies of this work known, and one of the finest copies was sold in 1912 by Dodd & Livingston, to a private collector for \$3,500. The Laws of New York, was the first large work printed in New York and William Bradford, who printed it, was the first man to set up a printing press in that city. He had previously been a printer in Philadelphia, and established himself in New York in 1693. Denton's "*Description of New York,*" printed in London, 1670, bought at the Hoe sale \$3,300.00, and is thus a close second to Laws of New York in point of price fetched at auction.



NEW HEAD TO THE NEW YORK HISTORICAL SOCIETY, ELECTED ON  
TUESDAY, JANUARY 7, 1913

John Abeel Weekes, attorney and counsellor at law, 45 William Street, Manhattan, a graduate of Yale University, Ph. B., 1877, was elected president of the New York Historical Society as successor to Samuel Verplank Hoffman, resigned, who ten years ago succeeded his father, the Very Rev. Eugene A. Hoffman, Dean of the General Theological Seminary, to the presidency of the society. Mr. Weekes had held the position of Corresponding Secretary for many years, and his promotion was in the line of service, his former position naturally making him thoroughly informed as to the work of the institution and as to the requirements necessary in the further development of its resources.

The Vice Presidents were increased from two to four. Prof. William M. Sloane and Francis R. Schell were re-elected and Walter L. Suydam and Gerard Beekman were the new incumbents. The other officers chosen were Archer M. Huntington, Foreign Corresponding Secretary; James Benedict, Domestic Corresponding Secretary; Clarence Storm, Treasurer; Fancher Nicoll, Secretary, and Robert Hendrie Kelby, Librarian.

Mr. Kelby's report showed that the library had been increased by 1,522 volumes and 4,183 pamphlets, while other additions include nearly 3,000 old newspapers, 187 maps, nearly 14,000 engraved portraits, about 1,500 ballads relating to the civil war, and more than 900 views of the civil war. Among the noteworthy bequests was a rare tinted copy of Paul Revere's famous engraving of the Boston massacre.



#### A BACHELOR SIGNED THE FIRST ACT GIVING TO WOMEN EQUAL RIGHTS WITH MEN

Edward Merwin Lee, who as secretary and acting governor of Wyoming Territory in 1868-69, secured the passage of, and officially signed, the first bill giving to women the same rights to vote as enjoyed by men ever passed and faithfully carried out in any of the states and territories of the United States, died in New York City January 1, 1913. He never married.

As the woman suffragists are intensely active in their efforts to obtain universal suffrage in the whole territory of the United States, we give a brief biographical sketch of their first official champion.

Edward Merwin Lee was born in Guilford, Connecticut, in 1835, son of James E. and Ruth (Merwin) Lee and was brought up on his father's farm which had been in the possession of the Lee family for nearly two centuries. While working on the farm and attending the district school, he determined to become a lawyer, and fitted himself for admission to the bar, before leaving home. He removed, when he had attained his majority, to Binghamton, New York, where he was admitted to the bar in 1857.

He migrated from Binghamton to the state of Michigan, and in 1861 he enlisted as a private in the Fifth Michigan Cavalry, and served as private and as a commissioned officer under

Sheridan, Custer and Alger. He was present at Gettysburg, in Sheridan's dash around Richmond, and in the closing battles that led to the surrender of General Robert E. Lee at Appomattox Court House. At the close of the war he was mustered out of the volunteer service and brevetted for gallantry.

After the war he returned to his birthplace at Guilford, Connecticut, and was a member of the general assembly of Connecticut, 1866-67. Upon the organization of Wyoming Territory, July 25, 1868, he was appointed by President Grant, secretary of the new territory with the powers of acting governor, and he served up to the time of the inauguration of Governor John Allen Campbell, appointed the first governor of the territory late in 1869. It was while acting governor, that Secretary Lee secured the passage of the equal suffrage bill, and to him the women of America, desiring equal rights of suffrage with men, owe a debt of gratitude as the pioneer official of the government who recommended, championed, and officially approved the law that gave the right to vote to the women of Wyoming. The act thus passed has never been abridged or changed throughout the territorial and state existences of Wyoming.

Upon the inauguration of Governor Campbell in 1869, the late acting governor of the territory opened a law office in New York City and practiced continuously up to the time of his death.



#### HAMILTON GRANGE

The extremely interesting article on "Alexander Hamilton and the Grange," which appeared in the November number of *AMERICANA*, as prepared by Joseph C. Pumpelly, A. M., LL.B., might be supplemented with a few words.

The mansion house stood facing the south, and there was an extension on the north side, or rear. When West 143d Street was opened it would have cut off this part of the house which stood on the south side of the street, one hundred and fifty feet, west of the line of Convent Avenue. The grove of trees, so famous, as having been planted by Hamilton in honor of the thirteen states, stood exactly half way between 142d and 143d Streets, and one hundred feet west of Convent Avenue. One

of these trees was a great deal larger than any of the others, and was the last remaining, being cut down in the spring or summer of 1906.

When Hamilton died the larger part of his fortune was in real estate, but encumbered with debt. To save it from being sacrificed, two hundred of the most prominent citizens, led by Gouverneur Morris, became trustees of the estate, the record of which trusteeship is in the New York Register's office.

WILLIAM S. PELLETREAU.



#### PARCELS POST NOTHING NEW

For over one hundred years Germany has enjoyed and profited by a parcels post. In 1873 after seventy-five years trial, the government greatly improved and enlarged the system and evolved that which prevails in Germany to-day. Three or four mail cars on every railroad train devoted entirely to such parcels, is as universal as express cars on train in America. Long lines of post office wagons known as "packet post wagons" may be seen in every large city busy, handling immense quantities of such mail matter.

In central Germany in the city of Halle, a visitor at a boarding house on asking the landlady where she obtained such excellent butter, surprised him by replying: "It comes to me by parcels post from Holstein." This noted dairy country was two hundred miles distant. The butter came to her regularly every week as it had done for many years, from the same dairyman. He could send a package not exceeding eleven pounds to any part of Germany for fifty pfennigs (twelve cents), a trifle over one cent per pound. It was a very general practice for households in that city to get their supply of butter, eggs, poultry, vegetables and fruits in their season every week, through the parcels post, delivered at their doors. This is but another debt America owes to Germany in the direction of economy in distribution, but how slow America is in accepting even tried and proven economic measures that interfere with prevailing monopolies established and protected by interested law makers.



## IS IT WOLFE'S COPY OF GRAY'S ELEGY?

If so the Story of the Recitation of the Elegy before the Battle of Quebec, and the Words as Credited to Wolfe when he finished the Recitation are Taken Out of the Category of Myths.

By Marconi Transatlantic Wireless Telegraph to The New York Times.

LONDON, Jan. 15, 1913.—A famous literary controversy has been revived by the announcement of the discovery of a bound copy of Gray's Elegy, which is said to have belonged to Gen. Wolfe.

The story of Wolfe's recitation of the Elegy in the small hours before the battle of Quebec and his remark, "I would rather be the author of that piece than take Quebec," has been the subject of numerous investigations. A great deal of doubt has been cast on the report of the incident, though on the whole literary opinion is on the side of Augustine Birrell, who declared that its truth was proved as conclusively as human testimony could prove anything.

One of Wolfe's biographers cites the late Marquess of Winchester, a descendant of the Duke of Bolton, as stating that Gen. Wolfe received a copy of the Elegy from Miss Lowther, afterward Duchess of Bolton. Miss Lowther was Wolfe's fiancée, and if she gave him the Elegy the poem was probably often in his mind, and he may have had the volume on him when he fell at Quebec.

The present discovery advances the story of his recitation of the Elegy before the battle a step further toward probability. The volume, the existence of which is now made public, belongs to Mr. Colling, of Paris. It is dated 1754 and bears on the title page the inscription, "From K. L.," (Katherine Lowther?)

If the story is true this volume is one of the very few survivals of Wolfe's books and papers. He left all of them to his friend, Col. Carleton, afterward Lord Dorchester, but no trace of any of them remains in the possession of the Dorchester family. Two or three odd volumes have turned up, and the only one, bearing Wolfe's crest, is now in J. Pierpont Morgan's collection.

A subsequent special cable from London, Jan. 21, 1913, announced that the copy had been carefully examined by an expert who is not only convinced of its genuineness but found annotations in the General's handwriting. Mr. Wilson adds, "There is every prospect of the priceless relic remaining in England, where it now is."

FEBRUARY, 1913

# AMERICANA

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# AMERICANA

February, 1913

## An Echo of War Times

LETTERS OF GEN'L. GEORGE E. PICKETT WRITTEN FIFTY YEARS  
AGO FROM THE GREAT BATTLEFIELDS OF THE CONFEDERACY

**U**NDER the secret preserving title of "The Love Letters of a Confederate General," a remarkable series of letters written from the battlefields of the Civil War have appeared recently in a prominent magazine. Their serial publication stirred up a controversy in regard to the identity of the author, which has run with zest throughout the country. The letters were apparently the product of one of the leaders of the Confederacy and their authorship has been attributed to various well-known officers; but it is now revealed for the first time, through their publication in book form,\* that they were actually written by Gen'l. George Edward Pickett—he who led his division of Virginians in the famous charge at Gettysburg.

In these letters, which were written to the young girl who later became his wife, General Pickett tells the story of the War between the states, from Secession to Appomattox. Penned or pencilled on stray scraps of paper, on the march or in the silence of the bivouac, each page of the letters throbs with the reality of the terrific conflict of forces from which they issued. They contain many intimate glimpses of national heroes—Grant, Lee, "Stonewall" Jackson, McClellan, Longstreet, Burnside and Kearny—and are filled with incidents of war times and narratives of personal experience of the utmost historic interest.

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\*The Heart of a Soldier, published by Seth Moyle (Inc.), New York, \$1.30 net  
(107)



Among the letters in this volume are many which throw a new light on the events of the war. In the opening one the General tells why he gave his allegiance to the South. He writes:

I had no conception of the intensity of feeling, the bitterness and hatred toward those who were so lately our friends, now our enemies. I, of course, have always strenuously opposed disunion, not as doubting the right of secession, which was taught in our text-books at West Point, but as gravely questioning its expediency. I believed that the revolutionary spirit which infected both North and South was but a passing phase of fanaticism which would perish under the rebuke of all good citizens, who would surely unite in upholding the Constitution; but when that great assembly, composed of ministers, lawyers, Judges, Chancellors, statesmen, mostly whitehaired men of thought, met in South Carolina, and when their districts were called, crept noiselessly to the table in the centre of the room and affixed their signatures to the parchment on which the ordinance of secession was inscribed, and when in deathly silence, in spite of the gathered multitude, Gen. Jamison arose and without preamble read: "The Ordinance of Secession has been signed and ratified. I proclaim the State of South Carolina an independent sovereignty," and, lastly, when my old boyhood friend called for an invasion, it was evident that both the advocates and opponents of Secession had read the portents aright.

You know, my little lady, some of those cross-stitched mottoes on the cardboard samplers which used to hang on my nursery wall, such as "He who provides not for his own household is worse than an infidel," "Charity begins at home," &c., made lasting impression upon me; and while I love my neighbor, i. e., my country, I love my household, i. e., my State, more, and I could not be an infidel and lift my sword against my own kith and kin, even though I do believe, my most wise little counselor and confidante, that the measure of American greatness can be achieved only under one flag, and I fear, alas, there can never again reign for either of us the true spirit of national unity, whether divided under two flags or united under one.

The subject is pursued in a later letter, which runs:

Why, my darling, all that we ask is a separation from people of contending interests, who love us as a nation as little as we love them, the dissolution of a union that has lost its holiness, to be let alone, and permitted to sit under our own vine and fig tree and eat our figs peeled or dried or fresh or pickled, just as

we choose. The enemy is our enemy because he neither knows nor understands us, and yet will not let us part in peace and be neighbors, but insists on fighting us to make us one with him, forgetting that both slavery and secession were his own institutions.

### THE BATTLE OF SEVEN PINES

There follows a vivid and stirring description of the battle of Seven Pines:

A violent storm was raging, flooding the level ground, as I wrote you last, followed the next day by one of fire and blood—the Battle of Seven Pines.

Under orders from Old Peter (Gen. Longstreet) we marched at daylight and reported to D. B. Hill, near Seven Pines. Hill directed me to ride over and communicate with Hood. I started at once with Charlie and Archer of my staff to obey this order, but had gone only a short distance when we met a part of the Louisiana Zouaves in panic. I managed to seize and detain one fellow, mounted on a mule that seemed to have imbibed his rider's fear and haste. The man dropped his plunder, and seizing his carbine, threatened to kill me unless I released him at once, saying that the Yankees were upon his heels.

We galloped back to Hill's headquarters, Archer bringing up the rear with the Zouave, who explained that the enemy were advancing in force and were within a few hundred yards of us. Hill ordered me to attack at once, which I did, driving them through an abatis over a crossroad leading to the railroad. As we were nearing the second abatis, I, on foot at the time, noticed that Armistead's brigade had broken, and sent a courier back posthaste to Hill for troops. A second and third message were sent, and then a fourth, telling him that if he would send me more troops and ammunition we could drive the enemy across the Chickahominy. Alas! alas; my darling, Hill, as brave, as great, as heroic a soldier as he is, has, since the fall of Johnston, been so bothered and annoyed with countermanding orders that he was, if I may say so, addled, confused. After this delay, nothing was left for us but to withdraw. Hill sent two regiments of Colston's brigade and ordered Mahone's brigade, on my right, and at 1 o'clock at night, under his orders, we withdrew in perfect order, and the enemy retreated to their bosky dell. Thus my darling, was ended the battle of Seven Pines. No shot was fired afterward.

Oh, how I wish I could say it ended all battles, and that the last shot that will ever be heard was fired on June 1, 1862, at the battle of Seven Pines.

On the night before Gen. Pickett was wounded at Gaines's Mill, he wrote prophetically:

All last night, my Sally, the spirit of my dear mother seemed to hover over me. When she was living and I used to feel in that way, I always, as sure as fate, received from her a letter written at the very time that I had the sensation of her presence. I wonder, if up there she is watching over me, trying to send me some message--some warning. I wish I knew.

#### BEGGED FOR IMMEDIATE MARRIAGE

In April, 1863, Gen. Pickett, so distraught with the fear that death in battle would overtake him before he could make "Little Miss Sallie" his wife, wrote her to come to him at once. In this letter he says:

This morning I awakened from a beautiful dream, and while its glory still overshadows the waking and fills my soul with radiance I write to make an earnest request, entreating, praying that you will grant it. You know, my darling, we have no prophets in these days to tell us how near or how far is the end of this awful struggle. If the "battle is not to the strong" then we may win; but when all our ports are closed and the world is against us, when for us a man killed is a man lost, while Grant may have twenty-five of every nation to replace one of his, it seems that the battle is to the strong. So often already has hope been dashed to the winds. . . .

As you know, it is imperative that I remain at my post, and absolutely impossible for me to come to you. So you will have to come to me. Will you, dear? Will you come? Can't your beautiful eyes see beyond the mist of my eagerness and anxiety that in the bewilderment of my worship--worshipping, as I do, one so divinely right and feeling that my love is returned--how hard it is for me to ask you to overlook old-time customs, remembering only that you are to be a soldier's wife? A week, a day, an hour, as your husband would engulf in its great joy all my past woes and ameliorate all future fears.

Mrs. Pickett adds here an explanatory note stating that she was forced to refuse his request on account of the rigid system of social training in which a girl of that period was reared. The General admitted that she was right and they were not married until some six months later, after Gettysburg.

In a later letter, written the night before the charge of Gettysburg, Gen. Pickett writes:



Just as we three separated to go our different ways after silently clasping hands, a summons came from Old Peter, and I immediately rode to the top of the ridge where he and Marse Robert were making a reconnoissance of Meade's position. "Great God!" said Old Peter, as I came up, "look at the insurmountable difficulties between our line and that of the Yankees—the steep hills, the tiers of artillery, the fences, the heavy skirmish line—and then we'll have to fight our infantry against their batteries. Look at the ground we'll have to charge over, nearly a mile of that open ground there under the rain of their canister and shrapnel."

"The enemy is there, Gen. Longstreet, and I am going to strike him," said Marse Robert in his firm, quiet, determined voice.

About eight o'clock I rode with them along our line of prostrate infantry. They had been told to lie down to prevent attracting attention, and though they had been forbidden to cheer they voluntarily rose and lifted in reverential adoration their caps to our beloved commander as we rode slowly along. Oh, the responsibility for the lives of such men as these!

Well, my sweetheart, at 1 o'clock the awful silence was broken by a cannon shot and then another, and then more than 100 guns shook the hills from crest to base, answered by more than another 100—the whole world a blazing volcano, the whole of heaven a thunderbolt—, then darkness and absolute silence—then the grim and gruesome, low-spoken commands—then the forming of the attacking columns, the hurrying of the men to the positions assigned to them. My brave Virginians are to attack in front. On, may God in mercy help me as He never helped me before.

I have ridden up to report to Old Peter. I shall give him this letter to mail to you, and a package to give you if—Oh my darling, do you feel the love of my heart, the prayer, as I write that fatal word—"if?"

After the desolating battle, he wrote:

On the Fourth I wrote you just a line of heart-break. The sacrifice of life on that blood-soaked field on the fatal third was too awful for the heralding of victory, even for our victorious foe, who, I think, believe as we do, that it decided the fate of our cause. No words can picture the anguish of that roll-call—the breathless waits between responses. The "here" of those who, by God's mercy, had miraculously escaped the awful rain of shot and shell was a sob—a gasp—a knell—for the unanswered



name of his comrade called just before. There was no tone of thankfulness for having been spared to answer to their names, but rather a roll, and an unvoiced wish that they, too, had been among the missing. But for the blight to your young life, but for you, only you, my darling, your Soldier would rather by far be out there, too, with his brave Virginians—dead.

Even now I can hear them cheering as I gave the order, “Forward!” I can feel the thrill of their joyous voices as they called out all along the line, “We’ll follow you, Marse George. We’ll follow you—we’ll follow you.” Oh, how faithfully they kept their word—following me on—on—on—to their death, and I, believing in the promised support, led them on—on—on—Oh, God!

I can’t write you a love letter to-day, my darling, for with my great love for you and my gratitude to God for sparing my life to devote to you, comes the overpowering thought of those whose lives were sacrificed—of the broken-hearted widows and mothers and orphans.

#### THE END OF THE WAR IN SIGHT

The final letter of the series was written a few hours before the surrender of Gen. Lee at Appomattox. It follows:

To-morrow, my darling, may see our flag furled forever. Jackerie, our faithful old mail carrier, sobs behind me as I write. He bears tonight this—his last—message from me as “Our Cupid.” First he is commissioned with three orders, which I know you will obey as fearlessly as the bravest of your brother soldiers. Keep up a stout heart. I shall come back to you and know that God reigns. After tonight, you will be my whole command—staff, field officers, men—all. The second commission is only given as a precaution—least I should not return, or lest for some time I should not be with you. Lee’s surrender is imminent. It is finished.

Ah, my beloved division! Thousands of men have gone to their eternal home, having given up their lives for the cause which they knew to be just. The others, alas! heart-broken, crushed in spirit, are left to mourn its loss. Well, it is practically all over now. We have poured out our blood and suffered untold hardships and privations, all in vain. And now, well, I must not forget, either, that God reigns. Life is given us for the performance of duty, and duty performed is happiness.

It is finished—the suffering, the horrors, the anguish of these last hours of struggle. The glorious gift of your love will help me to bear the memory of them. In this midnight hour I feel the caressing blessing of your pure spirit as it mingles with mine. Peace is born.





Flint Castle



Flint Village

# Traditions of the Earliest Visits of Foreigners to North America

BY COL. REUBEN THOMAS DURRETT, A. M., LL.D., President of the Filson Club

## VII. THE MADOC TRADITION IN EUROPE

**T**HE first account of the migration of Prince Madoc to unknown lands was printed in the voyages of Hakluit, first published in London in 1582. Hakluit took it from the writings of Gutton Owen, a Welsh bard who flourished in the latter part of the Fourteenth and early part of the Fifteenth century, and who in turn had copied it from the records of the abbeys of Conway in North Wales and Strata Florida in South Wales. It was the custom of the Welsh at that time to record important events in their abbeys, as the Egyptians did in their temples. The bards, who were the historians of the times, had free access to these abbeys and copied the records and repeated or sang them on public occasions. Gutton Owen was a well-known bard, and of sufficient standing for King Henry VII to appoint him one of a commission to search the records of Wales for the genealogy of Owen Tudor, his grandfather. Hence Hakluit gives him as authority for the Madoc tradition. This tradition appears in Hakluit's "Divers Voyages Touching the Discovery of America, etc.," first published in 1582, as follows:

### THE MADOC TRADITIONS FROM HAKLUIT'S VOYAGES—VOLUME 3, PAGE 1

"After the death of Owen Gwynedd, his sonnes fell at debate who should inherit after him, for the eldest sonne born in Matrimony Edward or Jorwerth Drwidion (Drwyndwn) was counted unmeet to govern because of the maime upon his face, and



Howel that took upon him the rule, was a base sonne, begotten upon an Irish woman. Therefore, David, another Sonne, gathered all the power he could and came against Howel, and fighting with him, slew him and afterwards enjoyed quietly the whole land of North Wales until his brother Jorwerth's Sonne came to age.

"Madoc, another of Owen Gwyneth's Sonnes, left the land in contentions betwixt his brethren and prepared certain ships with men and munition and sought adventures by seas, sailing west and leaving the coast of Ireland so farre north, that he came to a land unknown, where he saw many strange things.

"This land must needs be some parts of the Country, of which the Spanyards affirm themselves to be the first Finders since Hanno's Time; whereupon it is manifest that that country was by Britons discovered long before Columbus led any Spanyards thither.

"Of the voyage and return of this Madoc, there be many fables framed, as the common people do use in distance of place and length of time, rather to augment than to diminish, but sure it is, there he was. And after he had returned home, and declared the pleasant and fruitful countries, that he had seen without inhabitants, and upon the contrary, for what barren and wild ground his brothers and nephews did murder one another, he prepared a number of ships and got with him such Men and Women as were desirous to live in quietness, and taking leave of his friends, took his journey thitherwards again.

"Therefore, it is supposed that he and his people inhabited part of those countries, for it appeareth by Francis Lopez de Comara that in Acuzamil, and other places, the people honoured the Cross. Whereby it may be gathered that Christians had been there before the coming of the Spanyards but because this people were not many, they followed the manner of the land which they came to, and the language they found there.

"This Madoc arriving in that western country, unto the which he came in the year 1170, left most of his people there, and returning back for more of his own nation, acquaintance and friends to inhabit that fair land and large country, went thither again with Ten Sailles, as I find noted by Gutton Owen. I am

of the opinion that the land whereunto he came was some part of the West Indies."

This Madoc tradition next appears in the history of Wales by Caradoc, translated into English by Llwyd and published by Powell in 1584. It does not, however, appear in the original work of Caradoc, whose history only comes down to the year 1157. Llwyd, the translator, added to the original text of Caradoc the Madoc tradition, which he got from the abbeys of Conway and Strata Florida, as Owen had gotten what was published by Hakluit. The source of the tradition is therefore the same in both Hakluit and Powell and the facts substantially the same. The following is the Welsh tradition as given in the new edition (London, 1812) of Powell's Caradoc, pages 194-196:

#### THE MADOC TRADITION IN WELSH HISTORY

"Prince Owen Gwynedd being dead the succession was of right to descend to his eldest legitimate son, Iorwerth Drwydwn, otherwise called Edward with the Broken Nose; but by reason of that blemish upon his face, he was laid aside as unfit to take upon him the government of North Wales. Therefore his younger brothers began every one to aspire, in hopes of succeeding their father; but Howel, who was of all the eldest, but base born begotten of an Irish woman, finding they could not agree, stept in himself and took upon him the government. But David, who was legitimately born could not brook that a bastard should ascend his father's throne, and therefore he made all the preparation possible to pull him down. Howel, on the other hand, was as resolute to maintain his ground, and was not willing so quickly to deliver up, what he had not very long got possession of; and so both brothers meeting together in the field, were resolved to try their title by the point of the sword. The battle had not lasted long, but Howel was slain; and then David was unanimously proclaimed and saluted Prince of North Wales, which principality he enjoyed without any molestation, till Llewlyn, Iorwerth Drwynden's son came of age, as will hereafter appear. But Madoc, another of Owen Gwynedd's sons, finding how his brothers contended for the principality, and that his native country was like to be turmoiled in a civil war, did

think it his better prudence to try his fortune abroad; and therefore leaving North Wales in a very unsettled condition, sailed with a small fleet of ships which he had rigged and manned for that purpose, to the westward; and leaving Ireland on the north, he came at length to an unknown country, where most things appeared to him new and uncustomary, and the manner of the natives far different from what he had seen in Europe. This country, says the learned H. Llyod, must of necessity be some part of that vast tract of ground, of which the Spaniards, since Hanno's time, boast themselves to be the first discoverers, and which by order of Cosmography, seems to be some part of Nova Hispania, or Florida; whereby it is manifested, that this country was discovered by the Britains, long before either Columbus or Americus Vesputius sailed thither. But concerning Madoc's voyage to this country, and afterwards his return from thence, there are many fabulous stories and idle tales invented by the vulgar, who are sure never to diminish from what they hear, but will add to and increase any fable as far as their invention will prompt them. However, says the same author, it is certain that Madoc arrived in this country, and after he had viewed the fertility and pleasantness of it, he thought it expedient to invite more of his countrymen out of Britain; and therefore leaving most of those he had brought with him already behind, he returned for Wales. Being arrived there, he began to acquaint his friends with what a fair and extensive land he had met with, void of any inhabitants, whilst they employed all their skill to supplant one another, only for a ragged portion of rocks and mountains; and therefore he would persuade them to change their present state of danger and continual clashings for a more quiet being of ease and enjoyment. And so having got a considerable number of Welsh together, he bid adieu to his native country, and sailed with ten ships back to them he had left behind. It is therefore to be supposed, says our author, that Madoc and his people inhabited part of that country, since called Florida by reason that it appears from Francis Loves, an author of no small reputation, that in Acusanus and other places, the people honoured and worshipped the cross; whence it may be naturally concluded that christians had



been there before the coming of the Spaniards; and who these christians might be, unless it were this colony of Madoc's, it cannot be easily imagined. But by reason that the Welsh who came over, were not many, they intermixed in a few years with the natives of the country and so following their manners and using their language, they became at length undistinguishable from the barbarians. But the country which Madoc landed in, is by the learned Dr. Powell supposed to be part of Mexico for which conjecture he lays down these following reasons:—first as it is recorded in the Spanish chronicles of the conquest of the West Indies the inhabitants and natives of that country affirm by tradition, that their rulers descended from a strange nation, which came thither from a strange country; as it was confessed by King Montezuma, in a speech at his submission to the King of Castile, before Hernando Cortez, the Spanish general. And then the British words and names of places used in that country, even at this day do undoubtedly argue the same; as when they speak and confabulate together, they use this British word, Gwarando, which signifies to hearken, or listen, and a certain bird with a white head, they call Pengwyn, which signifies the same in Welsh. But for a more complete confirmation of this, the island of Corroeso, the cape of Bryton, the river of Gwyn-dor, and the white rock of Pengwyn, which are all British words, do manifestly shew, that it was that country which Madoc and his people inhabited.”

The closing paragraph of the preface to Doctor Powell's Caradoc (new edition, London, 1812) explains how the Madoc tradition got into the work of Caradoc after his death. Caradoc's history ends with the year 1157, and Llyod undertook to make such additions as would bring it down to 1270 and then publish the whole in an English translation. Among the additions was the Madoc tradition obtained from the Welsh abbeys through Gutton Owen. Death, however, overtook Llyod before he could publish his work, and Doctor Powell becoming possessed of his manuscript published it with his own edition in 1584.

In the foregoing extracts from Hakluit and Powell, which contain the earliest information outside of the Welsh abbeys on the subject, nothing appears to determine the country to which



Madoc went. He is simply represented as leaving Ireland to the north and sailing west until he reached a satisfactory country; then returning to Wales for recruits and sailing back to where he had landed on the first voyage. What is said by Hakluyt about the West Indies being the Madoc land and by Powell about Florida and Mexico being the place, was simply their opinion after the discovery of Columbus. We now know that if Madoc had continued to sail westward and did not come in contact with an intervening island he would have been bound to reach some part of America, but neither Madoc nor his contemporaries knew this, from the fact that America was then unknown. These two extracts, short and wanting in detail as they are, form the historic basis upon which the whole fabric of the tale of the Welsh discovery in the Twelfth century rests. Corroborative evidence had to come from America. But for this American evidence it may be doubted whether the Madoc tradition would ever have gotten beyond a limited circle in the mountains of Wales. Giraldus, a Welsh author who wrote at the time of the Madoc expedition, does not mention it, and but for the rolls of the Welsh abbeys it is possible that the record of the event would have perished at that time. The American authorities have given it color and shape and strength, and I now propose to present such of them as I have been able to collect. As far as possible they will be given in their order of time, and extracts made from them for the benefit of those who may not have access to the originals.

#### VIII. THE MADOC TRADITION IN AMERICA

Captain John Smith, the first historian of Virginia, is entitled to whatever honor may belong to the first record of the Madoc tradition in America. At the beginning of an enumeration of the discoveries of America in his history, after simply naming the stories of Arthur, Malgo, Brandon, etc., as something he knew nothing about and doubtless cared less, he gives the Madoc tradition from the Welsh Chronicles as the only discovery before that of Columbus. It will be found at the beginning of his enumeration, in his "*Generall Historie of Virginia, New England, and the Summer Isles*," published at London in 1624, page 1. It is as follows:

“The Chronicles of Wales report, that Madock, sonne to Owen Quineth, Prince of Wales, seeing his two brethren at debate who should inherit, prepared certaine Ships with men and munition; and left his Country to seeke adventures by Sea; leaving Ireland north he sayled west till he came to a land unknowne. Returning home and relating what pleafant and fruitful countries he had seen without inhabitants and for what barren ground his brethren and kindred did murder one another, he provided a number of Ships, and got with him such men and women as were desirous to live in quietnesse that arrived with him in this new land in the yeare 1170; Left many of his people there and returned for more. But where this place was no History can show.”

The best American evidence corroborative of this tradition, however, begins with a statement made by the Reverend Morgan Jones in 1685. Parson Jones was a resident of Virginia in 1660, and was sent by Governor Berkeley as chaplain of an expedition to South Carolina. Afterward, while residing in New York, he made the following written statement and delivered it to Doctor Thomas Llwyd of Pennsylvania, from whom, after passing through the hands of several other respectable persons, it reached the Reverend Theophilus Evans, who had it published in the “Gentleman’s Magazine,” in London, in 1740, page 103. Parson Jones’ statement is as follows:

“These presents may certify all persons whatever, that in the year 1660 being an inhabitant of Virginia, and Chaplain to Major General Bennet of Mansoman county, the said Major Bennett and Sir William Berkley sent two ships to Port Royal, now called South Carolina, which is sixty leagues to the southward of Cape Fair, and I was sent therewith to be their minister. Upon the 8th of April we set out from Virginia, and arrived at the Harbour’s Mouth of Port Royal the 19th of the same month, where we waited for the rest of the Fleet that was to sail from Barbadoes and Bermuda with one Mr. West, who was to be Deputy Governor of the said Place. As soon as the Fleet came in, the smallest vessels that were with us sailed up the river to a place called the Oyster Point. There I continued about 8 months, all which time being most starved for want of

provisions, I and five more travelled through the Wilderness, till we came to the Tuscorara Country. There the Tuscorara Indians took us prisoners, because we told them we were bound for Roanoke. That night they carried us to their town, and shut us up close to our no small dread. The next day they entered into a consultation about us, which after it was over their interpreter told us that we must prepare ourselves to die next morning. Thereupon being very much dejected and speaking to this effect in the British tongue 'Have I escaped so many dangers and must I now be knocked on the head like a Dog,' then presently an Indian came to me, which afterwards appeared to be a War Captain belonging to the Sachem of the Doegs (whose original I find needs be from the Old Britons) and took me up by the middle, and told me in the British tongue I should not die, and thereupon went to the Emperor of Tuscorara and agreed for my ransom, and the men that were with me. They then welcomed us to their town, and entertained us very civilly and cordially four months, during which time I had the opportunity of conversing with them familiarly in the British language, and did preach to them three times a week in the same language, and they would confer with me about anything that was difficult therein; and at our departure they abundantly supplied us with whatever was necessary to our support and well-doing. They are settled upon Pontiago River, not far from Cape Atros. This is a brief recital of my travels, among the Doeg Indians, Morgan Jones, the son of John Jones, of Basaleg, near Newport, in the county of Monmouth, I am ready to conduct any Welshman, or others to the country. New York, March 10th, 1865-6."

Geography was not as well understood at the date of this statement by Parson Jones as it is at the present, and as it was published fifty-five years after it was written, and probably without proof-sheets being seen by the author, it was to be expected that it would contain errors, especially in the names of persons and places. He doubtless meant for Mansoman the county of Nansemond, in southeast Virginia; for Cape Fair, Cape Fear; for Pontiago River, Pamlico River; and for Cape Atros, Cape Hatteras. The important word, however, in the statement is Doeg, the name by which he designates the tribe





Denbigh Castle



Denbigh Village





of Indians who spoke Welsh. I know of but one tribe of Indians that bore the name of Doeg. They were located in Maryland in what is now Prince George County, and entered into a treaty with Lord Baltimore in 1666. They might easily enough, with the proclivity of their race, have wandered from Maryland through Virginia to North Carolina or vica versa. If they were originally called Madocs, after the Welsh prince, the length of time between the coming of the Welsh to America and the date of the Baltimore treaty, or the Jones narrative, would be sufficient to account for the change in name.

But if this statement of Parson Jones be true, it would be difficult to account for this tribe of Indians in North Carolina in 1660, speaking the Welsh language, upon any hypothesis more reasonable than that of their being descendants of the Madoc colony. Parson Jones did not seem to know anything about Madoc, or at most said nothing about him. He does say, however, that he lived for four months among Indians who called themselves Doegs; that he conversed with them, and that he preached to them in the Welsh language, which they understood, and that they were located on Pamlico River at no great distance from Cape Hatteras in North Carolina. It is a great pity that he did not give a description of the persons and habits of these Indians and record their traditions, if any they had, of their origin, et cetera. If they had only stated why they were called Doegs, they might have furnished a key to unlock the mystery of their origin; for the taking of names is an important act among Indians, and never occurs without a meaning. It has been suggested that the Delawares were meant by the Doegs, but this takes us no nearer to Madoc. Different writers have thought that the Pawnees and the Padoucas and the Mandans were descended from the Madoc colony, but none of these Indians could ever give such an account of their origin as to point to any certain line of descent.

In 1770 was published in Philadelphia a work entitled "Materials towards a History of the American Baptists," by Morgan Edwards. In appendix number eight to this work appears the following letter, dated March 1, 1733, and addressed to the British Missionary Society in London:

“It is not unknown to you that Madoc Gwynedd, a prince of Wales, did about 500 years ago, sail to the westward with several ships and a great number of his subjects; and was never heard of after. Some relics of the Welsh tongue being found in old and deserted settlements about the Mississippi make it probable that he sailed up that river. And we, being moved with brotherly love to our countrymen are meditating to go in search of them, but are discouraged by the distance of the place and uncertainty of the course we should steer. If you can give us any information and direction together with some help to bear the expense we shall find men adventurous enough to undertake the expedition having no other end in view than to carry the gospel of peace among our ancient brethren; and believing it will be to the enlargement of the British empire in America and a proof of prior right to the whole continent should we happily succeed.

“We remain, gentlemen, your loving countrymen,

John Davis	Nathaniel Jenkins
David Evans	Benj. Griffiths
Rynalt Howel	Joseph Eaton.”

Now here are half-a-dozen gentlemen in Philadelphia who have faith enough in the Madoc tradition to offer to search for any remnant that may remain of the Welsh colony, provided the necessary money can be raised to pay the expense of the expedition. These gentlemen make no allusion to the statement of Reverend Morgan Jones, which they possibly had not seen, but simply rely upon the tradition which was prevalent concerning Madoc. If a claim to the country by discovery were a part of their object, as they suggest, it would have been difficult, even if they had found the Madoc colony, to have set up a valid claim founded on the right of discovery. As the French held the country when this search was proposed, it would have been quite a serious undertaking to have driven them out, for Wales or any other country.

Captain Isaac Stewart, an officer of the Provincial Cavalry of South Carolina, in 1782, made the following statement, which was published in the second volume of the “American Museum” for July, 1787, page 92:

“I was taken prisoner about 50 miles to the westward of Fort Pitt, about 18 years ago, by the Indians, and was carried by them to the Wabash with many more white men, who were executed with circumstances of horrid barbarity; it was my good fortune to call forth the sympathy of what is called the good women of the town who was permitted to redeem me from the flames, by giving, as my ransom, a horse.

“After remaining two years in bondage amongst the Indians, a Spaniard came to the nation, having been sent from Mexico on discoveries. He made application to the chiefs, for redeeming me and another white man in the like situation, a native of Wales, named John Davey, which they complied with, and we took our departure in company with the Spaniard, and travelled to the westward, crossing the Mississippi near the River Rouge, or Red River, up which we travelled 700 miles, when we came to a nation of Indians, remarkably white and whose hair was of a reddish color, at least mostly so; they lived on the banks of a small river that empties itself into Red River, which is called the River Post. In the morning of the day after our arrival among these Indians, the Welshman informed me that he was determined to remain with them, giving as a reason that he understood their language, it being very little different from the Welsh. My curiosity was excited very much by this information, and I went with my companion to the chief men of the town, who informed him (in a language I had no knowledge of, and which had no affinity to that of any other Indian tongue I ever heard) that their forefathers of this nation came from a foreign country, and landed on the east side of the Mississippi describing particularly the country now called, West Florida, and that on the Spaniards taking possession of Mexico, they fled to their then abode, and as proof of the truth of what he advanced, he brought forth roles of parchment which were carefully tied up in otter skins, on which were large characters, written with blue ink, the characters I did not understand and the Welshman being unacquainted with letters, even of his own language, I was not able to know the meaning of the writing. They are a bold, hardy intrepid people, very warlike, and the women beautiful when compared with other Indians.”



The Spaniards had recently come into possession of the country west of the Mississippi by cession from France, and it was natural enough that they should have explorers in the field examining it. Captain Stewart and his Spanish companion went a long way south before crossing the Mississippi into this territory, but that seeming wandering may have been a part of their explorations. They crossed the Mississippi at Red River and went up this stream toward its source in Northwestern Texas. Here they found Indians who were white, and talked Welsh. This was in the region of the Padoucah tribe of reputed White Indians, on the Rio Del Norte, who, according to General Bowles an intelligent Irishman living among the Cherokees, spoke Welsh. Captain Stewart's geography, like that of all early explorers, was not very accurate, but it could hardly have been otherwise when there was no one to teach geography and make reliable maps, as in later times.

In 1796, Reverend John Williams, LL.D., published in London a book entitled "An Inquiry into the Truth of the Tradition concerning the Discovery of America by Madog." This book abounds in valuable information on the subject of the Madoc colony in America, and from it the following extracts, beginning at page 41, are taken:

"Mr. Chas. Beatty, a Missionary from New York, accompanied by a Mr. Duffield, visited some inland parts of North America in the year 1766. If I rightly understood his journal, he travelled about 400, or 500 miles to the southeast of New York. During his Tour he met with several persons who had been among the Indians from their youth, or who had been taken captives by them, and lived with them several years. Among others one Benjamin Sutton, who had visited different Nations, and had lived many years with them. His account, in Mr. Beatty's words, was as follows:

"He (Benjamin Sutton) informed us, when he was with the Chaetaw Nation, or tribe of Indians at the Mississippi, he went to an Indian town a very considerable distance from New Orleans, whose inhabitants were of a different complexion; not so tawny as those of other Indians, and who spoke Welsh. He said he saw a book among them, which he supposed was a Welsh Bi-

ble, which they kept carefully wrapped up in a skin, but they could not read it; and that he heard some of the Indians afterwards in the lower Shawanaugh Town speak Welsh with one Lewis a Welshman, captive there. This Welsh tribe now lives on the West side of the Mississippi River, a great way above New Orleans.

“Levi Hicks, as being among the Indians from his youth, told us he had been, when attending an Embassy in a town of Indians, on the west side of the Mississippi River, who talked Welsh (as he was told, for he did not understand them) and our interpreter Joseph saw some Indians whom he supposed to be of the same Tribe, who talked Welsh, for he told us some of the words they said, which he knew to be Welsh, as he had been acquainted with some Welsh people.”

Following the preceding extract in the book of Mr. Williams is a lengthy account of a minister of the gospel who was captured by the Indians in Virginia and condemned to death. Just before he was to be executed—whether by fire or some other torture is not stated—he fell upon his knees and prayed aloud in the Welsh language. His executioners understood his words, had his death sentence set aside, and restored him to liberty. No name or date is given, but the facts stated are so nearly identical with those in the narrative of the Reverend Morgan Jones that there can be no doubt about his being the minister referred to. The narrative of Mr. Jones has been previously given in this article, and need not be repeated here. These two accounts of the same event, related so distantly apart in both space and time, indicate how widely spread the Madoc tradition was in America. It does not appear that Mr. Sutton had ever seen the Jones narrative, and yet more than one hundred years afterward, and more than one thousand miles distant in the wild West, he substantially repeated from tradition facts set forth in the Jones narrative. Such coincident narratives indicate that this tradition was known all over both savage and civilized America.

“Sutton further informed us that in the Delaware tribe of Indians he observed their women to follow exactly the custom of the Jewish women, in keeping separate from the rest seven

days at certain times prescribed in the Mosaic law; that from some old men among them he had heard the following Traditions: That of old time their people were divided by a river, and one part tarrying behind, that they knew not for certainty how they first came to this continent, but account for their coming into these parts, near where they are now settled. That a King of their nation where they formally lived far to the west, left his Kingdom to his two sons that the one son making war upon the other, the latter thereupon determined to depart and seek some new Habitation; that accordingly he set out accompanied by a number of his people, and that after wandering to and fro for the space of 40 years, they at length came to Delaware River, where they settled 370 years ago. The way, he says, they keep account of this, is by putting on a black bead of Wampum every year since on a Belt they have for that purpose."

This tradition is evidently a distorted and confused version of the original account of the Madoc narrative as related Hakluyt's Voyages and Powell's Caradoc. After passing through Indian tribes for centuries we could hardly expect it to show less changes than it exhibits, and yet through all the changes the original is plainly seen. Madoc is the dissatisfied son who wanders for forty years, and thus confounds the narrative with the Israelites in the journey to Palestine through the Red Sea and the Wilderness. If there were truth in this Indian version of the tradition, we should be much obliged for being informed that Madoc and his colony landed on the Delaware River three hundred and seventy years ago.

In this learned work of Mr. Williams, the testimony of numerous persons who had been among the Welsh Indians in America is given in the shape of letters and statements. It also contains a vast number of authorities on the subject which were accessible to the author at the time it was published. It is in fact an exhaustive work on the subject.

*(To be continued.)*







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P. BROWN. W. GOODMAN. W. BREWSTER. J. BILLINGTON. J. ALLERTON. F. COOKE. - E. WINSLOW.  
PLYMOUTH IN 1622. GOVERNOR BRADFORD.

# Historic New England Towns Revisited, or Back on my Native Heath

BY ANDREW M. SHERMAN

## CHAPTER IV

**R**ESUMING the story of our sojourn in old Plymouth I will say, that we (that is to say, my brother and I) selected as our home, while conducting our researches, the Samoset (accent on the second syllable, according to the invariable pronunciation of the residents of the place), the proprietor of which, as we learned but a short time before bidding him adieu, is the son of a Civil War veteran who served in the Sixteenth Connecticut Volunteer Infantry. An earlier knowledge of this interesting fact, to us, also veterans of the War for the Union, would doubtless have added to our otherwise enjoyable sojourn at this homelike hostelry of old Plymouth.

Although my brother and I had several times within the twenty-five years past visited old Plymouth, and had each time paid our sincere respects to the rock on which the Pilgrim Fathers landed, our feet were again almost irresistibly drawn to the spot now considered sacred by every true lover of America; and, in accordance with the invariable custom of visitors to this national mecca, we once more stood upon the rock which the feet of our Pilgrim Fathers pressed as they stepped from the frail shallop in which they approached the "rock-bound" coast of New England.

Readers of this article will remember that the Mayflower, which had brought the Pilgrim Fathers from old England, anchored off what is now Provincetown, Mass., sometime in November, 1620. While at anchor at this point what is known as

The Pilgrim Compact was drawn up and signed by nearly every man on board, in the cabin of the vessel. A copy of this Compact will be found in the Appendix, with the names of the signers.

This first American constitution, which Lincoln pronounced the foundation of the American Republic, was drawn up on the lid of a chest, belonging to Elder Brewster. This chest of Norway pine is preserved in the Atheneum at Hartford, Connecticut.

It was while the Mayflower lay off Provincetown, that several excursions were made by a portion of the Pilgrims in the shallop brought over on the vessel which brought the Pilgrim Fathers; these excursions were made with the view to discovering a suitable place of landing for permanent settlement. The account of one of these excursions, written by Governor William Bradford, will be found to be of great interest.

During the last of these excursions, which started from off Provincetown on December 6, 1620, the shallop lost her rudder; and to "cap the climax" her mast was broken, which left her in a crippled condition. Drifting, at last, upon an island, which was subsequently named Clark's Island, after John Clark, the first mate of the Mayflower, the little company landed and spent Saturday, December 18th, in repairing their crippled craft. On Sunday, the 19th, the Pilgrims held their first religious service on shore. Next day, Monday, the 20th of December, the recruited company started out on another excursion; and on this day they made a landing on what is now known the wide world over as Plymouth Rock. I have mentioned these facts as an introduction to the statement that the landing of this little company from the shallop, consisting of but a small portion of the Pilgrims who came in the Mayflower, was *The Landing of the Pilgrims*.

The names of the sixteen persons who landed at Plymouth on December 20, 1620, are as follows: Miles Standish, John Carver, William Bradford, Edward Winslow, Edward Tillie, John Tillie, John Howland, Richard Warren, Stephen Hopkins, Edward Doty, Isaac Allerton, Thomas English, John Clark, mate, Coppin, pilot, master gunner and three sailors.

On Tuesday, December 21st, the Mayflower was brought up into Plymouth Harbor, and anchored in the channel; and by means of the shallop the remainder of the Pilgrims were transferred from the Mayflower to shore, landing, as did the little company on the previous Monday, on what we now call Plymouth Rock. Some historians state that Mary Chilton, an English maiden, was the first of the company that landed on the 21st, to step upon the rock which is now considered sacred by all true Americans.

One of the fondly anticipated pleasures of my recent visit to old Plymouth, was a trip, by sail boat, out to the spot in the harbor where the Mayflower is now supposed to have anchored on her arrival from Provincetown; and where she was moored until the spring of 1621. The change of temperature several degrees downward, however, cooled my ardor sufficiently to deter me from the undertaking. I had, therefore, to content myself with looking out across the choppy blue waters of the harbor and thus view from a distance the mooring place of the famous vessel that brought to these shores "the most uncommon company of common men and women" who ever crossed the trackless sea to lay the foundations of the most "uncommon" government on which the sun ever shone!

While we were still inside the iron railings of the granite canopy that now covers and encloses Plymouth Rock, a carriage containing an elderly woman, an apparently younger woman and a young man, the latter, as we subsequently learned, being the son of the younger of the two women, drove up to within a few yards of the canopy. The younger woman and her son stepped from the carriage and entered the canopy, and the elder woman remained in her comfortable seat, satisfied, evidently, to view the rock and canopy from the short distance which intervened. Mother and son, not only looked upon the rock, but the son assisted his mother to step up on its broad surface and afterward stepped up himself and stood for a few moments beside her. If I may be permitted to judge of the mother's emotions, as she stood on the rock, from the picture that appeared on her face, I will not hesitate to say that she considered herself amply repaid for any inconveniences she may have experi-



enced in making the trip to old Plymouth to enjoy the rare privilege of pressing her feet, even for a few moments, upon the rock which received the Pilgrim Fathers from the homely shallop in which they had, from necessity, approached the New England shore, on December 20, 1620.

A common historical sympathy made the little company of tourists acquainted, and, entering into conversation, we each soon ascertained the place of residence of the other. Acting upon the suggestion of the younger woman, my brother and I went out to the carriage in which the elder woman still sat, and were introduced to her; and from the brief conversation that ensued we learned that she was a resident of Stratford, Conn. I have recalled this little episode of our recent visit to Plymouth for the purpose, chiefly, of illustrating the fact that from all over this country, not to mention other countries, lovers of our national history and its humble but sublime beginnings at Plymouth are daily journeying to pay their sincere respects to the early home of those who laid the foundations of this glorious republic, and especially to see Plymouth Rock. It is said that 50,000 persons visit this American mecca annually.

Inasmuch as the following quotation from an article which recently appeared in a religious periodical exhibits such a superficial knowledge of the subject so glibly treated, I shall refrain from giving the author's name; he says:

"One gets quite a shock at the sight of Plymouth Rock. It is located near the steamboat wharf, and surrounded by warehouses, coal sheds, and other dingy buildings, and the atmosphere is permeated with a distinct odor of oil and fish. It seems as though the historic stone was worthy of a more artistic setting, but as Plymouth is founded and builded, both literally and figuratively, about this rock, we suppose it is ungracious to find fault with its situation. If our Pilgrim forefathers had been blessed with second sight, they, doubtless, would have exercised more discretion in selecting their landing-place and chosen one that would have made more impressive surroundings possible. But alas, we never know when we are making history. Another shock is to find that the rock is still quite large, despite the numberless pieces, guaranteed genuine, that have been sold as souvenirs."

Any person who has visited Plymouth with both eyes open and gone over even the business portion of this town of about 10,000 inhabitants, not to mention its residential portion, should have learned that neither literally nor figuratively is it "build-ed" nor was it "founded about this (Plymouth) rock." As a matter of fact Plymouth Rock, the landing place of the Pilgrim Fathers, lies at the eastern extremity of the old town; and the original settlement began near the rock and extended south westward and westward to the base of what is now known as Burial Hill, a distance of about an eighth of a mile, with the rude dwellings of the Pilgrims on either side of what was originally First, but is now Leyden street. Of those primitive dwelling houses of the Pilgrims I shall have occasion to speak more particularly at a later stage of our story.

Neither is Plymouth Rock surrounded "by warehouses, coal sheds, and other dingy buildings." It is true that to the eastward of the rock, in the direction of the water front, there are a few unpainted buildings that are not objects of beauty; but to the south westward and westward lies the town, and the buildings adjacent to the rock are all of respectable appearance and some are capacious and comfortable dwellings of a comparatively modern style of architecture.

As to the "distinct odor of oil and fish" which the article referred to asseverates permeates "the atmosphere" in the vicinity of Plymouth Rock, I do not hesitate to say that it is purely imaginative on the part of the writer of the article in question. I have visited the rock several times, and have sometimes remained in close proximity to it several hours, and I have never detected any "distinct odor of oil and fish."

But the "unkindest cut of all" of the article under consideration is the insinuation that the pieces of Plymouth Rock sold by the officials of Pilgrim Hall to visitors are spurious. I have at home among my modest collection of highly prized souvenirs a piece of Plymouth Rock which I purchased at Pilgrim Hall something like fifteen years ago; originally I had four pieces, but to friends who I thought would appreciate their value I gave all but a single piece about the size of a small hickory nut, which I shall continue to consider genuine and of great value as a

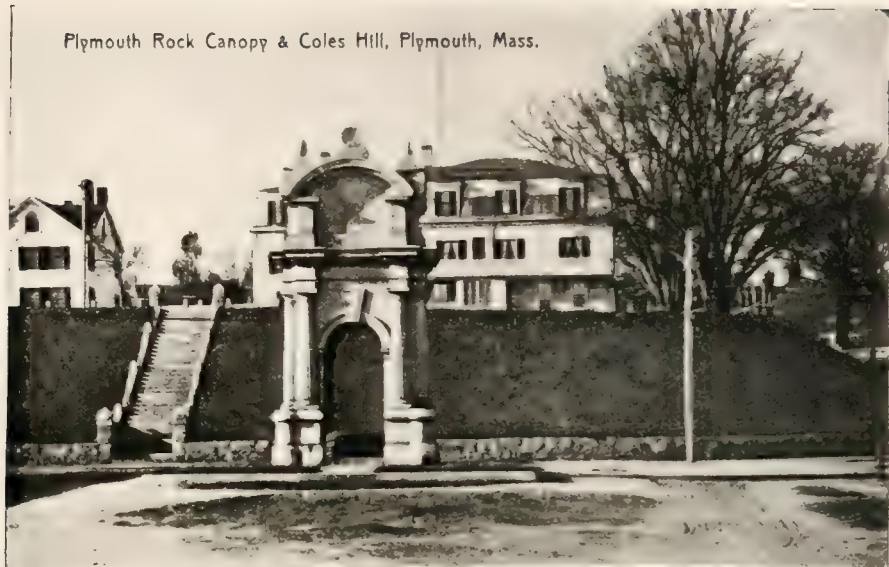
souvenir. And I shall request of my only son, who I trust may survive me many years, that he sacredly preserve this piece of the rock on which the Pilgrim Fathers landed on the 20th of December, 1620, and hand it down to a future generation. In proof of the genuineness of this piece of Plymouth Rock now in my possession I quote from a local historian of old Plymouth, as follows:

“In 1775, during the first fresh enthusiasm of the Revolution, in endeavoring to raise the rock from its bed on the shore, to prevent its being covered by the filling in of a wharf about it, this piece (the upper portion) split off. Auguries of the separation of the Colonies from the Mother Country were then drawn from the circumstance, and the upper part was taken, amidst much rejoicing, to Town Square, where it was deposited at the foot of a liberty pole from which waved a flag bearing the motto ‘Liberty or Death.’ It remained there until 1834, when, at a celebration of the Fourth of July, it was carried in procession to Pilgrim Hall, deposited in the front area, and enclosed by the iron fence which now surrounds the tablet with the Compact near the same spot. Here it remained forty-six years, its incongruous position, away from the water, not being understood by visitors without lengthy explanations.” It was therefore decided to reunite the parts of the rock at the original landing-place. \* \* \* “and accordingly on Monday, September 27, 1880, without ceremony, this part of the Rock was placed beneath the Monumental Canopy at the water-side, the reunited pieces probably now presenting much the same appearance as when the Pilgrim shallop grazed its side. As to the identity of this Rock, and the certainty of its being the very one consecrated by the first touch of Pilgrim feet on this shore, *there is not the slightest loop-hole for a doubt.*”

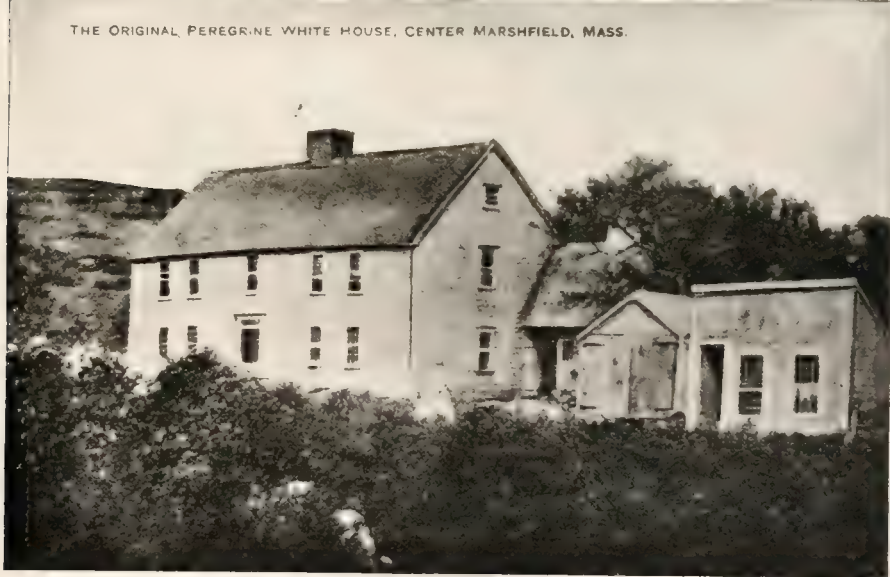
When the upper portion of Plymouth Rock was removed from its original position near the water up to Town Square (and my authority for this statement is a resident historian who may safely be accepted as reliable), one or more pieces of considerable dimensions became entirely separated from the Rock, and these separated pieces were taken in charge by the officials of Pilgrim Hall and subsequently broken up into pieces about the



Plymouth Rock Canopy & Coles Hill, Plymouth, Mass.



THE ORIGINAL PEREGRINE WHITE HOUSE, CENTER MARSHFIELD, MASS.







size of a small hickory nut and have since been sold at twenty five cents each; smaller pieces have been sold at ten cents each. During a visit to Pilgrim Hall about fifteen years ago, as already mentioned, I purchased four pieces of this Rock, three at ten cents and one at twenty-five cents, each. A Society so well backed, financially, would be, and is, under no sort of necessity of grossly deceiving visitors to Plymouth by selling them spurious fragments of the Rock on which the Pilgrims landed after their courageous voyage across the tumultuous ocean.

A few words concerning the landing place selected by the Pilgrim Fathers. After careful examination by sea faring men it was deliberately selected as the most suitable rock along the coast at the particular point where the Pilgrims had concluded to make a landing; and had "our Pilgrim forefathers been blessed with second sight" they could not have selected a more suitable place for landing than the identical rock (which, according to some geologists, is the only rock of the kind on the New England coast) to see which, thousands journey to old Plymouth each year.

It should be remembered that when the Pilgrim Fathers used what is now known as Plymouth Rock as a landing place, it lay at the water's edge; and the shallop which brought them, first from Clark's Island, on December 20, and subsequently from the Mayflower, anchored out in the harbor, on the 21st of December, 1620, "grazed its side" in order to get near enough for its precious human freight to be landed. If this rock were now at the water's edge, as originally, it would unquestionably possess an added charm to visitors who come from near and far to look admiringly upon it.

In order, however, to make a wharf for the accommodation of shipping the new made land was extended out into the waters of the harbor far beyond the original shore line, and this, of course, left the rock of landing inland a considerable distance, which position it now occupies; but it is, nevertheless, the identical rock on which the Pilgrim Fathers landed.

Of Plymouth Rock Alexis De Tocqueville, the gifted French author has most eloquently said: "This rock is become an object of veneration in the United States. I have seen bits of it care-

fully preserved in several towns of the Union. Does not this sufficiently show that all human power and greatness is in the soul of man? Here is a stone which the feet of a few outcasts pressed for an instant, and this stone becomes famous; it is treasured by a great nation, its very dust is shared as a relic, and what is become of the gateways of a thousand palaces?"

Inasmuch as one of the objects of our visit to the early home of the Pilgrim Fathers was the obtainment of some loose ends of data concerning our first paternal American ancestor, William Sherman, already mentioned, we promptly found our way to the Plymouth County Courthouse, which, by the way, according to the testimony of the judges of the old Bay State courts, who are familiar with the edifice, surpasses all other buildings of the kind in the commonwealth "in point of beauty and convenience."

"Here (in the Plymouth County Courthouse) are the earliest records of Plymouth County, in the handwriting of the men who are now held in reverence the world over for their courage in braving the perils of an unknown sea and an equally unknown shore, to face the dangers of savage men and savage beasts, in their constancy to what they believed to be their duty, and for planting on this spot the great principles of a government by the people.

"A church without a bishop,  
A state without a king.

"Here is their writing, some of it quaint and crabbed, some fair and legible. Here on these very pages rested the hands, fresh from handling the sword and musket, or the peaceful implements of husbandry, of Bradford and Brewster and Standish, and others of that heroic band."

Among the great pleasures of my life is that of having personally examined the pages of the Plymouth Colony records. That things valuable, interesting and even curious are to be found on the well-worn pages of these ancient records is to be presumed by those, even, who have never looked upon them. As illustrations, merely, of the truly rare character of these records I will say that while examining their pages I came across

several entries of great personal interest to me. For example, I learned that in the early part of the seventeenth century there arose a disagreement between my paternal ancestor, William Sherman, and the owner of an adjacent farm in Marshfield, over boundary lines; and in consequence, the two near neighbors were for some time at loggerheads with each other. It seeming to be impossible for the two neighbors to settle the difficulty between themselves, the court at Plymouth at length authorized Captain Miles Standish to go to Marshfield and arbitrate between the two hardheaded farmers; and, proceeding to the scene of the disagreement, about eight miles from Plymouth, the doughty captain soon adjusted the long standing difficulty to the mutual satisfaction of all parties concerned.

The following occurrence recorded in the Plymouth court proceedings, and which I came across during my researches of the records, may well, I think, be classed among the curious things of those early days: The use of tobacco was forbidden in the Plymouth Colony, and the penalty for the violation of the enactment was the imposition of a fine. My ancestor, William Sherman, chewed tobacco; and he was, therefore, cited into court to answer the charge of violating the enactment against its use. To this citation he promptly responded. He admitted using the "vile weed;" paid the fine imposed; returned to his home at Marshfield; continued the use of tobacco, and there is neither record nor tradition of his ever again being molested for his indulgence. From this incident one would naturally infer that the Marshfield farmer was well endowed with independence of character; and perhaps some of his descendants have inherited the same trait of character.

As I shall not again speak of the Plymouth Courthouse and its valuable and interesting documents of the early days of the Plymouth Colony I will here make brief mention of some of the more important of them; and such, also, as the readers of this serial will doubtless be more particularly desirous of hearing about. "Here—" I now quote from a little booklet issued many years ago by Messrs. Avery and Doten, of Plymouth—"is the plan of the plots of ground, first assigned for yearly use, which they called, in the tinge of the Dutch tongue they had acquired in



their long residence in Holland, 'meersteads.' Here are the simple and yet wise, rules—laws they can hardly yet be called—laid down for the government of the infant Colony. \* \* \* Here is the will of Standish; the order establishing jury trial, in Governor Bradford's writing; the order for the first customs law; the division of cattle into lots, one cow being divided into thirteen lots. It was four years after the Landing before any domestic cattle were brought over, and in order to equalize them they were divided into lots, each family having one. It must have been a pretty nice affair to divide the milk of one cow among thirteen parties, to satisfy all.

"Here, also, is the original patent of the Company from the Earl of Warwick, granted in 1629, with its great wax seal engraved for the purpose, and the original box in which it came from England. Here are the signatures, also, of nearly as much interest as those of the Pilgrims themselves; the marks of the original proprietors of all these broad fields and forests, whose names are represented by signs of bows and tortoises, of reptiles and animals; the race which has wasted away before the incoming flood, the first ripple of which we are tracing, like the morning dew before the rays of the rising sun. Traces of them yet remain. Hardly a year passes but their bones or their implements are thrown up by the plow or the spade. In the south part of the town, and in the next town of Sandwich, a few of unmixed blood still survive, descendants of the original inhabitants who saw the white sails of the Mayflower rise from the distant horizon and bear across the bay.

"Here are the ancient deeds written in the Indian language, as put in form by Eliot and Mayo. The record clerk must have had his patience severely taxed when they were copied."

I have quoted thus fully, here and elsewhere, from local historians, because of the special authority with which they, as natives and life-long residents, are qualified to speak in the matters of which they treat; and because, also, of the additional interest which attaches to their words.



Court House, Plymouth, Mass.



## CHAPTER V

## WE LINGER IN OLD PLYMOUTH

*"They built on Truth's foundation strong  
Where right is right, and wrong is wrong.  
So freedom, laws, and peace abound  
Wherever Pilgrim-seed is found."*

Next in interest, perhaps, to Plymouth Rock, in old Plymouth is Cole's Hill, just to the westward and southwestward of Plymouth Rock; indeed, Plymouth Rock is only a few feet to the eastward of the northerly end of Cole's Hill.

This hill, as it appeared to the little company of Pilgrims as they came on Monday, December 20th, 1620, from Clark's Island to make a landing at what is now Plymouth, is spoken of as "a steep, sandy cliff, the base of which is washed by the water \* \* \* at its foot a great boulder, brought from some far away coast by glaciers, in some long ago."

This hill is now covered with grass, and from the waters of the harbor one would not at present imagine it was ever "a sandy cliff."

A long flight of stone steps now runs from the base of Cole's Hill to its summit; and several wooden settees now afford opportunity for resting to those who are weary and footsore from "seeing the town's sights." Here the tourist may sit and leisurely reflect upon the trying experiences of the Pilgrim Fathers during their first winter on "the rock-bound shore" of New England.

I have several times sat on one of the seats at the summit of this hill near the Plymouth Rock House, and on the front veranda of this once popular hotel, and looked dreamily out to the eastward, and pictured to myself the Mayflower with her precious human freight making her way from Provincetown; leaving the Gurnet (with its present twin lighthouses) and Saquish and Clark's Island on the right; passing the northerly point of Plymouth Beach, and, turning to the southward find safe anchorage in the harbor channel, where the vessel remained until



the following spring, or, until she returned to England. And one of the most touching and heroic incidents in connection with the return of the Mayflower to England is the fact that not one of the seventeen men who survived the famine and disease of the first winter spent in Plymouth improved the opportunity offered them to return to old England! These, and a hundred other incidents of the settlement of the Pilgrim Fathers in Plymouth come trooping through the mind as one sits and looks out seaward from Cole's Hill.

"On this hill"—and again I quote from Messrs. Avery and Doten—"were buried in that dark, sad winter, in which they (the Pilgrims) landed, half of their little band. The terrible tale is told concisely by the narrator (Mourt's Relation) already quoted. 'This month (March) thirteen of our number died. And in three months past dies half our company; the greatest part in the depth of winter, wanting houses and other comforts, being afflicted with the scurvy and other diseases, which their long voyage and unaccommodate condition brought upon them; so as there die sometimes two or three a day. Of a hundred persons scarce fifty remaining; the living scarce able to bury the dead; the well not sufficient to tend the sick, there being, in their time of greatest distress, but six or seven, who spare no pains to help them.'

"They buried them on this hill, and levelled the graves, and in the spring following planted corn above them, that the Indians might not know the extent of their great loss.

"At four different times the remains have been discovered. In 1735, in a great rain, the water rushing down Middle Street to the Harbor, caused a deep gulley there, exposing human remains and washing them into the sea.

"In 1855, workmen engaged in digging trenches for the water works, found parts of five skeletons. The graves were in the roadway, about five rods south of the foot of Middle Street. One of the skulls was sent to a competent anatomist in Boston, and was pronounced to be of the Caucasian race.

"The remains were carefully gathered and placed in a metallic box, properly inscribed, and interred on Burial Hill, subse-

quently being deposited in the chamber of the Canopy over the Rock, at its completion in the year 1867.

“Again, on the 8th of October, 1883, during repairs on the hill, other remains were found, which were carefully removed and afterwards, on the 20th of November, enclosed in a lead box and reinterred on the precise spot of their original burial. Directly over the grave a granite slab has been placed by order of the town, bearing an appropriate inscription.

“On the 27th of November, 1883, others still were found, which lie undisturbed near the last, and their exact resting place is designated on the memorial slab above mentioned.

“Cole’s Hill has other histories, also. From the first days, its position over and commanding the harbor led to its being selected as a place of defence. In 1742 the General Court granted a sum of money to the town to erect a battery there.

“In 1775, the old defence having gone to decay, a new one was built and manned, and continued to be kept up during the war.

“In 1814 still another fort was thrown up here, and placed in charge of companies of soldiers, stationed in the town.

“The side of the hill facing the Rock was formerly covered with old and unsightly buildings, as for many years the town near the water was a favorite place for building. Some years ago the Pilgrim Society began to purchase these lots and tear down the buildings, until now the whole face of the hill to Middle Street is graded and grassed over, presenting a fine, green slope, and adding very much to the beauty of the locality.”

If the visitor to old Plymouth wishes to get a view of the surrounding region, the visual recollection of which will linger with him as “a thing of beauty and a joy” for many a day afterward, let him ascend to the summit of Burial Hill, or Fort Hill, as it is also called, by way of the long, sectional flight of wide stone steps leading from its base near the Congregational Unitarian and Congregational Trinitarian Churches.

Below the visitor, as he stands on the summit of Burial Hill, lies the town, whose churches and other public buildings are conspicuous objects.

In front, or to the eastward, lies the harbor; the long, narrow

beach, now known as Plymouth Beach, which serves as a natural breakwater to vessels anchored in the snug harbor, and, beyond the glistening sand of the beach the shimmering waters of Cape Cod Bay extending as far seaward as the unaided eye can reach.

To the left, or northward, lies Kingston Bay; Captain's Hill and the famous Standish Monument and Duxbury village; and a little to the eastward of the places mentioned, Clark's Island, named after John Clark, first mate of the Mayflower; Saquish, an Indian word signifying abundance of clams and the Gurnet which is said to derive its name from a similar promontory in the English Channel, near Plymouth, England, may be seen.

To the right, or southward, lies Town Brook from which the Pilgrims procured water for drinking and culinary purposes; the hill over which the Indian Chief, Massasoit, and his sachems and braves came for an interview with Captain Miles Standish and other militant Pilgrims, and, a little to the eastward lie Manomet Bluffs along which the shallop from the Mayflower felt its way while out in search of a landing place for the Pilgrim Fathers.

The foregoing is, of course, but a mere suggestion of the numerous points of historic interest which lie within the scope of the visitor's eye as he stands on the summit of Burial Hill; and the prospective visitor to the early home of the Pilgrim Fathers is recommended to avail himself of the fine view afforded, and to endeavor to do so when the ocean tide is in.

But of far greater interest to the visitor to old Plymouth, whose fondness for our early national history has drawn him thither, than the magnificent view above mentioned, is the hill itself, on whose summit he stands and, with eager eyes sweeps the horizon northward, eastward and southward.

To the left of the pathway leading from the top of the long flight of stone steps by which the visitor ascends to the summit of Burial Hill, and near the Cushman monument, may be seen the marker (a marble tablet) of the site of the fort erected by the Pilgrim Fathers soon after their landing at what they named Plymouth in commemoration of the place of final embarkation from old England. This fort was erected for protection against any enemies who might annoy the Pilgrims.

In his description of what he calls "New Plymouth," Isaac R De Rasieres, an officer from the Dutch Colony of New Netherlands, now New York, after a visit to the new settlement in 1637, says, with regard to the fort alluded to: "Upon the hill they have a large square house with a flat roof made of thick sawn planks stayed with oak beams, upon the top of which they have six cannon which shoot iron balls of four and five pounds and command the surrounding country. The lower part they use for their church, where they preach on Sundays and the usual holidays."

The worshippers, so historians inform us, went armed to church, or meeting, as it was then called, and were constantly on the alert for the approach of any enemies.

The selection of the site for the erection of this fort may almost certainly be credited to the sagacity of Captain Miles Standish, whose active service as a soldier in Europe he was turning to a good account on behalf of those who could pray more effectively than they could fortify for defence against hostile Indians.

It is said that traces of this old fort have been seen within a few years, especially at the easterly corner of the square structure.

The cannon mounted on the flat roof of this fort commanded First Street, now Leyden, to the water's edge near Plymouth Rock.

A little to the northward of the site of the old fort just mentioned is the site of the brick watch tower erected in 1643, now marked by a small oval stone set on a standard, and suitably inscribed.

This tower was built of brick purchased of a Mr. Grimes at eleven shillings per thousand. It enabled the Pilgrims to keep a strict watch of the movements of any hostile natives in their attempt to approach the infant settlement; and is said to have been erected as a result of the Indian threatenings preceding the Narragansett war.

The colony being threatened by the Narragansetts, Governor Bradford says: "they agreed to inclose their dwellings with a good strong pale, and made flankers in convenient places, with



gates to shute, which were every night locked and a watch kept and when need required ther was also warding in ye day time. And ye company was by ye Captaine and ye Govr advise, divided into 4 squadrons, and every one had ther quarter apoynted them, unto which they were to repaire upon any sudden alarme. This was accomplished very cherfully, and ye town impayled round by ye beginning of March, in which every family had a prety garden plote secured."

It was my good fortune to have as a guide over Burial Hill a young man, the son of one of Plymouth's lawyers. After examining, under the direction of my efficient guide, several of the older headstones and their quaint epitaphs, he took me to the site of the brick watch tower. Taking from one of his pockets a good sized jackknife, and opening the larger blade, he stooped down and dug from the ground twenty or more pieces of soft red brick, varying in size from that of a small filbert to that of an English walnut. Handing the pieces of brick to me he remarked: "These pieces of brick were a portion of the old brick watch tower erected by the Pilgrims in 1643."

The pieces of brick dug from the ground by my guide, and presented by him to me, save a few pieces I have given to appreciative friends, I now have among my modest collection of souvenirs at home.

In 1676, which was during the period of King Philip's war, Nathaniel Southworth was authorized by the town of Plymouth to construct a "watch house," which was "to be sixteen feet in length, twelve feet in breadth, and eight feet stud, to be walled with boards, and to have two floors, the upper floor to be six feet above the tower, to batten the walls and make a small pair of stairs in it, the roof to be covered with shingles, and a chimney to be built in it. For the said work he is to have eight pounds, either in money or other pay equivalent."

On the top of palisades built around the watch house of 1676 three cannon were mounted for repelling Indian attacks.

The fort on the hill overlooking the prospective Pilgrim settlement completed, a street, leading from the water's edge near Plymouth Rock up to the summit of the hill, was laid out, the original name of which was First Street, and later it was called

Great Street and sometimes Broad Street; it is now known as Leyden Street, and it has, by no means, lost, in appearance, all its original quaintness.

The first building erected by the Pilgrims after the completion of the fort on the hill was known as the Common House, which seems to have been used as a storehouse, and it may also have been utilized as a dwelling house by a portion, at least, of the Pilgrims, while the dwelling houses were in course of construction. The Common House stood on the south side of First Street, nearly down to the water's edge, not far from Plymouth Rock. In the Common House, Robert Cushman, so it is said by some historians, preached the first sermon delivered in New England; this was soon after this house was completed, which was during the winter of 1620-21.

The dwelling houses, eleven in number, were built, seven on the south side of the street and four on the north side, as follows: On the south side, beginning next to the Common House, they were occupied as follows: Peter Brown, John Goodman, William Brewster, John Billington, Isaack Allerton, Francis Cooke, Edward Winslow; and on the north side they were occupied as follows: Samuel Fuller, John Howland, Stephen Hopkins, Governor William Bradford.

Each dwelling house had a good sized garden plot in connection with it which was surrounded with a stockade for protection against sudden attack. In addition to the stockade around the house of Governor Bradford, cannon were mounted at the corners of the stockade.

De Rasieres, already quoted, who visited Plymouth in 1637, says of the settlement: "New Plymouth lies on the slope of a hill stretching east towards the sea coast, with a broad street about a cannon shot of eight hundred (yards) long leading down the hill, with a (street) crossing in the middle southwards to the rivulet and northward to the land. The houses are constructed of hewn planks, with gardens also enclosed behind, and the sides with hewn planks, so that their houses and court yards are arranged in very good order, with a stockade against a sudden attack, and at the ends of the streets there are three wooden gates. In the centre on the cross street stands the Governor's house,

before which is a square enclosure upon which four pateros (steen stucken) are mounted so as to flank along the streets."

Inasmuch as an article like this a complete and detailed account of the early settlement of the Pilgrims at Plymouth would be out of place the reader is referred to some good history of the place for further particulars.

## CHAPTER VI

### OUR SOJOURN IN OLD PLYMOUTH DRAWING TO A CLOSE

*"And still from age to age endure  
The fruits of faith and love so pure.  
Like drops of iron in the blood,  
They onward flow a precious flood."*

No visitor to old Plymouth should omit spending an hour, at least, in Pilgrim Hall, the repository of many rare relics of early colonial days and later. Among these interesting relics, for only a few can be here specified, are the cradle in which Peregrine White, the first child born to the Pilgrims after the arrival of the Mayflower at "Cape Codd," was rocked; a chair used by Governor Carver, the first governor of the Plymouth Colony, who died soon after the landing of the Pilgrims; a model of the ship Mayflower; a Bible owned by John Alden which was printed in 1620; a sword owned and used by Captain Miles Standish, on one side of the blade of which is an inscription, in the Arabic language, which translated into English, reads: "With peace God ruled his slaves and with judgment of his arm he gave trouble to the valiant of the mighty or courageous"—or wicked. On the reverse side of the sword are two inscriptions; a part of one of these inscriptions is said to read: "In God is all might." All three inscriptions are said to have been engraved by the Moham-medans. The sword is said to have been made of meteoric iron—iron ore which fell to the earth in a meteoric shower. "It was believed by them (the Arabs) that the virtue of the metal would strengthen them against the fatigue of the muscles, and charm their lives from the attack and thrust of the enemy." This sword was presented to the Pilgrim Society by one of the Standish heirs in 1824.

Beside the Standish sword there may be seen at Pilgrim Hall a box containing relics found among the ruins of the house of Miles Standish, in Duxbury; a piece of the hearthstone of the house of Miles Standish, in Duxbury; an iron pot and pewter plates brought over in the Mayflower by Miles Standish; a piece of embroidery in worsted or silk letters worked on thin canvas, the handiwork of Lorea Standish, the daughter of the Captain, consisting of several lines of poetry, as follows: "Lord guide my heart that I may doe thy will. Also fill my hands with such convenient skill, as may conduce to virtue void of shame, and I will give the glory to thy name."

Many large and well executed oil paintings, depicting various scenes and incidents in connection with the departure of the Pilgrims from the old country and with their arrival in this country, adorn the walls of the rooms of Pilgrim Hall, and are highly suggestive and instructive. Nor should I omit mentioning the numerous life-size portraits in oil of men of more recent years, men who have left their impress upon our national history and whose names occupy prominent places upon the pages thereof. Of these portraits I will only mention those of Daniel Webster, the eminent American statesman; Alexander H. Rice, once governor of the Old Bay State; General Joseph Trumbull, first Speaker of the House of Representatives, at Washington, D. C.; and Joshua Thomas, the first President of the Pilgrim Society, of Plymouth.

In the glass show cases arranged about the rooms may be seen numerous articles of great interest. I was somewhat startled while examining the contents of one of these cases to see the original deed of a piece of land given by my paternal ancestor, William Sherman, to his son Samuel, dated June 9, 1673. Of this deed I have a copy, furnished by the officials of the Pilgrim Society, of Plymouth, Mass. The deed begins as follows: "To all people to whom these presents shall come. William Sherman Senr. of the Towne of Marshfield, in the jurisdiction of New Plymouth in New England in America, yeoman sendeth greeting, And further know you That I the above sayd William Sherman out of my singular good affection to my natural sone Samuel Sherman of the sayd Towne of Marshfield in the jurisdiction of



New Plymouth afore sayd, Have given, and granted, and by these presents doe fully, freely, clerly, and absolutely give and grant unto my sd sone Samuell and unto his heirs forever a certayne tract or portion of Lande and medowe, being a part of those lands whereon I now dwell in the Towne of Marshfield aforesayd, (viz) of my upland twenty poales in breadth on the southerly side of my sd Lott, beginning at the northerly bounds of the lott of Thomas Dogget, and at my southerly bounds, being the same particularly known at the foote or Easterly eynd of our lands at a Rock which is between the medow, and a swamp on the upland, And soe for breadth to run Northerly Twenty poales into my Lott, and in length to run from the medowe westward the wholl length of my lands, both of my first purchase, and also of my later additional grant from the above sd towne, together with the one-halfe or moyety of the Marsh and medow land apertayneing to my sayd lot (viz) the southerly part or side also of my marsh and medow by equall and just division or measure; All the above mentioned Lands, both upland and medow or marsh together with all the woods, waters, and all, and all manner of proffits privileges, benefits, Emoluments and munities from thense arising and acruing or therunto any way aptertayneing or belonging; I the above sayd William Sherman Senr. have and by these presents doe fully, freely, clearly, and absolutely, Give, Grant, bargaen confirm and pass over from myself and all other my heirs forever unto my sayd Sone Samuell Sherman and his heirs forever, etc."

This deed, about one-third of which is given above, was "signed, sealed and delivered in presence of Peregrine White and Francis Crooker," and was acknowledged before Governor Josiah Winslow.

It may be of interest to the readers of this book to know that the author of this serial has copies of two other deeds given by his paternal ancestor, William Sherman, one, of land given to his son, John Sherman, on February 5, 1673, and the other of land given to his son, William, Jr., on August 15, 1676; both of these deeds were "signed sealed and delivered in the presents of John Doged (Dogget) and Samuell Sprague," and were both acknowledged before Governor Josiah Winslow.

The two last mentioned deeds were copied from the Plymouth County Records.

On the left of the outer entrance to Pilgrim Hall may be seen an ornamental iron fence surrounding a stone slab bearing the words of the Compact made in the cabin of the Mayflower on the 11th of November, 1620, while the vessel lay off "Cape Codd;" and on the fence may be seen the names of the forty-one Pilgrims who affixed their signatures to this important document, and thus laid the broad foundation of the great Republic whose inestimable blessings we, of the Twentieth Century, enjoy.

I would gladly linger longer around Pilgrim Hall but for the fear of wearying my readers; I will, therefore, bid adieu to it and will express the hope that not a few of my readers who have not already done so, may, in the not distant future visit old Plymouth and see for themselves the home of the Pilgrim Fathers and the collection of interesting relics preserved in Pilgrim Hall.

While in old Plymouth a few years ago my brother and I attended the morning service at the Congregational Unitarian Church. We were drawn to this particular place of worship on the occasion mentioned by the previous announcement that Professor William Everett, of Harvard University, was to conduct the service. Professor Everett, as all my readers may not be aware, was the son of the Hon. Edward Everett, the brilliant New England orator, whose masterly oration on Washington it was once my great privilege to hear; and the recollection of the tumbler of water on the pulpit desk before him in which he gracefully dipped the index finger of his right hand and permitted the water adhering to it to drop back into the tumbler, as an illustration of the purity of character of the "Father of his Country," is ineffaceably impressed upon my mind.

The glowing commendations we had heard of the stained glass windows which adorn and beautify the church above mentioned were another attraction to us.

Among the stained glass windows in this church is one in the rear of the pulpit representing the signing of the Compact in the cabin of the Mayflower, by the Pilgrim Fathers, while the vessel lay off "Cape Codd," before her arrival at Plymouth. Through an open hatchway overhead the light can be seen

streaming in upon the signers, lighting up the page upon which their names were being solemnly written. The colors of this window are superb; the perspective is perfect, and the entire effect of the truly artistic picture is such that I do not hesitate in pronouncing it one of the finest stained glass windows I have ever beheld.

The élite of old Plymouth seemed to be present on that Sunday morning. The preliminary exercises were, to me, unusually impressive, and were supplemented by the rich furnishings and subdued light of the beautiful interior of the edifice.

The preacher had his discourse written in full. The manuscript he held in his left hand almost on a level with his eyes. With his free right hand he gesticulated in a most significant manner. The eloquence of Professor Everett in the delivery of his most excellent discourse "knocked into a cocked hat" the popular opinion that extemporaneous preaching, so-called, is the most effective style of delivery. My recollection of the eloquence of the Boston preacher on the occasion referred to is still vivid. The speaker has since passed away.

During our visit to old Plymouth in September, 1911, my brother and I attended the morning service at the Congregational Trinitarian Church, known as the "Church of the Pilgrimage." This plain church edifice is supposed to occupy a portion of the land once owned and occupied by Governor William Bradford in the earliest days of the Plymouth Colony. The interior of this edifice is severely plain and hence in marked contrast with that of the Congregational Unitarian Church edifice. The excess, indeed, I may say, glare of light in the Trinitarian Church, is not, in my opinion, conducive to that quietness of spirit which ministers to the worshipful frame of mind. The pastor of this church was the Rev. W. W. Dornan, D. D. The preliminary exercises were helpful and the sermon was thoroughly "evangelical." At the close of the service I was introduced to the pastor, who invited me to preach for him in the evening, but for good and sufficient reasons I declined the invitation so courteously extended to me. Under ordinary circumstances it would have been a peculiar pleasure to me to occupy the pulpit of this church in old Plymouth.

Since our return from old Plymouth I have read in one of the New York dailies that the Rev. Mr. Dornan has recently delivered a lecture in his church in which he demolished, to his own satisfaction, at least, some of the long revered traditions of the colonial days. To an interviewer Mr. Dornan is reported to have said: "One of the beautiful romances in tradition is that which has been immortalized by Longfellow in the poem 'The Courtship of Miles Standish.' There is no history to confirm the thought that Standish ever thought of the beautiful pilgrim maiden. If he ever thought of marrying again after the death of his wife Rose, his thought went out to England to a sister of Rose, who dwelt there. John Alden courted Priscilla, but while he did he was not speaking for the 'doughty warrior,' but was in reality speaking for himself. It was all a pretty theory worked out by our beloved poet, but there is nothing in it."

From the booklet published in 1895 by Messrs. Avery and Doten the following is quoted by way of an explanation of the true relation between the Congregational Unitarian and Congregational Trinitarian Churches, of old Plymouth, referred to above: "On the corner of Main Street is a large building, built in 1876 by Mayflower Lodge, I. O. O. F. \* \* \* This building covers the spot on which stood the house of William Bradford, so many years the Pilgrim Governor. Above this is the Congregationalist 'Church of the Pilgrimage,' built in 1840, standing, it is believed, on the exact locality of the first meeting house. \* \* \* At the head of the square is the church of the First Parish, the original church of the Pilgrims. It is now of the Unitarian denomination. The present church, an imitation of the Gothic, was built in 1830. The first 'meeting house,' as the Pilgrims called them, to distinguish them from the houses of worship of the established church, has been proved, by the investigations of W. T. Davis, to have stood on the north side of the square, near the spot occupied by the tower of Odd Fellows' Hall and the store of Hatch and Shaw. Of this we know but little, except that it was erected in 1638 (the Forefathers before that time worshipping in the fort on the hill), and had a bell. In 1683 a new building was erected, not on the same lot, but farther out at the head of the square. This was forty-five by forty feet, six-



teen feet in the walls, had a gothic roof, diamond window glass and a bell. In 1774 still another church was built, on or near the same site. This remained until the present one was built, which stands farther up the hill than the previous ones.

Thus, to briefly state the case, the edifice of the "Church of the Pilgrimage," Congregational Trinitarian, occupies the site, approximately, of the original "meeting house" erected by the Pilgrims in 1638; but the original church organization now worships in the Congregational Unitarian Church edifice on the opposite side of Town Square.

I will not fail to mention the uniform courtesy extended to my brother and me by the members of Collingwood Post, No. 76, Department of Massachusetts, Grand Army of the Republic, during our sojourn in old Plymouth. Because of our membership in posts of the Grand Army of the Republic in the "Nutmeg State" and in New Jersey, the key to the post rooms was placed at our disposal, so that we had free access to them at all hours. At the rooms we met and conversed with several of the Comrades, whose hospitality was especially appreciated because of the inclement weather which necessitated much indoor occupation. In the comfortable post rooms, episodes, incidents and experiences of the Civil War in which we bore a part half a century ago, were freely exchanged. Among the interesting features of the post room furnishings is a large wooden mortar in the center of the hall which can be so adjusted as to be used as an altar in connection with the post meetings.

One of the members of Collingwood Post, No. 76, recently deceased, was Comrade Winslow Brewster Standish, a lineal descendant of Captain Miles Standish of colonial days, between whom and his famous ancestor it is said there was a striking resemblance. For many years before his decease Comrade Winslow Brewster Standish kept an antique store in old Plymouth, known far and wide as "The Olde Curiosity Shop," and perhaps some of the readers of this book who have visited the early home of the Pilgrim Fathers have patronized his place of business.

Comrade Standish, a few years before his decease, posed for one of the figures now to be seen on the monument in old Plymouth, erected to perpetuate the memory of the Pilgrim Fathers.

While in old Plymouth I was informed that preparations are already on foot for a suitable celebration, in the year 1920, of the three hundredth anniversary of the landing of the Pilgrim Fathers, and the establishment of this great republic in the humble cabin of the Mayflower. It is a celebration toward which every true American should look with deep interest.

I beg to assure my readers that it is not "pride of ancestry" that moves me to mention what is to follow, but rather the thought that its mention may be a matter of interest, and perhaps, of pleasure, to them; and with these words of introduction I proceed to say, that I have the duly attested credentials to show that through my paternal grandmother, a native and life-long resident of Marshfield, whose maiden name was Mitchell, I am descended from Edward Doty, John Alden and Priscilla Mullin; and from my great grandfather, Ebenezer Sherman, who married a Simmons, I am also descended from Captain Miles Standish. Doty, Alden, Mullins and Standish were among the "emigrants" from Old England in the year 1630.

For reasons which I will not now mention I have never, however, joined any of the societies, such as the Mayflower Descendants. I cannot and will not deny that the thought of having the ancestry above mentioned is a pleasing one; but I am "fully persuaded" that "every tub should stand on its own bottom," and I am trying to cultivate that species of manly independence, instead of "clinging to the skirts" of my ancestors.

Realizing that I may have been only tantalizingly brief in my reference to old Plymouth, Massachusetts, but hoping I have said enough to create a desire in the hearts of some, at least, of my readers, to visit for themselves this quaintly interesting town, I will close this chapter with the following concise tribute to our forefathers:

*"From seed they sowed with weeping,  
Our richer harvests rise,  
We still the fruits are reaping  
Of Pilgrim enterprise.  
Then grateful we to them will pay  
The debt of fame we owe,  
Who planted here the tree of life  
So many years ago."*

## CHAPTER VII

## EN ROUTE TO MARSHFIELD HILLS, MASS.

*“And everywhere New England’s name  
Is fragrant with the Pilgrim’s fame.  
A mighty power to guard and save  
Still issues from each honored grave.”*

Our delightful visit in old Plymouth concluded we took an early morning train for Marshfield Hills (formerly East Marshfield), one of the eight villages, each with its postoffice, in Marshfield township, which township is the third to the northward of Plymouth in the direction of the “hub.”

The extensive rope manufactory of the Plymouth Cordage Company with its many buildings of various dimensions and styles in the northern outskirts of Plymouth is conspicuous as one passes it on the steam cars. This rope manufactory is said to be the largest in this country, if not in the world. The numerous substantial modern dwelling houses contiguous to the rope plant occupied by the employes form a village of considerable size. In this manufactory, established nearly a century ago, where the rope was for many years made by hand (but now by machinery), ropes of various sizes are made, from “lines smaller than a lead pencil to immense cables fit to hold the largest ships in the severest gales.” It is, perhaps, superfluous to say that this rope manufactory with its hundreds of employes contributes liberally to the material prosperity of old Plymouth.

In passing through Kingston, formerly Kingstown, the next township to the northward of Plymouth, one is impressed by its ancient and decidedly sleepy appearance; and a lively imagination can see the early inhabitants in their broad brim and high crown Pilgrim hats treading with measured and dignified steps its irregular streets and lanes.







*Dr. J. M. Bernhisel*

# History of the Mormon Church

BY BRIGHAM H. ROBERTS, Assistant Historian of the Church

## CHAPTER LXXX

### THE TERRITORY OF UTAH AND THE CHURCH

**T**HE history of the Church of the Latter-day Saints is inseparably associated with the history of the territory of Utah. Hence the history of the one must largely include the history of the other. In the treatment of the incidents that go to the making of that dual history certain principles, that deserve to be regarded as essentially American, must be presented and held constantly in view, else there will be no right understanding had of those things that are to be considered.

Among the things thus to be held in consciousness is the American principle of the right of local self-government. This right is inherent in the doctrine that governments derive their just powers from the consent of the governed. The declaration of the ability of people for self-government, holds within it the implied right of local self-government, which one may say, so largely enters into the American system. Hence the delegation of part of the sovereign power of the people to the national government and to the states respectively; with the residue of power granted neither to the nation nor to the states, but reserved to the people. The powers granted to the nation are exercised in affairs purely national; the powers granted to the states respectively are employed in affairs pertaining to a state—a concession to the right of local self-government. And in order that government in its practical administration may be exercised as nearly as possible by the people of a vicinage, municipal and county governments obtain. Not that sovereignty

belongs to municipal or county governments; for over the county and township governments the state exercises a general supervision; "indeed it clothes them with their authority."<sup>1</sup> Government that exists by the consent of the governed and bears directly upon the citizen, to be of first rate value to him, must be local government, as surely as trial by jury, to be of real value in the preservation of liberty, must be a jury of one's peers and of the vicinage; so that, in the latter case, one accused of crime may rest assured that he will be tried by men who will view the facts which go to the making up of his alleged crime in harmony with the conceptions and ideals that obtain in the community where the accused lives and in which the alleged offense was committed: so, also, the value and purpose of local self-government is that its administration may be in harmony with local conceptions of rights and duties; and also that government may be administered by a system "under which the greatest number of minds knowing the most, and having the fullest opportunities of knowing it, about the special matter in hand, and having the greatest interest in its well working, have the management of it or control over it."<sup>2</sup>

As it was the violations of the right of local self-government which went so far in making up the long list of grievances of the American colonies against the imperial government of Great Britain,<sup>3</sup> so, for well nigh half a century, did violations of the

1. "Civil Government in the United States." Fiske, pp. 191-2.

2. Toulmin Smith's "Local Self Government and Centralization," London, 1851, p. 12. Quoted with approval by Fiske, as a definition of local self-government. See Civil Government in the U. S., p. 302. Fiske also quotes our author's definition of "centralization," as follows: "Centralization is that system of government under which the smallest number of minds, and those knowing the least, and bearing the fewest opportunities of knowing it, about the special matter in hand, and having the smallest interest in its well-working, have the management of it, or control over it."

3. To prove which, let the facts, condensed from the Declaration of Independence, be submitted:

The king of Great Britain has refused his assent to laws the most wholesome and necessary for the public good.

He has forbidden his governors to pass laws of immediate and pressing importance.

He has refused to pass other laws for the accommodation of large districts of people, unless they would relinquish the right of representation in the legislature.

He has called together legislative bodies at places unusual, uncomfortable and distant from the depository of their public records.

He has dissolved representative houses repeatedly. He has refused for a long time to cause others to be elected.

right of local self-government in the case of Utah constitute the chief source of the trouble between the people of the territory and the government of the United States.

Of the alternative propositions presented by the Salt Lake colonists to congress, the ratification of the provisional state government formed by them, or the creation of a territorial government, congress acted upon the second. The organic act which created the territory was approved on the 9th of September, 1850. A full set of territorial officers was shortly afterwards<sup>4</sup> appointed by President Fillmore, with the advice and consent of the senate of which the following is the list

*Governor*, Brigham Young, of Utah; *Secretary*, Broughton D. Harris, of Vermont; *Chief Justice*, Joseph Buffington, of Pennsylvania; *Associate Justices*, Perry E. Brocchus, of Alabama; Zerubbabel Snow, of Ohio, a Mormon; *U. S. Attorney*, Seth M. Blair, of Utah; *U. S. Marshal*, Joseph L. Heywood, of Utah.

Brigham Young was also appointed Indian agent for the Territory, and Stephen B. Rose and Henry R. Day sub-Indian agents; the sub-agents were not residents of Utah, nor Mormons. The four officers in the above list whose residence is given as Utah and Ohio, were members of the Church of the Latter-day Saints; the other three were non-Mormons. Joseph Buffington, however, refused to serve, and Lemuel H. Brandebury, of Pennsylvania, was appointed chief justice in his place. The news of these appointments reached Salt Lake City on the

He has obstructed the administration of justice by refusing to give his assent to laws for establishing judiciary powers.

He has made judges dependent on his will alone for the tenure of their office.

He has erected a multitude of new officers, and sent hither swarms of officers to harass the people.

He has kept among us, in times of peace, standing armies without the consent of our legislature.

He has affected to render the military independent of and superior to the civil power.

He has combined with others to subject us to a jurisdiction foreign to our constitution.

He imposed taxes upon them without their consent.

He deprived them, in many cases, of the benefits of trial by jury.

He transported them beyond seas to be tried for pretended offences.

He suspended their own legislatures and declared the British parliament invested with power to legislate for the colonies in all cases whatsoever.

4. The date of the appointments is given as the 20th of September by Bancroft (Hist. of Utah, p. 436). As the 28th of September in Rocky Mountain Saints, p. 274. Bernhisel under date of Oct. 3rd, 1850, in a letter to E. Snow, announces the accompanying list, hence the appointment was made previous to that date. *Mill. Star*, Vol. XII, p. 330.



27th of January, 1850; and on the 3rd of February following, Brigham Young qualified by taking the oath of office as governor of Utah, before Daniel H. Wells, chief justice of the state of Deseret.<sup>5</sup> The list of the appointments was contained in the New York *Tribune* of the 11th of October, which reached Salt Lake on the above date; and it was upon that information that Governor Young proceeded. Joseph L. Heywood, appointed to be U. S. marshal, was the first to receive this commission, which came in April, and he at once filed his bond with the secretary of state of Deseret, ready to be delivered to the secretary of the Territory, when the latter officer should arrive, and immediately entered upon the duties of his office.<sup>6</sup> The other officers were absent from the territory, but arrived on the following dates: Chief Justice Brandebury on the 7th of June; Judge Snow, Secretary Broughton D. Harris, Stephen B. Rose, and Henry R. Day, the last two the sub-Indian agents for the territory, on the 19th of July;<sup>7</sup> and Judge Brocchus on the 17th of August.<sup>8</sup> With the officers who arrived on the 19th of July came also Almon W. Babbitt, who had been entrusted with \$20,000 appropriated by Congress for the erection of suitable public buildings at the seat of government; and Dr. Bernhisel, who had been appointed by President Fillmore to purchase a library for Utah, for which purpose congress had appropriated \$5,000. Secretary Harris also brought with him the \$24,000 congress had appropriated for the expenses of the legislature.

The organic act creating the territory required that the governor should "cause a census or enumeration of the inhabitants of the several counties and districts of the territory to be taken," and the first election to be "held at such time and places, and be conducted in such manner, as the governor shall appoint and direct." Governor Young learning from the eastern mail in November, 1850, that he had been appointed to take a "census of Deseret,"<sup>9</sup> notwithstanding the non-arrival of instructions

5. Hist. Brigham Young Ms., January and February entries, for 1851, pp. 6-7.

6. *Deseret News*, for 19th April, 1851, p. 244.

7. Hist. of Brigham Young Ms., entry for July, 1851, pp. 55. The party which included Dr. J. M. Bernhisel and Almon W. Babbitt, were detained by high water at the Elk Horn. Id.

8. Hist. Brigham Young Ms., 1851, p. 59. See also Congressional Globe, First session of 32nd Congress, Appendix, new series, Vol. XXV, p. 84, *et seq.*

9. "And Willard Richards, Post Master, Salt Lake City," Hist. Brigham Young Ms., p. 117; and *Deseret News*, of Nov. 30, 1850.

and blanks, proceeded to do so, instructing his "assistants to make out two sets of returns, one for the United States as census agent for Deseret, and one for Utah."<sup>10</sup> This work in the Governor's judgment was sufficiently advanced early in July to warrant his issuing a proclamation apportioning the representation of the several counties in the territorial legislative assembly, and fixing upon the first Monday in August as the time of the election.<sup>11</sup>

All this was done before the arrival of the secretary of the territory and therefore without his seal and signature to any of the documents of the several acts of procedure, and technically not strictly in legal order. Governor Young's justification for proceeding in these preliminary steps in the inauguration of the territorial regime was that the election of a delegate to Congress might be held in time to admit of his departure for Washington "before the lateness of the season would render the long and arduous journey dangerous, if not impracticable."<sup>12</sup> He also calls attention to the fact that although the secretary, with

10. See Report of Governor Young to President Fillmore, Congressional Globe, First session of 32nd Congress, new series, Vol. XXV, p. 91. The Organic Act did not require a full census, but only "an enumeration of the inhabitants." *Id.* The non-arrival of instructions and blanks, etc., the Governor attributes to a "total miscarriage" of them. *Id.* Later we shall see that the U. S. officials of the territory who left their posts in Utah reported that there had been no satisfactory census of the territory taken up to the time of their arrival; upon which point Brigham Young in March, 1852, records the following in his journal—Ms.—history: "Mr. Kennedy, Superintendent of the 7th census, having on two different occasions expressed himself much pleased with the manner and accuracy with which I had taken the census of our territory, and the returned officers having denied in their report that the census was taken at all, Mr. Kennedy wrote to our delegate a very satisfactory letter upon the subject." (Hist. Brigham Young Ms. entry for March, 1852, p. 32.)

11. The Proclamation is published in full in *Deseret News* of July 12th, 1851. The election was to be conducted "in accordance with the existing laws of the provisional government of the state of Deseret regulating elections," passed by the general assembly of that state in 1849. There were to be 13 councilors and 26 representatives apportioned as follows: Salt Lake county, 6 councilors and 13 representatives; Weber county, 2 councilors and 3 representatives; Davis county, 1 councilor, 3 representatives; Toole county, 1 representative; Utah county, 2 councilors and 3 representatives; Sanpete county, 1 councilor and 2 representatives; Iron county, 1 councilor and 2 representatives. At the same time and place the delegate to congress was to be chosen. The day of the election was appointed on the same day that county and precinct officers were to be elected under the law of the state of *Deseret*, and the people were urged to elect these officers as usual. *Deseret News* for July 12th, 1851.

12. "Hence my anxiety," he adds, "to proceed with as little delay as possible in obtaining the enumeration of the inhabitants, preparatory to apportioning the members of the council and house of representatives to be elected from each." Report of Governor Young to President Fillmore, Congressional Globe, new series, Vol. XXV, p. 91.

the other territorial officers had been appointed in the fall of 1850, they did not make their appearance in Utah until nearly one year afterwards;<sup>13</sup> and when it is remembered that the colonists of Deseret had been without any recognized government since their arrival in Salt Lake valley, four years before, it is not matter for wonderment if they manifested some impatience for the inauguration of the government now authorized by congress and the administration.

On the arrival of the sub-Indian agents Governor Young by proclamation divided the territory into three agencies: the first to be known as the "Parvan Agency," to include all the territory "west of the Shoshone [Indian] nation, and north of the Parvan valley;"<sup>14</sup> the second to be known as the "Unita Agency," to include all the Snake or Shoshones, the Unita, Yampa and other tribes south within said territory, and east of the eastern rim of the Great Basin;<sup>15</sup> the third to be known as the "Parowan Agency," to include all the country lying west of the eastern rim of the Great Basin, and south of the south line of the Parvan valley to the western bounds of the territory.<sup>16</sup> The two sub-agents having arrived on the 19th of July, the above divisions of the territory into agencies was announced by proclamation of Governor Young on the 21st. Henry R. Day was appointed to the Parvan Agency; and Stephen B. Rose to the Unita Agency.<sup>17</sup>

With nearly equal promptness the governor announced the judicial districts of the territory. Chief Justice Brandebury had been in Salt Lake City since early in June. The arrival of Judge Snow on the 19th of July made a majority of the judiciary present in the territory, and on the 8th of August Governor Young issued a proclamation dividing the territory into three judicial districts, and appointing the judges as follows: The first district comprised Salt Lake and Tooele counties and the

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13. *Ibid.*

14. This would include the present counties of Millard, the western part, at least, of Juab, Tooele, and Box Elder; and much of the territory of the present state of Nevada.

15. This was practically the eastern half of the Territory which then included the western half of the present state of Colorado.

16. This would include the southwest portion of the present state of Utah and much of the southern part of the present state of Nevada.

17. *Deseret News* of July 26, 1851, from Proclamation *in extenso*.



adjacent territory east and west to the boundaries of the territory including Bridger precinct; this district was assigned to Judge Brandebury. The second district comprised Weber and Davis counties and the adjacent territory east and west, and north to the boundaries of the territory, to which Judge Snow was assigned. The third district comprised Utah, Sanpete, and Iron counties, and the adjacent territory east and west, and south to the boundaries of the territory, to which Judge Broechus was assigned.<sup>18</sup> To the proclamation creating these districts and making these appointments the signature of the secretary of the territory was attached.<sup>19</sup>

The election of the members to the legislature, the delegate to congress, and the county and precinct officers, took place on the first Monday in August, and it would seem that the whole setting for the peaceful inauguration of the territorial government was completed. It was at this juncture, however, that the evil effects of violating the right of local self-government became apparent. In the very beginning of territorial government the clash came between the people of Utah and the officers not of the vicinage, men in no way in sympathy with the people among whom they had come to administer the law; but, on the contrary, utterly opposed to them in sentiment, in habits of thought, and in customs. Inasmuch as this first clash between the people of Utah and such United States officers contains all the elements that enter into many other such and subsequent conflicts, extending through nearly half a century, I think this an appropriate place to consider those elements, and it will obviate the necessity of referring to them later.

The Latter-day Saints themselves were a people of many grievances, and had many just causes of complaint,—as we have abundantly seen in previous chapters of this work—against the local communities in which they had lived, as also against the state governments of Missouri and Illinois; which governments had not only refused them the protection guaranteed by the constitutions and laws of those states, but the chief executives of both states, with other high state officials in each, had sided

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18. For Proclamation, see *Deseret News*, Aug. 19th, 1851.

19. See Proclamation in *Deseret News* of August 19, 1851.



with the tormentors of the Saints, made common cause with the mobs against them, and became factors in effecting their expulsion from the states named, and of their final expatriation from their country. To all this, notwithstanding the frequent appeals and petitions for redress of grievances made to it, the general government was a witness, but took no steps to rescue the Saints from the manifest injustice of mob violence, nor to interfere with the course of the state governments, either when they withheld the protection of constitutional provisions and the state laws, or gave their official sanctions to the procedure of mobs, on the sufficient plea of constitutional limitations to federal authority.

In nursing remembrance of these grievances, made vivid by the toils, and sufferings, and deaths incident to their exodus from the United States, and their subsequent settlement in the Great Basin, it is not to be marveled at if the Latter-day Saints sometimes spoke bitterly, even the wisest and best of them; and that they did not always, and perhaps not at all, make nice distinctions as to where responsibility began and ended for the injustice heaped upon them. The general government, seemingly, to them, was clothed with great and even sufficient power to prevent injustice in a state; or, failing in that, possessed of power to redress the injured of their grievances: then to remain inactive, and even refuse to exert its supposed authority when appealed to, was in the view of the Saints equivalent to giving sanction to, and becoming responsible for, the crimes committed in the state, and especially for those committed or sanctioned by the state officials. And such was often the argument when charging responsibility for their sufferings to the general government.<sup>20</sup>

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20. Such was the argument made by President Young on the 7th of September, in the presence of the recently arrived U. S. Territorial officials. (Woodruff's *Journal Ms.*, under date of 7th September, 1851). Such in effect was his argument when answering Judge Brochus, when the judge in a public meeting had taken exception to these remarks, and to the speech of D. H. Wells to the same effect on the 24th of July previous. Governor Young in the latter instance said: "It is well known to every man in this community, and has become a matter of history throughout the enlightened world, that the government of the United States looked on the scenes of robbing, driving, and murdering of this people and said nothing about the matter, but by silence gave sanction to the lawless proceedings. Hundreds of women and children have been laid in the tomb prematurely in consequence thereof, and their blood cries to the Father for vengeance against

The Saints were also a people with a mission—a mission to proclaim a new dispensation of the gospel and its righteousness—to the world, and to give warnings of judgments against wickedness.<sup>21</sup> This led them to take advanced ground with reference to the law of righteousness; and whoever yet heard of a people so commissioned, and conscious of it, that under all circumstances were temperate in delivering their message, and wisely discriminating in denouncing judgments against iniquity?

The Church leaders had repeatedly expressed their willingness to accept a territorial government; and, as we have seen, in their petition for the admission of the state of Deseret into the Union, they had suggested the alternative of a territorial form of government, which was now granted to them, and with which, including the appointment of territorial officers not of their local community, it may be argued, they ought to have been contented. But the territorial government they contemplated was always a "*territorial government of their own*,"<sup>22</sup> that is, officered by men from their own community. They appear not to have been aware of the likelihood of strangers being appointed from other communities to administer the law among them, and perhaps harass them by their assumed self-importance and political intrigues. Not until their friend and political advisor, Colonel Kane, warned them of this danger did they seem to sense it.<sup>23</sup> Then, as we have seen, they hastened

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those who have caused or consented to their death." (See also journals of Discourses, *passim*). Stansbury makes a true and temperate statement of the case, balancing against the necessary notice of the error of the Saints, a declaration of their loyalty: "That a deep and abiding resentment of injuries received and wrongs endured in Missouri and Illinois pervades the whole Mormon community, is perfectly true; and that among many of the less informed, and, I regret to add, some even whose intelligence and education ought to have enabled them to form more correct opinions, this exasperation has extended itself to the general government, because of its refusal to interpose for their protection at the time of these difficulties, is also true; but, from all that I saw and heard, I deem it but simple justice to say, that notwithstanding these causes of irritation, a more loyal and patriotic people cannot be found within the limits of the Union." (Stansbury Report, p. 144).

21. See Doc. & Cov., sec. 1. Also the other revelations of the same book, *passim*.

22. "We would esteem a territorial government of our own, as one of the richest boons of earth." Letter of the "Council," signed by Brigham Young, to President Polk, Aug. 9th, 1846. See Note I, end of Chapter LXXVIII.

23. See chapter LXXVIII—*Americana* for December, 1912—especially note 3, at the end of the chapter. It will be remembered that Col. Kane withdrew the first application for a territorial government when he found the Washington authorities disposed to appoint officers for the proposed territory from others than the local community.

to withdraw all petitions for a territorial government, and concentrated their efforts upon obtaining a state government;<sup>24</sup> but meantime the territory of Utah had been created. When the creation of the territory became an accomplished fact the agent of the colonists, Dr. John M. Bernhisel, and their political friends in Washington, did what they could to secure the appointment of men resident in the territory. On September the 15th Dr. Bernhisel submitted to President Fillmore "as the choice of the people of Utah territory for the officers in the gift of the national executive, the following named gentlemen: *Governor*, Brigham Young; *Secretary*, Willard Richards; *Chief Justice* Zerubbabel Snow; *Associate Justices*, Heber C. Kimball, Newel K. Whitney; *Attorney*, Seth M. Blair; *Marshal*, Joseph L. Heywood."

After recommending, individually, these gentlemen, the Doctor concluded his letter to President Fillmore as follows:

"The people of Utah cannot but consider it their right, as American citizens, to be governed by men of their own choice, entitled to their confidence, and united with them in opinion and feeling; but the undersigned will add that for especial and important reasons which grow out of the peculiar circumstances of the community of Deseret, and its government, the people are prepared to esteem as a high favor the nomination by the President of the entire list of officers above submitted, as it stands, and will not fail to evince that they remember it with gratitude."<sup>25</sup>

Part of the "peculiar circumstances" which Dr. Bernhisel had in mind are admirably stated by Captain Stansbury in his approving comment upon the appointment of Brigham Young as governor of Utah. He said:

24. The facts are stated in this History, ante chapter LXXVIII.

25. History of Brigham Young Ms., 1851, pp. 127-130. In the letter which informed Governor Young of the failure of the appointment of the above list of Territorial officers, Dr. Bernhisel said: "I greatly regret that all the officers were not appointed from among our number. At my first interview with the President in relation to the appointees he promised he would not appoint any man who was not friendly disposed toward our people. \* \* \* " I am gratified to be able to inform you that the President has evinced the most liberal and friendly feelings toward our people. (Hist. Brigham Young Ms., 1851, pp. 127-130). Nevertheless, as already noted, he mixed the appointments for Utah, four from the local community, five—counting the sub-agents in the Indian service—from the east.



“With all due deference, then, I feel constrained to say, that in my opinion the appointment of the president of the Mormon church, and head of the Mormon community, in preference to any other person to the high office of governor of the territory, independent of its political bearings—with which I have nothing to do—was a measure dictated alike by justice and by sound policy. \* \* \* No other man could have so entirely secured the confidence of the people; and this selection by the executive of the man of their choice, besides being highly gratifying to them, is recognized as an assurance that they shall hereafter receive at the hands of the general government that justice and consideration to which they are entitled. Their confident hope now is that, no longer fugitives and outlaws, but dwelling beneath the broad shadow of the national *aegis*, they will be subject no more to the violence and outrage which drove them to seek habitation in this far, distant wilderness. \* \* \* From all I saw and heard, I am firmly of opinion that the appointment of any other man to the office of governor would have been regarded by the whole people, not only as a sanction, but as in some sort of a renewal, on the part of the general government, of that series of persecutions to which they had already been subjected, and would have operated to create distrust and suspicion in minds prepared to hail with joy the admission of the new territory to the protection of the supreme government.”<sup>26</sup>

Stansbury's associate, Lieutenant Gunnison, also makes an important comment on the right of the Salt Lake colonists to “local self-government,” and truly represents the views of the colonists upon the subject:

“The Mormons regard themselves as placed in the position of our colonial fathers; with this difference, that the latter felt the burden of taxation without representation; the Mormons an injustice in enforcing law upon them by *foreigners*. They have formed everything on the model of a republican state; adopted a constitution, liberal, free, and tolerant of conscience in religion; and have a criminal code which applies to their peculiar situation and feelings. It is not to be presumed that lawyers, though eminent at home, fresh from crowded cities, and long drilled municipal laws suited to old societies, can have a just appreciation of the statutes of this wild country, which have a peculiar religious sanction from the dependence of the civil code on revelation. Nor will the community place the same confi-

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26. Stansbury's Report to the Government of the U. S., 1852, pp. 146-147.



fidence in such judges, as in those whose acquaintance with their views and opinions is a matter of experience; and whose interests and sympathies are bound up together. And, too, we must remember, that it is a matter of conscience to bring all subjects of contention before the heads of their family, the household of the church.

“So long therefore, as they demean themselves as good, industrious citizens of the United States, being geographically separated from other society, with no admiralty causes to adjudicate, and pay their portion of the indirect taxation for the support of the government, *they feel a right to demand confidence enough to be allowed to have persons resident among themselves appointed to administer the laws over them, and fill official stations. And they can well laugh at all attempts to control them otherwise, though they may submit in appearance, to prevent collision.*

“And then comes up the question is not this after all a matter of political *etiquette*? and is it wise to make a case of treason on such a point? They acknowledge the binding force of the Constitution, claim to be American citizens, and also to have a right that this courtesy be allowed them, after so many privations and sufferings endured, to make the wilderness and desert a habitable abode. To enforce rulers over them from abroad, by the power of bayonet, will entail perpetual war, or necessitate the raising a force, and making the expenditure of funds such as has never been called for at one time since our national existence.”<sup>27</sup>

These comments were made some time after the first clash came between the people of Utah and the United States judges, and when the resentment of the people to the impertinence of the judges, was spoken of in some quarters as “treason.” But the passage is *a propos* the right of local self-government here discussed.

Another of the “peculiar circumstances” to which Dr. Bernhisel could not fail to have in mind would be the attachment the Saints would possess for their religious leaders, under whose exclusive jurisdiction they had lived since the expulsion from Illinois early in 1846. This would be, counting up to the time when the territorial government went into force among them, in the later months of 1851, a period of about five years. In

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27. Gunnison's "The Mormons," pp. 154-5.

that time they had become "well weaned"<sup>28</sup>—and that through no fault of theirs—from government other than that administered by their own trusted, religious leaders; and a broad and enlightened statesmanship would fully have recognized that condition and acted upon it, rather than to have sent strangers among them to administer the laws, which could have no other effect than to awaken resentments, and either thwart entirely the ends of government, or, if there was submission to the felt injustice, occasion frequent recurrence of ebullitions of indignation, that, under all the circumstances, it would be too much to expect would always be restrained; and that must result in irritation, and even in serious conflicts.<sup>29</sup>

The latter, the course that produced irritations and conflicts,

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28. The Utah colonists, after the lapse of those five years, could well have used the language to the administration at Washington that Puritans employed to King James of England when applying for the privilege of planting a largely self-governing colony in America: "With characteristic simplicity and honesty of purpose they represented to him that they were well weaned from the delicate milk of their mother country, and inured to the difficulties of a strange land; that they were knit together in a strict and sacred bond, by virtue of which they held themselves bound to take care of the good of each other and of the whole; that it was not with them as with other men, whom small things could discourage, or small discontent cause to wish themselves at home again." (History of the United State—Marcus Wilson—Appendix to the Colonial History, p. 288).

29. Nor could it be otherwise. What chance, for instance, would any man have had sent from the eastern states as governor of Utah against Brigham Young? The latter a born leader among men, and the founder of the state of Deseret, possessing the full confidence of his people, what an indignity to the people of Utah it would have been to have appointed any other man governor of the territory! "Intimately connected with them from their exodus from Illinois," remarks Captain Stansbury, "this man (Brigham Young) has been indeed their Moses, leading them through the wilderness to a remote and unknown land, where they have since set up their tabernacle, and where they are now building their temple. Resolute, in danger, firm and sagacious in council, prompt and energetic in emergency, and enthusiastically devoted to the honour and interests of his people, he had won their unlimited confidence, esteem, and veneration, and held an unrivaled place in their hearts. Upon the establishment of the provisional government, he had been unanimously chosen as their highest civil magistrate, and even before his appointment by the President, he combined in his own person the triple character of confidential advisor, temporal ruler, and prophet of God. Intimately acquainted with their character, capacities, wants, and weaknesses; identified now with their prosperity, as he had formerly shared to the full in their adversity and sorrows; honoured, trusted, the whole wealth of the community placed in his hands for the advancement both of the spiritual and temporal interests of the infant settlement, he was, surely, of all others, the man best fitted to preside, under the auspices of the general government, over a colony of which he may justly be said to have been the founder." (Stansbury's Report, pp. 146-7). Under such circumstances as these it would have been a wanton political blunder to have appointed any other man governor of Utah; and it was equally a mistake—though varying somewhat in degree—to appoint other officers of the territory outside of the local community, when there were men in the local community of character and ability equal with and even superior to the "outsider" receiving the appointment.

was the line events followed in Utah for well nigh half a century—the direct result of the persistent violation by the authorities at Washington, of the American principle of the right of local self-government.

On the other hand there was “the stranger” appointed to office in the Territory. He could but feel that he was unwelcome, as an office holder; that he was an “intruder,” a “stranger” and a “foreigner” in the commonwealth, sent from a distance to administer its laws, among a people conscious of their ability for self-government; and who had lost none of their rights as citizens of the United States by reason of their removal to the mountain wilderness over which now the constitution of their country had been extended, and where, of right, American principles should prevail. The “stranger” officeholder had little and perhaps no sympathy with the community into which he had intruded. Certainly he was a disbeliever in, and usually opposed to their religious beliefs, worship, and conceptions of life and its duties.

With rare exceptions the “foreign” appointees were not men of large character-caliber. That may be determined to some extent by the fact of their seeking the appointment to the offices, which they must know would bring them into antagonistic relations with the people among whom they must live;<sup>30</sup> that they must certainly be regarded as intruders, the instruments through which the violations of the American principle of “home rule” was being effected. And this thankless position they were willing to assume for a very meagre salary. These first appointees from the east, for instance, the chief justice, the associate justices, and the secretary of the territory, received each, \$1,800 per annum.<sup>31</sup> And for that consideration they would leave the practice of a profession, or other vocation, to accept such a salary, and work under conditions above described! A deduction from the premises by the writer is not necessary, each reader will make his own.<sup>32</sup>

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30. New York *Herald* of March 9th, 1852.

31. Organic Act of Utah, Sec. 11.

32. In a communication to President Fillmore, which was his report of conditions in Utah after the “flight” of Judge Brandebury, Broccus *et al.*, from Utah, Governor Young in a fine vein of sarcasm takes the measure of this first group of



Moreover, among these "foreign" appointees were adventurers who sought these appointments, not so much to serve the people among whom they were sent; not to uphold the dignity, and national authority that appointed them; but to make their appointment a stepping stone to some personal advantage, political or otherwise. Others came for mere love of novelty and adventure. Others still in the hope that change of climate would arrest the progress of failing health, if not restore it; others being worn out, political hacks in their own community, accepted the appointment as the last reward for political party service. Others came with the idea that there was a mission attachment to their office by which they were authorized and expected to engage in a crusade against the religion and the Church of the Latter-day Saints. All this, however, is said under recognition of the fact that there were honorable exceptions to this classification of the Utah "foreign" appointees, though it must be said in candor, that the exceptions were rare.

Of these several varieties a number were present in the first batch of appointees. The whole group could best be described as politically and in every other respect nonentities.<sup>33</sup> So completely is this the case with reference to the one appointed chief justice that little or nothing is known of him except that he seems to have been the pupil and protege of a "pennsylvania county court lawyer," whose political influence, it is presumed, being a Whig, was sufficient with the administration to secure his pupil the appointment to the office of chief justice. In Utah

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"foreign" appointees to territorial offices. "In the appointment of new officers, if you will pardon me for making a suggestion, I would propose," the Governor goes on to say, "that such men be selected as will reside within the territory, or have a general and extended knowledge of men and things as well as of the elementary and fundamental principles of law and legislation; men who have lived and practiced outside, as well as indoors, and whose information extends to the duties of a justice of the peace, as well as the well-known passages and districts of the court room." (Governor Young's Letter to President Fillmore, date of September 29, 1851. Congressional Globe, New Series, Vol. XXV, p. 92).

33. "Who of worth," asks the writer of a letter to the New York *Herald*—March 9th, 1852—signed by Jedidiah M. Grant, Great Salt Lake City's first mayor—"Who of worth and standing at home would venture out to our distant and undescribed country? Accordingly, the offices went begging among all the small-fry politicians who could be suspected of being fit to fill them." The matter of the offices going begging is emphasized by the fact that even after the office of chief justice was given to Joseph Buffington, of Pennsylvania, he refused to serve.



the chief justice was known for his unsocial habits, and slovenliness in dress.<sup>34</sup>

Judge Brocchus is spoken of by Bancroft as a "vain and ambitious man, full of self-importance, fond of intrigue, corrupt, revengeful, hypocritical."<sup>35</sup> He represented the class above referred to who came to seek political preferment, being ambitious to be elected delegate to congress from the territory, informing, en-route to Utah, the Mormon people at Kaneshville of his ambition, representing that it was his only purpose in going to Utah, and he really began his campaign there, and continued it across the plains, only to learn, before reaching Salt Lake City, that the people of Utah had elected Dr. John Bernhisel to that office.<sup>36</sup> It is only justice to the judge to say that he disclaimed being more than a receptive candidate.<sup>37</sup>

Secretary Harris is described as "a smart youngster from a Vermont printing office."<sup>38</sup> He represented in this first group of U. S. "foreign" officials, the class that conceived a mission attachment to their territorial office appointment. Mr. Harris soon after his arrival in Utah informed Governor Young "that he had private instructions designed for no eye but his own, to watch every movement and not pay out any funds unless the same should be strictly legal, according to his own judgment."<sup>39</sup>

Whereupon the governor remarked in his communication to President Fillmore:

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34. The Grant-signed Letters, p. 3. (They were published in pamphlet form, now rare). The linen of the judge was matter of jest and referred to as "the great unwashed." *Ibid*, p. 7, and *passim*.

35. History of Utah, Bancroft, p. 456.

36. The Grant-signed Letters, p. 8.

37. The judge "denied that he came here (i. e., to Utah) with the view of being elected delegate to congress, but had expressed his willingness to accept that office, if elected, and that he thought he could do us good in that way." History of Brigham Young Ms., entry for 8th Sept., 1851, pp. 61-69. In referring again to the matter, in a letter to the judge under date of Sept. 20th, 1851, Governor Young represented that it was "reported, and on pretty good authority," that Brocchus had said that, "if the citizens of Utah do not send me as their delegate to Washington, by G—d, I'll use all my influence against them, and will crush them. I have the influence and the power to do it, and I will accomplish it if they do not make me their delegate." The letter from which the above is quoted, with three others by Brigham Young to Judge Brocchus, and two of the judge's to Brigham Young, were published in the New York *Herald*, and reproduced in the *Deseret News* of Oct. 16, 1852.

38. Grant-signed Letters, p. 3.

39. Governor Young's Report to President Fillmore, Appendix, Congressional Globe, new series, Vol. XXV, p. 92.





St. John's Island House

“Is it true that officers coming here by virtue of an appointment by the President, have private instructions that so far control their actions as to induce the belief that their main object is not the strict and legal performance of their respective duties, but rather to watch for iniquity, to catch at shadows, and make a man ‘an offender for a word;’ to spy out our liberties, and, by manifold misrepresentations, seek to prejudice the minds of the people against us? If such is the case, better, far better would it be for us, to live under the organization of our provisional government, and entirely depending upon our own resources, as we have hitherto done, until such time as we can be admitted as a state.”<sup>40</sup>

In the second group of “strangers” appointed to office, one, Mr. Benjamin G. Ferris, appointed to be secretary of the Territory, admitted that it was merely “a curiosity, long cherished, to visit a portion of the world about which marvelous accounts had been given, that induced” him “to accept the vacant post.” He remained six months which he employed in gathering materials for writing his book, “Utah and the Mormons,” which appeared two years later.<sup>41</sup>

The two judges of the second group of “strangers” receiving appointment to office in Utah represent the class of invalids who come to Utah to *recoup* their failing health. Mr. Lazarus H. Reid of New York, who was appointed as chief justice, after remaining in Utah a year returned to his home in Bath, Steuben county, on a visit where he died, though but forty years of age.<sup>42</sup> Leonidas Shaver, said to be of southern birth, was a sufferer from some affection of the head and died very suddenly.<sup>43</sup> So suddenly in fact that it gave rise to unfounded rumors that he had been poisoned, on account of a supposed difficulty with the

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40. Ibid.

41. “Utah and the Mormons”, Ferris, 1854. See preface.

42. Waite's. The Mormon Prophet, p. 25.

43. Richard's *Ms.*, quoted by Bancroft, Hist. of Utah, p. 461. “Judge Shaver, apparently in good health at night was found the next morning dead in his bed.” Relative both to the “gossiping” rumor of a supposed difficulty with the Governor and the poisoning of the judge, Stenhouse remarks, that he “has never seen any ground for such a suspicion.” Rocky Mountain Saints, p. 279. Beadle says that the Mormons believed him to be an opium eater, and that “he died from suddenly being deprived of that drug.” Life in Utah, p. 170. It was Doctors Hurt and French at the inquest who testified that the judge was addicted to the use of opium. See *Deseret News* of July 4th, 1855. Stenhouse's Rocky Mountain Saints, p. 279. The rumor of misunderstanding with the governor rests alone on the gratuitous statement of Waite. (“The Mormon Prophet,” p. 24).



governor, of which difficulty, however, there exists not the slightest evidence; and Brigham Young speaks of the judge in the most complimentary terms, alluding to him as "a straight forward, judicious, upright man."<sup>44</sup> The cause of his death was thoroughly investigated with the result above stated, viz, that he died "of a disease of the head." The judge was buried at Salt Lake City with "processional honors."

Thus it will be seen that in the first and second group of "stranger" officers, Utah had all the classes represented that are enumerated in preceding paragraphs of this chapter; and quite generally it may be said in truth, the territory from first to last, had present in the personnel of U. S. officials, the majority of these classes constantly represented. I have already indicated<sup>45</sup> that there were also nearly always some "honorable exceptions" present.

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44. Bancroft's Hist. Utah, p. 461, note. He quotes Richard's Incidents in Utah Hist. Ms., p. 78. Geo. A. Smith in a public speech said of Judge Shaver that he was "a worthy man and profound jurist, who by his upright course has honored his profession. His studious attention to his duty, his fine intellect, polished education and gentlemanly bearing won for him the universal admiration and respect of this community." *Deseret News* of July 18, 1855, p. 146. Nor did this esteem arise from any subservency on the part of the judge to the church leaders. The chief justice of the territory, Judge J. F. Kinney, in his eulogy of him at the public funeral services said: "With judicial ability, was blended the most scrupulous honesty, and that which is equal to either, a firmness of purpose and a moral power, which enabled him to enunciate the law regardless of consequences or the opinions of men. Ability, integrity, firmness and moral courage are qualifications which ever have and ever must adorn the bench, all are necessary, none dispensable.

"It is but due to the departed to remark that he possessed these to an eminent degree. I have seen all these virtues severely tested. Of the many important cases tried by the lamented judge, involving, as some of them did, the feelings of the entire community, no person, however much interested, has ever been able to detect the slightest bias or prejudice or shrinking from the announcement of a decision adverse perhaps to the wishes of the church and community. And no higher meed of praise can be awarded the memory of our departed brother than this, that, notwithstanding these decisions, the prominent members of the church are among the most ardent admirers of his judicial character." (*Deseret News*, July 4th, 1855, p. 132). Which was a compliment both to the deceased jurist and to the Mormon church leaders. Bancroft says the judge's death occurred "soon after his arrival" in Utah. (Hist. of Utah, p. 46). A mistake, he was a resident and officer in Utah nearly three years. *News*, as above.

45. After referring to what he calls "imbecile appointments from the time of Fillmore until Lincoln's administration," J. H. Beadle, an anti-Mormon writer of some repute, records the disgraceful actions of some of the early Utah "foreign" judges as follows: "The first judge, Perry E. Brochus, was incautious in his attacks upon polygamy; and, having been led to believe that his life was in danger, left the territory. Another official was detected in immorality, and resigned to avoid exposure; another disgraced his office by taking a prostitute upon the bench with him; another impaired his efficiency by secret drinking; and still another allowed himself to be completely entrapped by two of Brigham's (?) 'decoy women.' One of these delinquents was followed into Weber Canon by a self-appointed committee of 'Mormon boys,' and received at their hands a severe castigation."

## CHAPTER LXXXI

THE FIRST CLASH BETWEEN U. S. "FOREIGN" APPOINTEES AND  
THE CHURCH AUTHORITIES

In this chapter I propose to deal with the first incidents of disagreement between the people of Utah and U. S. officials. Judge Brocchus was the first to bring on a conflict. On the 24th of July preceding the judge's arrival, Daniel H. Wells had delivered an oration on the Utah pioneers, recounting the events leading up to the necessity for their journey into the western wilderness, to which oration reference has already been made in a previous chapter. This oration was one of the instances when proper distinctions were not made between mobs and the United States, represented by the general government; and the statement was made that the country making the "requirement" for the Mormon battalion "could have no other object in view than to finish, *by utter extermination*, the work which had so ruthlessly begun—i. e." by mobs.

This oration was published in full two days after the arrival of Judge Brocchus.<sup>2</sup> President Young it would appear also made some uncomplimentary remarks about the then late Zachary Taylor.<sup>3</sup>

A special conference of the church was held on the 7th, 8th and 9th of September following. On the 7th President

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(Life in Utah, or the Mysteries and Crimes of Mormonism, an Exposé. National Publishing Co., Phil., 1870, p. 394). Col. Steptoe, to whom was tendered the office of governor of Utah (of which more later) is supposed to be the victim of "Brigham's decoy women;" Brancroft says, "there is no grounds for such a statement." (Hist. Utah, note, p. 493); but, Steptoe omitted, the list of delinquents among U. S. officials in Utah, up to the time referred to by Beadle, is long enough, and the nature of their offending black enough, to awaken the indignation of the people against the persistent violations of the right of local self-government by having such officers sent among them to administer the law. Beadle further remarks of the period beginning with 1854, that "Utah now began to be regarded as the 'Botany Bay' of worn out politicians; if a man was fit for nothing else, and yet had to be rewarded for political services, he was sent to Utah." "Life in Utah," p. 171.

1. Chapter LXXIX.

2. *News* of Aug. 19, 1841.

3. President Young when he replied to the speech of Judge Brocchus said: "I know Zachary Taylor, he is dead and damned and I cannot help it." (Hist. of Brigham Young Ms., Sept., 1851, pp. 61-64. According to Brocchus the remark of President Young was: "Zachary Taylor is dead, and in hell, and I am glad of it." Utah Officials' Report to President Fillmore, Congressional Globe, new series, Vol. XXV, p. 87.

Young in addressing the conference referred to the general government of the United States in severe terms for its apparent sanction to the killing of Joseph Smith. The United States was the first nation to which the new dispensation of the gospel was preached, and they had killed the prophet that God had sent unto them, and would be under condemnation.<sup>4</sup>

These incidents seemed to furnish Judge Brocchus an occasion to pose as the defender of the government of the United States against a "Mormon attack." Accordingly he asked permission to address the conference. President Young inquired what would be the nature of his remarks, but received no very satisfactory answer. According to Governor Young the judge's reply was, "he did not know;"<sup>5</sup> although in his subsequent correspondence with the governor on the subject, the judge said, "my speech in all its parts was the result of deliberation and care—not proceeding from a heated imagination, or a sudden impulse, as seems to be the general impression. I intended to say what I did say."<sup>6</sup>

It is generally deplored that no report of the judge's speech is extant, but what is doubtless a very good synopsis of his remarks is to be found in the journal History of Brigham Young, together with a synopsis of President Young's reply, both of which I give herewith:<sup>7</sup>

*Speech of Judge Brocchus*—"On the 7th, 8th, and 9th I attended conference in the bowery. The Hon. Perry E. Brocchus, associate justice for the territory, requested the privilege of addressing the assembly. On being asked what would be his subject, he replied that he did not know. The privilege was granted, and on the second day of the conference he appeared in company with Judge Brandebury, Indian Superintendent Day,

4. Wilford Woodruff's Journal Ms., entry, 7th Sept., 1851.

5. Hist. Brigham Young Ms., entry Sept. 7, 8, 9, 1851, p. 62.

6. *Deseret News* of Oct. 16th, 1852, where the whole correspondence appears.

7. The incident happened during a suspension of the publication of the *Deseret News*, which extended from August 19, 1851, to November 15th, 1851, which explains why the speech or a synopsis of it does not appear in that periodical. Tullidge says the speech of Judge Brocchus is not extant, nor is there to be found any report of that exciting conference, for it was before the existence of the *Deseret News*. (Hist. of Salt Lake City, p. 9). Clearly an error, since the *News* began its existence on June 22, 1850. Tullidge seems to have overlooked the account of the conference in Ms. History of Brigham Young, also in Woodruff's Journal.



and several others of his friends, and addressed the congregation.

“He expressed his everlasting gratitude for the kindness and hospitality of our people to him when sick and a stranger. He bore testimony to the peacefulness of the inhabitants of the Territory, and their submission to the tribunals of their own choice, and prayed to God that all the United States might soon have such tribunals as were in this territory, and then it would always bring peace to the hearts of those who had to be judged. He hoped there would be no litigation. He denied that he came here with the view of being elected delegate to congress, but had expressed his willingness to accept that office, if elected, and that he thought he could do us good in that way. He was an honorable man, or he would not have been appointed to office in the territory. He appeared before his audience, under a commission by the board of managers of the National Washington Monument, to ask the territory to contribute a block of marble towards the erection of that building. He cursorily reviewed the career and character of George Washington. He then referred to the oration of Hon. D. H. Wells on the 24th of July, and objected to some portions of it. The government made no imperative demand for 500 of our best men for service in the Mexican war, and had no evil intentions in asking for them, nor was it responsible for the persecutions in Missouri and Illinois. President Polk expressed decided disapprobation of those deeds, he [Brocchus] felt indignant about them, and he believed the mass of the people, at the time, boiled with rage towards the perpetrators. The Federal government had not injured us. The President could not lay a private wrong before congress. To those states [i. e., Missouri and Illinois], we should look for redress. The speaker regretted to hear in our midst such expressions as that the United States were a stink in our nostrils. He was pained to hear it said that the government of the United States was going to hell as fast as possible. He said that if the people of Utah could not offer a block [i. e. of marble] for the Washington Monument in full fellowship with the United States, it were better to leave it unquarried in the bosom of its native mountain. He directed a portion of his discourse towards the ladies, and, libertine as he boasted himself, *strongly recommended them to become virtuous.*”

#### GOVERNOR YOUNG’S REPLY

“I arose and spoke substantially as follows:—Judge Brocchus is either profoundly ignorant, or wilfully wicked, one of the two. There are several gentlemen on this platform who



would be glad to prove the statements referred to in relation to him, and much more, if I would let them have the stand. His speech is designed to have political bearing. If I permit discussion to arise here, there may be either pulling of hair or a cutting of throats. It is well known to every man in this community, and has become a matter of history throughout the enlightened world, that the government of the United States looked on the scenes of robbing, driving, and murdering of this people and said nothing about the matter, but by silence gave sanction to the lawless proceedings. Hundreds of women and children have been laid in the tomb prematurely in consequence thereof, and their blood cries to the Father for vengeance against those who have caused or consented to their death. George Washington was not dandled in the cradle of ease, but schooled to a life of hardship in exploring and surveying the mountains and defending the frontier settlers, even in his early youth, from the tomahawk and the scalping knife. It was God that dictated him and enabled him to assert and maintain the independence of the country. It is the same God that leads this people. I love the government and the constitution of the United States, but I do not love the d—— rascals who administer the government.

“I know Zachary Taylor, he is dead and damned, and I cannot help it. I am indignant at such corrupt fellows as Judge Brocchus coming here to lecture us on morality and virtue. I could buy a thousand of such men and put them into a bandbox. Ladies and gentlemen, here we learn principle and good manners. It is an insult to this congregation to throw out such insinuations. I say it is an insult, and I will say no more.”<sup>8</sup>

This conference incident was followed by a correspondence between the governor and the judge that has become historical. The former, on the 19th of September, wrote the judge respectfully inviting him to attend the following Sunday service and address the same people before whom he had spoken on the 8th inst. “And if your honor,” said the governor, “shall then and there explain, satisfy, or apologize to the satisfaction of the ladies who heard your address on the 8th, so that those feelings of kindness that you so dearly prized in your address can be recip-

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8. Hist. of Brigham Young *Ms.*, entry for September 8th, 1851, pp. 61-64. As sustaining the substantial accuracy of the above report, I also give another account of these two speeches which created a great sensation throughout the United States at the time they were reported. The second account is from a separate and independent source of information, viz., the *Journal of Wilford Woodruff*, and not elsewhere published. See note, end of chapter.

roated by them, I shall esteem it a duty and a pleasure to make every apology and satisfaction for my observations which you as a gentleman can claim or desire at my hands.”<sup>9</sup>

It is very generally held that Judge Brocchus in his address attacked the practice of plural marriage among the people, but if so it was solely by innuendo, as neither in President Young’s account, nor in Elder Woodruff’s, nor in the correspondence which followed between Governor Young and the judge is there any allusion to that subject, except for the exhortation of the judge to the ladies of the audience in which he expressed “the hope,” that they “*would become virtuous.*”<sup>10</sup> This expression was most offensive, and aroused great indignation.

If it was the intent of Judge Brocchus in this remark to allude to the marriage relation in question, then his error was a most gross one, for it not only cast opprobrium upon the women present, who had entered into that order of marriage, but it cast reproach upon a principle accepted, under the circumstances and within the limitations fixed by the Church, as a profoundly religious institution, and was wholly untainted with sensuality, or immorality in any of its phases.<sup>11</sup>

9. Letter of Brigham Young to Judge Brocchus, *Deseret News*, Oct. 16, 1852.

10. Governor Young’s Letter to Brocchus of Sept. 21st, 1851. *Deseret News*, Oct. 16, 1852. On this remark the governor commented as follows: “Let me ask you, most seriously, my dear sir, how could you hope thus? How could you hope that those ‘dear creatures,’ some of whose acts of benevolence to the stranger drew tears from your eyes while you were yet speaking—how could you hope—what possible chance was there for you to hope—they would become virtuous? Had you ever proved them unvirtuous? If so, you could have but a faint hope of their reformation. But, if you had not proved them unvirtuous, what testimony had you of their lack of virtue? And if they were unvirtuous, how could they ‘become virtuous?’ Sir, your hope was of the most damning dye, and your very expression tended to convey the assertion that those ladies you then and there addressed were prostitutes—unvirtuous—to that extent you could only *hope*, but the probability was they were so far gone in wickedness you you dare not *believe* they ever could become virtuous. And now, sir, let your good sense, if you have a spark left, answer—could you, had you mustered all the force that hell could lend you—could you have committed a greater indignity and outrage on the feelings of the most virtuous and sensible assemblage of ladies that your eyes ever beheld? If you could, tell me how. If you could not, you are at liberty to remain silent. Shall such insults remain unrequited, unatoned for?” (*Deseret News* of Oct. 16th, 1852).

11. Captain Howard Stansbury, after a year’s residence among the Saints in Salt Lake and Utah Valley, 1849-1850, bears most important testimony upon this point: “If a man, once married, desires to take him a second help-mate, he must first, as with us, obtain the consent of the lady intended, and that of her parents or guardians, and afterward the approval of the seer or president, without which the matter cannot proceed. The woman is then ‘sealed’ to him under the solemn sanction of the church, and stands, in all respects, in the same relation to the man, as the wife that was first married. The union thus formed is considered a per-

It is only fair to Judge Brocchus to say that he disclaimed any "design to offer indignity and insult"<sup>12</sup> to his audience; and subsequently in the report which he and his associate officers of the territory made to the President of the United States, he declared that his address on the occasion here considered "was entirely free from any allusions, even the most remote, to the peculiar religion of the community, or any of their domestic or social customs. It contained not a single expression of bravado or unkindness or harsh rebuke, or any sentiment that could have been tortured into a design on the part of the speaker to inflict wantonly a wound upon the hearts of his hearers."<sup>13</sup> With this theory of the nature of his remarks it is difficult to reconcile the judge's admonition to the ladies of his audience "to become virtuous."<sup>14</sup>

factly virtuous and honourable one, and the lady maintains, without blemish, the same position in society to which she would be entitled were she the sole wife of her husband. Indeed, the connection being under the sanction of the only true priesthood, is deemed infinitely more sacred and binding than any marriage among the gentile world, not only on account of its higher and more sacred authority, but inasmuch as it bears directly upon the future state of existence of both the man and the woman. \* \* \* All idea of sensuality as the motive of such unions, is most indignantly repudiated; the avowed object being to raise up, as rapidly as possible, 'a holy generation to the Lord,' who shall build up his kingdom on the earth. Purity of life, in all the domestic relations, is strenuously inculcated; and they do not hesitate to declare, that when they shall obtain the uncontrolled power of making their own civil laws, (which will be when they are admitted as one of the states of the Union), they will punish the departure from chasity in the severest manner, even by death." (Stansbury's Report, Executive Document, No. 3, pp. 136-7). The testimony of Lieutenant Gunnison on the same subject and during the same period of time is not less important: "Infidelity and licentiousness are held up for abhorrence; and when the 'plurality' law shall be promulgated, they will be punished by the decapitation of the offender and the severest chasity inculcated upon one sex, and rigid continence on the other during the gestation and nursing of children. Thus the time of weaning will again become a feast of joy, next to the celebration of the nuptial rite, and patriarchal times return. \* \* \* The addition of wives, after the first, to a man's family, is called a 'sealing to him.' This constitutes a relation with all the rights and sanctions of matrimony. \* \* \* Thus guarded in the motive, and denounced as sin for other consideration than divine, the practical working of the system, so far as now extended, has every appearance of decorum. \* \* \* That the wives find the relation often a lonesome and burdensome one, is certain; though usually the surface of society wears a smiling countenance, and to all who consent from a sense of duty or enthusiasm the yoke is easy. \* \* \* We must conclude that the regulation of the new 'plurality' has not yet become perfect, and that the virtues claimed as pertaining to it are not in complete vigor; but we may add that the community had every appearance of good morals, so that any equal number of persons in the states can scarcely exhibit greater decorum." (The History of the Mormons, Gunnison, pp. 69-73).

12. Letters to Brigham Young of Sept. 19, 1851. *Deseret News*, Oct. 16, 1852.

13. Report of Messrs. Brandebury, Brocchus *et al.*, to the President of the U. S., Congressional Globe, new series, Vol. XXV, p. 88.

14. In his letter to Governor Young in answer to one inviting him to apologize to the people for his 8th of September speech, judge Brocchus said: "My



It is said by some writers upon Mormon history that in one or other of their reports in the east, of which it is claimed there were several, these officers declared that "polygamy monopolized all the women, which made it very inconvenient for the federal officers to live here" (i. e., in Utah). "Loose as people might suppose frontier life to be," comments Stenhouse in his chronicle of this alleged report, "no one anticipated that representatives of the federal government would thus express themselves."<sup>15</sup> It does indeed seem incredible that such a remark should have been made. Tullidge, however, declares that the "federal officers expected to be applauded by the public, and sustained by the government, their assault being against polygamy;" but that they indescreeetly stated in "*their communication to the government*"<sup>16</sup> the remark attributed to them by Stenhouse, and he then quotes the comment made above by Stenhouse.

Again it is only fair to the "run-a-way officers" to say that in their report to the President, the matter of plurality of wives is not made a principal part of that report. It is only mentioned as an incident, and disposed of in a single paragraph of twenty-eight lines in a report covering nearly five of the three column pages of the *Congressional Globe*. The rest of the report deals with Latter-day Saint charges of the responsibility of the general government for persecutions their Church had endured; with the apparent spirit of prejudice and defection as a consequence of that attitude; the alleged squandering by Governor Young of \$20,000 appropriated by congress for the erection of public buildings;<sup>17</sup> and also the alleged irregularities of Govenor Young

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sole design, in the branch of my remarks which seems to be the source of offense, was to vindicate the government of the United States from those feelings of prejudice and that spirit of defection which seemed to pervade the public sentiment. That duty I attempted to perform in a manner faithful to the government of which I am a citizen, and to which I owe a patriotic allegiance, without unjustly causing a chord to vibrate painfully in the bosom of my hearers." (*Deseret News*, Oct. 16th, 1852).

15. The Rocky Mountain Saints, 1873, pp. 277-8.

16. History of Salt Lake City in *Tullidge's Quarterly Magazine*, p. 92.

17. This alleged misuse of money is stated in the official's report as follows: "Congress appropriated twenty thousand dollars, to be applied under the direction of the governor and legislature in the erection of public buildings. The governor no sooner received this money than he appropriated and used every dollar of it, or a greater portion of it, in payment of debts due by the Mormon Church, and in a few days after its arrival in the valley it was on its way to the United



in the inauguration of the territorial government. As for their alleged indiscreet remark concerning polygamy resulting in an inconvenience to the federal officers, it certainly is *not* found in their official report as claimed by Tullidge. Frankly, I do not think it is of record; and chiefly for the reason that the Utah delegate to congress in his several communications to the President made no reference to it; nor in the Grant-signed letters to the New York *Herald*,—in which the “run-a-way officers” are most severely handled—is there any allusion made to such a remark, although the writer of those letters refers to “three successive versions” of what is called their “Report;”<sup>18</sup> and

States in other hands. We were not present at its actual payment, but it was a matter of public notoriety and talked of by the gentlemen who received it. This occurred about the last of July.” (Congressional Globe, Vol. XXV, new series, p. 88). According to the enabling act this sum of \$20,000 was granted by Congress to the territory of Utah “to be applied by the governor and legislative assembly to the erection of suitable public buildings at the seat of government.” (Organic act, sec. 12). The money was used by Governor Young towards the purchase of the “State House of Deseret,” often called the Council House, until the public could be completed. “The State House purchased,” remarks the *Deseret News*, “cost \$45,000. It consists of two spacious halls, and four offices, two of which are occupied by the books of the Utah library and as reading rooms.” The *News* manifest some indignation that there should be a charge of “squandering” the public money connected with this transaction. See *News*, impression of 7th February, 1852. An engraving of the Council House accompanies this chapter. See Note 2, end of chapter.

buildings at the capital—then designed to be at Fillmore City, Millard county—  
 18. Grant-signed letters, No. 11. As stated in a previous note the letters were signed by Jedediah M. Grant, Salt Lake City's first mayor; but the internal evidence is overwhelmingly against his authorship of them. Stenhouse, after referring to the fact that Grant was not the author of them, says it was “painful” to him to learn that “two of Pennsylvania's honored sons, already alluded to in this work [i. e., Stenhouse's Rocky Mountain Saints]—one no less than an ex-vice-president of the U. S., and the other enjoying a military title—were the inspiration and authors of the famous letters” (p. 278). This points directly to ex-Vice-President George M. Dallas and Colonel Kane. There is much of internal evidence that would justify belief in the Colonel's part in the authorship. The letters themselves are a rare bit of vigorous English, in masterful, biting style, bold, free, enjoyable, but unfortunately, though they held up to deserved scorn the “run-a-way officials,” and made them, for the time, the laughing stock of the nation, the writers did not meet seriously and convincingly the issues presented by the “Report” of those same officials. The “Letters” are three in number, the first of which only was published in the New York *Herald*. The editor said of the first that “the pith of the charges against Governor Young and his community is not answered;” and declined to publish the others, of which he would doubtless hold the same view. The series, however, was completed and published in pamphlet form, and given wide circulation. There was also an *appendix*, including a letter to President Fillmore, accompanying copies of the pamphlet to him; extracts of a letter of Judge Brochus' to parties in the east; an account of the murder of Joseph Smith; the Mormon war in Missouri; Hawn's Mills Massacre; the Far West troubles, and General Clark's address to the Mormons at that place. The whole case for the Saints in Utah is presented in three brief and numbered paragraphs in the letter to President Fillmore; and indeed one may catch the spirit of the whole series by those paragraphs, to wit: “We claim,” say the writers, “in the broadest sense, the Rights of—

when the caustic character of those letters is remembered, I think it utterly impossible that the writers of them would miss a statement of the kind had such an one escaped the said officials and become extant.

This speech of Judge Brocchus disposed of the other incidents of the first clash between Brigham Young and the "foreign appointees" is soon told, and chiefly concerns the secretary, Mr. Harris. He was not satisfied with the proceedings of the governor in taking "the enumeration of the inhabitants of the territory," preceding the first election, required by the Organic act, and for the purpose of apportioning the number of representatives and councilors to the several counties. He was not satisfied with the manner of the election; Brigham Young had issued a proclamation designating the election districts, apportioning the number to be elected to each branch of the legislature, also ordering at the same time and at the same places the election of a delegate to congress; and directing that the election be held under the existing laws of the provisional government of the state of Deseret—and all this "without the seal of the territory or signature of the secretary!" No notice was given in the proclamation, he further pointed out, "as to the qualification of voters and those who were eligible to office." "The consequence was," according to the secretary's statement, "that unnaturalized foreigners officiated at the elections,

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"1. Religious liberty, including the right of individuals to establish and maintain, as well as to bestow ecclesiastical titles upon, a church hierarchy, as far as themselves judge proper.—Upon which, our stand is with the Roman Catholics.

"2. Political liberty, admitting the largest possible power of self-government in the community, and the entire independence of its domestic institutions.—Upon which we stand with the opponents of centralization and advocates of states' rights, and, at the present time, with the South.

"3. And for all beyond this, we contradict every single statement of the delinquent officers, and by wage of law or battle will equally rejoice to be brought to prove their falsehood.—We call for the examination under oath.—Of this we put ourselves upon the country.—Our last cry is, trial!"

President Young remarks upon these letters:

"Elder Jedediah M. Grant wrote me from New York, May 13th, that he had ready for circulation his letters to the New York *Herald* in pamphlet form, a copy of which he was about to send to each member of congress and to the principal editors of the nation. His letters contained a refutation of the charges made by the returned federal officers against myself and the inhabitants of Utah, and were written in a humorous, readable style; for which they were principally indebted to the versatile pen of our friend *Col. Thomas L. Kane*." (History of Brigham Young, *Ms.* entry for June, 1852, p. 56.)

voted, and were elected as representatives, and to offices not authorized by the organic act.<sup>19</sup>

The governor's answer to these alleged irregularities in the matter of the elections was that he had been actuated by a desire to hold the first election sufficiently early in the season that "delegate might be legally returned to congress before the lateness of the season should render the long and arduous journey dangerous if not impracticable." That as the United States census agent he was engaged in taking the census of the state of Deseret—the work having been delayed by the miscarriage of blanks instructions, etc.,—when the act of congress passed, requiring "an enumeration of the inhabitants of the territory" preceding the first election in said territory. The information obtained in taking the above named United States census was so far advanced early in July, 1851, that from the information of that census the governor was able to make the apportionment and order the election. "This being previous to the arrival of the secretary," he explains, "of course his seal and signature was not attached." The governor also calls attention to the fact that nearly a year had elapsed since the appointment of the territorial officers, during which time the people of Utah, nevertheless, were living without authorized government.

As evidence of the governor's disposition to proceed in order under the organic act, it may be observed that on the arrival of a majority of the justices of the supreme court he issued his proclamation designating the judicial districts and appointing the respective judges to take charge of them, which proclamation, the Secretary having at last arrived, bore both the signa-

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19. See Utah Officials' Report, Congressional Globe, Vol. XXV, new series, p. 8. Relative to the election of "officers not authorized by the organic act," it should be said that the election was not ordered by the governor's proclamation. The officers in question were Deseret county probate judges, county recorders, justices of the peace, sheriffs, and constables. As the first territorial election had been appointed to take place on the first Monday in August,—the regular election day appointed by law in the provisional state government,—an editorial in the *Deseret News* urged that these local officers be elected; and accordingly they were elected at the same time and in the same manner as the territorial officers designated in the governor's proclamation. The organic act provided that "the governor may appoint all township, district, and county offices, not otherwise provided for in the organic act. \* \* \* Who shall hold their offices until the end of the first session of the legislative assembly." (Sec. 7). Apparently the governor preferred that such officers should be elected by the people instead of appointed by himself.



ture of Mr. Harris and the impress of the seal of the Territory<sup>20</sup>

Learning that the "foreign appointees" to office in the Territory had determined to leave for the east, in resentment of the conditions prevailing in Utah and the treatment accorded them, Governor Young personally waited upon them and tried to dissuade them from their purpose. But in this he was not successful. Secretary Harris declared his intention to carry back with him all the funds with which he had been entrusted for the payment of legislative expenses, as also the seal, records, documents, etc., pertaining to his office. "I considered this course illegal," said Brigham Young, "wholly unauthorized, and uncalled for by any pretext whatever. I therefore concluded that I would use all legal efforts that should seem practicable for the retention of the property and money belonging to the United States in the secretary's hands, designed for the use of the territory."<sup>21</sup>

The governor's first move in carrying out this expressed determination was to hasten the assembling of the legislature. Although the election had taken place on the first Monday in August, no proclamation had been issued up to mid September, declaring the result of the election, without which the election itself was incomplete, since the organic act required such proclamation. This delay the governor charges to a misunderstanding with the secretary as to which of them would "make out the declaration of the members elect, and prepare the proclamation."<sup>22</sup> As the secretary did not prepare it, Governor Young did, on the 18th of September, declaring the results of the election and calling the legislature to assemble on the 22nd of that month. This proclamation was sent to the secretary to be signed by him and received the seal of the territory. So signed,

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20. Young's Letter to President Fillmore, Congressional Globe, Vol. XXV, new series, p. 91.

21. Governor Young's Report to President Fillmore, Congressional Globe, Vol. XXV. New series, p. 91.

22. Young's Report, Congressional Globe, Vol. XXV, new series, p. 92. The Secretary assigns the neglect to Young's inclination to disregard "the plain directions of the organic act in this particular, as in almost all others." Ibid, p. 32.



and certified by the seal of the territory, the proclamation was published.<sup>23</sup>

Any publication of the election results, and a proclamation issuing on the 19th of September, calling the legislature into session on the 22nd of the same month—the extent and scattered condition of the settlements considered—must be conceded to be an inadequate notification and proclamation; but two days before the publication of the election results and of the proclamation, a private notice was sent to each member elect, together with the date and hour when the first session of the legislature was appointed to convene.

Brief as was the notice, at the time appointed every member of the council was present, and all the members of the house but one—the member from Iron county. The secretary did not attend, nor did he furnish the roll of the members. His neglect was made good by the governor. The roll of members was called and they qualified before Judge Snow of the supreme court. The governor's message was next in order, and was accordingly read.<sup>24</sup>

Two days later the legislature passed a joint resolution authorizing the United States marshal to take into his custody all papers, records, documents and property of every kind pertaining to said office of secretary, as also all money in his possession belonging to said territory, and safely keep the same until the legislature should order otherwise. This resolution was presented to Mr. Harris together with an order for five hundred dollars to defray the incidental expenses of the legislative assembly. But he flatly refused to comply with either of these

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23. Here again the governor and the secretary are in disagreement. The latter says, "that proclamation, however, was never published." The governor said: "I caused it to be done (i. e., proclamation of the election made), and sent it to him for his signature and impress of the seal of the territory—intending for him to keep the manuscript thus furnished, and return a copy suitable for publication. Much to my astonishment, he placed the seal and signature to the manuscript thus furnished, not even filing a copy for record. It was published, however. (See proclamation, No. 4). (Congressional Globe, Vol. XXV, new series, p. 92).

24. The secretary says this message was "afterwards, for some reason, suppressed," and that none of the officials leaving the territory "were able to procure a copy." (Report Congressional Globe, Vol. XXV, new series, p. 89). Yet Brigham Young forwarded a copy to President Fillmore, and refers to it as an accompanying document to his letter, under the title of "No. 5." (Congressional Globe, as above, p. 92). The message, however, is not published in the collection of documents in the Congressional Globe, nor elsewhere as far as the writer knows.

requirements, giving his reasons at length in writing for such refusal; and in as much as the marshal by the resolution of the legislature was instructed to arrest the secretary in case he refused to surrender the property, documents, or money demanded by the resolution, "and him safely keep in custody until he shall comply with the foregoing resolution," that gentleman applied to the supreme court for an injunction "forbidding the marshal and others from seizing or intermeddling with the funds and other property of the United States in the custody of the secretary," which was granted.<sup>25</sup> Mr. Harris succeeded in keeping in his possession both the territorial seal and the sum of money in question, and on his arrival in St. Louis deposited the money with the assistant treasurer to the credit of the United States.

When Governor Young heard of the supreme court being in session—the first and only session it ever held under these judges—and then called into session merely to grant the injunction against the procedure of the marshal in taking possession of the above sum of money, and the seal of the territory—he addressed a note to the judges "asking their opinion" in regard to his duty, "having reference to the organic act which requires the governor to see that the laws are faithfully executed, and requiring the secretary to reside in the territory." Having determined to abide the decision of the judges in the case, the governor next directed the district attorney to file a petition which would cause them to give an opinion on the sub-

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25. From this opinion Judge Snow dissented on the grounds: (1) "There was not any law fixing the time and place of holding the supreme court; and (2) The supreme court had not original jurisdiction, and the district court had, which was provided for in the governor's proclamation." History of Salt Lake City, p. 92. The documents in the case will be found *in extenso* in Congressional Globe, Vol. XXV, new series, pp. 88-91. In the "run-a-way officials' report is also detailed the arrest of Almon W. Babbitt, who, with his family, had started for 'the states.'" The arrest was made under a warrant issued by a justice of the peace, authorizing the wagons and effects of said Babbitt to be searched for "a sum of money, probably gold, to the amount of \$24,000, and for the Seal of the Territory of Utah. The supposition was that these things had been entrusted to Mr. Babbitt for conveyance from the territory. Copy of the warrant on which Babbitt was arrested and his wagons and effects searched is included with the documents accompanying the officials' report to the President. Governor Young states that A. W. Babbitt was arrested and brought back to the city after starting for the states—overtaken two days' journey out—for resisting an officer who was arresting Joseph L. Babbitt for debt, the supreme court released A. W. Babbitt on a writ of *habeas corpus*." (Hist. Brigham Young Ms., entry for Sept. 24th, 1851, p. 98).

ject; but that day, 28th of September, two of the judges, Brandebury and Brocchus, Mr. Harris, the secretary, and Mr. Day, sub-Indian agent, took their departure for the eastern states.

In Utah the episode of the "run-a-way officials" was not taken very seriously. No one seemed to sympathize with their course. Indeed, Mrs. Eliza R. Snow, a local poetess of note, made merry over the incident in her song rendered with great eclat at the following 4th of July celebration.<sup>26</sup> In the east, also, while their return and reports created a sensation that it is no exaggeration to call tremendous, still there could be but little sympathy with officers who had run away from their posts of duty, apparently without sufficient cause even if all they reported of the course of Brigham Young and the Utah colonists were true. Nay, if true, all the more need that they should have remained to assert and maintain the honor and dignity of the Federal government, and the true American spirit. But they were not men of that calibre. The *St. Louis Republican*, in an editorial review of the course followed by the run-a-way officials, based upon the first published statements of said officials—and in the main facts these first reports did not materially differ from their official report made to the President of the United States—this editorial, perhaps, best represents what finally became the crystalized public sentiment of the country with reference to the course of these officials, and this, be it observed, upon the basis of accepting all their statements as true. The essential paragraphs of the editorial follow:

"No official statement has yet been made, though this is prom-

26.—

"All hail the day Columbia first  
The iron chains of bondage burst;  
Lo, Utah's Valleys now resound  
With freedom's tread on western ground.

#### Chorus

"Tho' Brocchus, Day and Brandebury,  
And Harris, too, the secretary,  
Have gone,—they went—but when they left us,  
They only of themselves bereft us."

There are eight verses in all (*Deseret News*, July 10th, 1852). One of the toasts on the same occasion was: "*The officers of the government—both national and state—Uncle Sam expects every man to do his duty, Swartwout, Price, Brocchus & Co., to the contrary, nevertheless, and-also-a-running.*" Ibid.



ised upon the arrival of the officers in Washington; nor are we informed to which of the number the paternity of these defences is to be ascribed. It is not important for our purpose to know, further than that the facts set forth are the leading and main grounds on which these officers justify their leaving their posts. If there are other and better reasons, we will be prepared to give them due consideration when we know what they are and to what extent they go.

“In the first place, the chief justice of the United States court, L. G. Brandebury, Perry E. Brocchus, associate justice, B. D. Harris, secretary of Utah territory, and H. R. Day, sub-Indian agent to the Utah Indians have left their posts and returned to the United States. The public will enquire why and for what reasons. According to the published statements they are these:

“The governor of the territory, Brigham Young, and the Mormon elders and community, have been acting very improperly, in the use of abusive and seditious language towards the United States government. They are guilty of polgamy, or having many wives, and exhibiting them in the streets. The governor is farther guilty in having squandered \$20,000, placed in his hands by the United States; and is guilty of the omission of having appointed county sheriffs, as the organic law requires.

“This is the substance of the charges brought against the governor and people of that territory. They are grievous charges: and we are not disposed to defend them nor shield them from the odium due to their acts. On the contrary, if Governor Young has uttered the language ascribed to him, or has encouraged such sentiments towards the United States government as are imputed, he is unworthy of being the governor of the territory, and should be removed from office. As to the immorality of life, profane language, plurality of wives, and such like matters, we presume these are subjects for the territorial legislature to attend to. As yet, we believe congress has passed no statute for the states or territories on these subjects. If the governor is a defaulter, we have no doubt the accounting officers at Washington will know it, and punish him as such, if they can. Of all these charges, so much at war with, and so repugnant to all our feelings of right and property, we could not, if disposed, attempt a justification or excuse. We only know their existence through the publication alluded to, and admitting their truth (as at this writing we are compelled to do), we inquire what has been the conduct of the United States officers? and how far is their conduct justifiable? The community will draw the distinction between the evil and bad practices of the governor, and justification of leaving their posts, set up by these officers.



“It will, at the first reading, strike everyone that the defence of these returning officers is fatally insufficient in the outset, in this: *there is no overt act or crime charged or alleged to have been committed.* The judges of the United States court go there, are well received, and from the time of their arrival to their coming away, no attempt is alluded to have been made, to infringe upon their jurisdiction, or refuse obedience to their decisions. On the contrary as far as the statements go, there seems to have been a disposition to submit to their decisions, as in the case of the secretary and the funds in his hands. Threats were made that they should not hold a court—but words are only empty sounds—and no fact is presented, showing an effort to prevent their holding court, and exercising their proper jurisdiction.

“What would be thought of a United States judge, who, in times of excitement, deserted his post and fled the state, because the governor thereof, and other persons, in office and out of it, had used intemperate and improper language towards the United States government and her officers. It is at such times, amidst such excitement, when the popular feeling may run riot or wrong, that the judge, with his unsullied ermine, his purity of purpose, his rectitude of character, his freedom from transient or party impulses, his learning and official position, is expected to sit in judgment, above the storm of error or popular prejudice, and enforce the law. If his decisions and orders are set at nought, and not enforced—if, by personal or actual resistance he finds himself powerless—then, and only then would he be justified in leaving his post. How has it been in this case?

“But these judges—at least one of them, Judge Brocchus, seems to have considered that new duties were added to his judicial functions. In the states, and well regulated communities, it is considered to be decorous, and the duty of the judges, to keep entirely free from popular excitement—that they may stand forth as the arbiters between the community and the government, and between man and man. Judge Brocchus it seems, summoned the people to assemble: they listen to him respectfully: whilst he made a speech against them and their criminal practices. This may be the province of a territorial judge, but we are at a loss for the statute requiring it. It could hardly be expected, that a fanatical and misled people—such as we all believe the Mormons to be—would not be roused to anger, and indeed to make violent demonstrations, by such an assault upon them and their leaders. \* \* \* We think the judges should have remained at their posts, proceeded regularly with their courts, kept out of excitement, and when cases occurred re-

quiring the exercise of their official authority, exercised it fearlessly and without favor or affection. If they had done this, and their authority had been resisted, then, and not until then, the public would have been prepared to excuse their retreat.

"For Mr. Harris, there is quite as little excuse. So far as the published statements go, he does not seem to have been seriously interfered with in anything except the effort to take money which he had the legal custody of. In all his other acts he had no opposition, and in this case, when the court decided in his favor, the Governor and his people submitted.

"But, what surpasses our comprehension is, what a sub-agent of the Utah Indians has to do with the civil or political affairs of the people of the Utah territory, unless they conflict in some way with the Indians. Yet Mr. Day also finds an apology in this seditious language, to leave the Indians to the mercies of these corrupt and seditious people and come back to the states. One would have supposed that he could have discharged his duties to the Indians at least, even if Governor Young had committed treason, and been hanged for it."<sup>27</sup>

This also seems to have been the view taken by the administration at Washington, since no action was taken against the governor of Utah, or the remaining officers of the territory appointed by the President.<sup>28</sup> In fact President Fillmore had been prepared somewhat for this "explosion" in respect of Utah affairs by an incident happening about mid-summer of that same year. A number of eastern papers published a most vicious attack upon Brigham Young's character on the ground of his alleged record both in Illinois and Utah; and asserting that President Fillmore had known of this record and the immoralities charged against Utah's governor before appointing him to office. This article President Fillmore sent to Col. Kane, together

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27. *St. Louis Republican*, 25th November, 1851. Reproduced in *Deseret News* of February 7, 1852.

28. These were Seth M. Blair, U. S. attorney; Joseph L. Heywood, U. S. marshal; and Judge Z. Snow, an associate justice of the supreme court. The last named gentlemen wrote personally to President Fillmore under date of 22nd of September, informing him of the intention of the returning officials to leave the territory within a few days—"for reasons satisfactory to themselves;" and announcing his own intention to remain in the territory unless in the opinion of the President or congress,—in the event of an inquiry into the facts being made,—he ought to return. The judge also states that he used all his influence to bring about a reconciliation between the parties "but failed." He makes no statement of the causes leading to this "unhappy incident," relying upon the statements of the retiring officials and the Utah delegate, Dr. Bernhisel, to furnish the President with the necessary information. (*Congressional Globe*, Vol. XXV, new series, p. 86).

with a polite note, reminding him that as President he had relied much upon him "for the moral character and standing of Mr. Young." "You knew him," said the President, and "I doubt not will truly state whether these charges against him are true." To this Col. Kane made the following answer:

PHILADELPHIA, July 11, 1851.

"MY DEAR SIR:—I have no wish to evade the responsibility of having vouched for the character of Mr. Brigham Young, of Utah, and his fitness for the station he now occupies. I reiterate without reserve, the statement of his excellent capacity, energy, and integrity, which I made you prior to his appointment. I am willing to say I volunteered to communicate to you facts by which I was convinced of his patriotism, and devotion to the interests of the Union. I made no qualification when I assured you of his irreproachable moral character, because I was able to speak of this from my own intimate, personal knowledge.

If any show or shadow of evidence can be adduced in support of the charges of your anonymous assailant, the next mail from Utah shall bring you their complete and circumstantial refutation. Meanwhile I am ready to offer this assurance for publication in any form you care to indicate, and challenge contradiction from any respectable authority.

I am, Sir, with high respect and esteem, your most obedient servant,

THOMAS L. KANE.

The President."

This note was accompanied by a letter to the President marked "*personal*," in which the charges against Brigham Young were more freely discussed. Apart from the charges of levying "high and unjust taxes on men selling property at Salt Lake, to aid them on their journey," the Colonel saw nothing new in the accusations" against Governor Young. "The other accusations," he remarks, "are a mere rehash of old libels," to which the successor of Joseph Smith had fallen heir. He referred the President to Senator Douglas "for the best account of the charges in Illinois against Mr. Young, which, I presume, may be taken to mean divers bills ignored by different grand juries in the circuit over which Judge Douglas presided, and which included Nauvoo and the Mormon precinct." "I have equal pleasures," the colonel continues, "in directing your attention to the fine refutation of the charge of "insult to the California emigrants," afforded by the cards of emigrant companies, pub-



lished in various western newspapers, thanking the Mormons for hospitality and succor in distress.”

The rest of the letter is largely devoted to the defense of the loyalty of Brigham Young to the Union as manifested in the Battalion affair, and other circumstances already considered in a precious chapter.<sup>29</sup>

Now to conclude this subject: Judge Snow, the sole remaining justice of the supreme court in the territory was authorized by act of the legislature to hold court in all three districts into which the same act divided the territory, “until a full bench of the supreme court of the United States for the territory of Utah shall be supplied by the President and senate of the United States.”<sup>30</sup>

At the first session of his court, Judge Snow examined and reviewed the proceedings of the governor of the territory in calling the legislative assembly, “and held them to be legal, though somewhat informal.” This was reported to the department of state of which Daniel Webster was then the secretary. “He” says Judge Snow, “sustained Governor Young and myself.”<sup>31</sup>

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29. The only point at which the Colonel's splendid defense of Governor Young shows any weakness in the light of subsequent events, is in the matter of the practice of plural marriage by President Young and some other of the Utah colonists. He rather evades the issue presented, but implies monogamy as the marriage relation maintained by Governor Young; and as it is generally assumed that the Colonel's intimacy with the Mormon leaders at Council Bluffs, in 1846, must have made him aware of the existence of the plural wife relations among them, he is viciously assailed as a prevaricator in these letters to President Fillmore, by anti-Mormon writers. The letters are published in *extenso* in *Mill. Star*, Vol. XIII, pp.341-344). It is quite within probability, however, that the Colonel was not so far taken into the confidence of the Mormon leaders as to be made aware of the plural marriage relations existing among them when he was their guest for some months on the banks of the Missouri, nor made aware of it since their arrival in Salt Lake valley; for it must be remembered that the doctrine of **plural marriage** had not even yet (1851) been publicly proclaimed as a doctrine of the Church. I judge Col. Kane's lack of knowledge of the matter to be the true solution of his position in the Fillmore letters; and, if he had a share in responsibility for the Grant-signed letters—as I believe him to have had—then in those letters also; for there the question is discussed very much from the same point of view, except that at one point the argument, and for the sake of the argument, granting the charge of plural marriages to be true,—“whose business is it?” the letter writer asks. “Does the Constitution forbid it? Is there anything in the act for the government of the territory forbidding it? And where else can we find it written down as a crime?” The subsequent announcement of the institution by the Church, as we shall see, did not deprive the Utah colonists of the friendship of Col. Kane; doubtless, because at that time, the plural relationship was not unlawful in Utah.

30. Approved Oct. 4, 1851, Utah Enactments, 1851.

31. Excerpt from a letter of Judge Snow's published in *Tullidge's History of Salt Lake*, 1885, p. 94.



How far this was true may be judged somewhat by the fact that President Fillmore nominated Orson Hyde for one of the vacancies of the supreme court of Utah, but the nomination was not confirmed by the senate, because it appeared that Hyde was not a professional lawyer.<sup>32</sup> This appointment was doubtless made by the President in deference to the petition both of the territorial legislature and of the colonists of Utah. The legislature in the early days of its first session—on the 29th day of September, 1851, to be exact—petitioned the President that in filling the vacancies occasioned by the departure of the retiring officers, and in order to avoid the recurrence of the inconveniences and embarrassment occasioned by such departure—"to appoint men to fill the aforesaid vacancies who are indeed residents among us."<sup>33</sup> The petition of the people, to the same effect was forwarded in May, 1852, and bore 3,488 signatures.<sup>34</sup>

President Young himself took very strong ground on the issue raised by the action of the runaway federal appointees.

Dr. Bernhisel was disposed to be dispondent over the course of events in respect of the territory, whereupon Governor Young wrote him a most noble spirited letter; and as it will materially aid the reader to understand future events to be dealt with in this history, and as it throws a strong light upon the character of Brigham Young, and the spirit in which Brigham Young at his best worked, and as it has nowhere else been published, so far as I know, I consider it

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32. "Regular bred lawyer" is President Young's way of putting it in his journal history. He also adds: "President Kimball could have been appointed if he had been a limb of the law. Dr. Bernhisel regarded the nomination of Elder Hyde by President Fillmore as a great triumph, because it showed the President discredited the report of the fugitive officers and by that act placed the seal of his condemnation upon the same." *Hist. of Brigham Young Ms.*, entry for Sept., 1852, p. 10.

33. *Congressional Globe*, Vol. XXV, new series, pp. 92-3. The paragraph dealing with the question is worth reproducing: "Feeling cautious against any possible future removals like those which now embarrass us with the want of the territorial seal and funds to meet constantly-accruing expenses, and also the want of a full supreme court of the United States for Utah Territory, and desirous to dwell in peace and unfeigned loyalty to the Constitution and general government of the United States—your memorialists do therefore pray our highly-honored Chief Magistrate to appoint men to fill the aforesaid vacancies, by and with the consent of the Senate, who are indeed residents among us, in order that we may enjoy the full administration of every department of government speedily as the prosperity of the Territory shall require. And your memorialists, as in duty bound, will ever pray."

34. *Hist. Brigham Young, Ms.* entry for May, 1852.

necessary to produce it here, *in extenso*, as it is recorded in the journal history.

“*Feb. 22nd* [1852]. The mail arrived from the east on the 22nd. Letters from Dr. J. M. Bernhisel, Washington, were received as to the reported difficulties in Utah between U. S. officials and the governor and inhabitants of the territory.

“On the 28th, I wrote to Dr. Bernhisel that we did not feel anywise alarmed as to the final issue of the matter. The government might, if they saw proper, be so influenced by the returned officers as to take strong ground against us, sending troops to overawe us, and governors and judges to rule us; but the people of Utah would certainly protest against such proceedings, if any such were contemplated.

“We had dug our way into these mountains where none but the destitute Mormon, who, being instructed by his past, sad experience of the danger of seeking a location on the rich and fertile lands of the United States, sought out and had settled—in the language of Captain Stansbury—that ‘God forsaken country in which none but a Mormon could live;’ and even preferred these wild and barren wastes to the rich vales of California or the sunny south, for the love of quietness and peace.

“I reminded the Doctor that we had lived before the Territorial charter was extended to us, and that we could do so again, though we would like to have it continued if it could, upon righteous principles; but if not, the people would re-adopt the provisional government of Deseret, and apply again for admission as a free and sovereign state, and recall their delegate.

“As for my own feelings I was perfectly assured that all would be right, when matters were explained and considered; but suppose the reverse should happen, and we again were compelled to seek another location to free ourselves from bondage and oppression, and though many of us might fall into our graves, victims to exposure and hardships thereby encountered, if our work is accomplished, and the Lord wills it, all right; to die is nothing. I should a thousand times rather encounter the ‘grim monster’ than to have my religion, and the love and adoration which I feel towards God become of secondary consideration with me. And I wished all men, whether presidents, or kings, congressman or noblemen to know, that I sought first the mind and will of God, and all my acts had to become subservient thereto.

“I also reminded Dr. Bernhisel that all the rights and immunities we sought might be enjoyed under the wise and faithful

administration of the laws and glorious constitution of the United States which was designed to shield the sincere worshipper of every religion, and also guaranteed the free expression of sentiments and opinions upon any subject, whether religious or political, that might arise for the consideration of any person. These were privileges of which I was not willing to be denied, and for the enjoyment of which I would seek a shelter in some far distant corner of the earth's surface, where the bleak, barren and inhospitable features should be so apparent, as to cause the cupidity of the most eager aspirant to revolt, and leave this so recently and so ardently sought asylum to its wonted desolation, without an inhabitant to sing the requiem of departed liberty.

"I exhorted the Doctor not to be afraid to tell the President, nor any other person, whether in or out of congress of our rights as free people, who are not indifferent to the majesty and glory of our common country, and who are and ever have been its true supporters; and that now to be accused of defection, and required to send a block of marble to the Washington Monument as a test of our loyalty, was an insult not to be borne nor easily forgotten."<sup>35</sup>

The friends of the Utah colonists in Washington at that time, including in the number the powerful secretary of state Mr. Webster; ex-vice-president Geo. M. Dallas, later to be United States Minister to the court of St. James (1856-1861); Colonel Kane, and as yet, senator Stephen A. Douglas, were too strong at Washington for the opponents of the Saints, and this important incident in the history of Utah and of the church of the Latter-day Saints, was brought to a close by Mr. Webster addressing a letter to the runaway officials requesting them to repair forthwith to the scene of their duties or resign.<sup>36</sup> They chose the latter alternative and their successors were appointed as already recounted; and although this second group of appointees were not residents of Utah, they were not unfriendly to the Saints. Dr. Bernhisel in announcing the appointments

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35. (Hist. of Brigham Young Ms., 1852, pp. 11-13). A block of Utah stone, oolitic lime stone, was finally sent to be placed in the Washington monument, namely, in 1853. There was carved upon it the Bee Hive beneath which was the word "Deseret," "Holiness of the Lord," and other emblems cut by a Mr. Ward, and forwarded in compliance with the resolution of the State of Deseret referred to in a former chapter. See Liverpool Route, p. 108. Also Hist. of Brigham Young Ms. for 1853, p. 50.

36. *Deseret News* of June 12, 1852.



to Governor Young said the new appointees were "gentlemen who were highly recommended for integrity and high, moral character, and as being unprejudiced. The delegate added that "President Fillmore was our friend and had done all he could for the interests of Utah."<sup>37</sup>

Some time previous to this—in July—the Utah delegate wrote Governor Young to the effect "that although the returned officers had been beaten at every point, and their libelous report was not noticed by congress, [still] Utah did not stand as well in the eyes of the nation as before the explosion."<sup>38</sup>

NOTE 1: THE BROCCBUS INCIDENT FROM WILFORD WOODRUFF'S JOURNAL: "Monday morning, 8th [i. e., of September, 1851]: Judge Brocchus requested the privilege of addressing the people. It was granted him. He arose and commenced his speech by testifying of his kind reception among this people. He had been sick among them and been kindly treated; the flies had been brushed from his face by a lady, and he was thankful. He referred to the judiciary and requested the people to sustain it, and professed to be very sorry that he was going to leave it. He then referred to a report in circulation that he came here for the prospect of being returned a delegate to Washington and other things that were reported against him, &c. He then took up the subject of his appointment and said that President Fillmore had appointed him although he [Brocchus] was a Democrat, and said he should not have received his appointment had he not been a capable, virtuous, good man. He then addressed the ladies upon the subject of the Washington monument, wished them to procure a block and to present it to Washington. Also wished them to donate for the building of the monument; talked much about the virtues of Washington and his battles and good deeds. He spoke of the persecution of the Saints, considered them badly treated. Sent to Winter Quarters where our dead was buried and had a sprigot of myrtle plucked. He carried it in his bosom; it was now dried up. He showed it to the congregation. In speaking to the ladies said he hoped *they would become a virtuous people*. He did not wish them to send the block of marble unless they could do it in full fellowship with each of the separate states. He had read something

37. Hist. Brigham Young, Ms. entry for September, 1852, p. 80.

38. Hist. Brigham Young, Ms. entry for July, 1852, p. 62. "This," continues President Young's narrative, "the Dr. regretted the more as it would seriously affect us in obtaining needful and desirable appropriations for our distant and dependent Territory." *Ibid.*



casting reflections upon the United States government concerning our persecutions. But he would defend the government as long as he had a tongue to speak or hand to lift. And said the government could not do anything for us as they had no power. But if we wanted redress of our wrongs apply to Missouri and Illinois where we had received our [wrong]s] (this part of his speech stirred the blood of the whole congregation). Much was said by the speaker which was calculated to stir the blood of the people and offend them. Then he closed.

“President Young then arose and said that Judge Brocchus was either profoundly ignorant or willfully wicked, in presenting some sentiments which he had to the assembly that day; and had he supposed for a moment that he was going to throw out a challenge upon that stand in a religious meeting and present such sentiments as he had he should not for a moment have given his consent to have had him speak on that occasion. He said several stood by and wished to take up the challenge given by the judge. But he would not permit of it, for some might get their hair pulled if not their throats cut. And he would not have it. He wished this meeting to adjourn until afternoon and present business in the capacity of a conference for which the meeting was called. Meeting adjourned.”

NOTE 2. “THE OLD COUNCIL HOUSE AT SALT LAKE CITY:” This was the first permanent public building erected in Salt Lake City. It was of red sand stone, 45 feet square and two stories in height. A large hall and two office rooms occupied each floor. The structure was begun on the 26th of February, 1849, (History of Brigham Young *Ms.* entry February, 1849, p. 23) and completed by December, 1850. It was designed as a “general council house” for the church; but was also used by the provisional state of Deseret as a “State House.” During the early days of Utah the Territorial legislature met there, and for a number of years it housed the Territorial public library. It was also used for sacred purposes; under instructions from President Young, Heber C. Kimball on the 7th of July, 1852, resumed the administration of endowment ordinances to the Saints which privilege had been suspended since the expulsion from Nauvoo. (Hist. Brigham Young *Ms.* entry for July, 1852, p. 62). It was also occupied by the “University of Deseret, for a number of years, beginning in March, 1869. It was destroyed by fire on the 21st of June, 1883. The Council House stood on the corner of East Temple and 1st South street, the site now occupied by the *Deseret News Building*.

# Historic Views and Reviews

JOHN JACOB ASTOR

*The New York Genealogical and Biographical Record*, Vol. XLIV, No. 1, January, 1913, has a brief but excellent biographical and genealogical sketch of Colonel John Jacob Astor, a member of the Society, elected March 28, 1905. His biographer, Capt. Richard Henry Greene, the necrologist of the society, opens the sketch in the following words:

“Bishop Sterne has said: ‘Death opens the gate of fame and shuts the gate of envy after it.’ A recent public calamity brought the name of Col. John Jacob Astor into a foremost place—for when the *Titanic* sank in mid-ocean on the 15th of April, last, in that sudden and awful ending of the giant-ship with its myriad souls of every class, which shocked the entire world, he proved himself a hero. Longfellow’s beautiful lines came to me as I read of his unselfishness:

‘Better and purer and fairer,  
The spirit of self-abnegation,’

and Bret Harte echoed all the world’s verdict on Jim Bludsoe of the Prairie: ‘For Christ ’aint going to be too hard on a fellow who died for man.’ While the scripture tells us, ‘All that a man has will be given for his life,’ and we have all seen it proved, again and again, yet when in the midst of excited thousands, madly shrieking, praying, cursing, fighting selfishly to save themselves, any one quietly awaits death, surrendering his place to women and to strangers, and steps back on a sinking vessel without a hope or a friend, I say: It was heroic, it was sublime!’”

The number has as a frontispiece, an excellent portrait on steel of Colonel Astor, and contains besides this interesting sketch, an unusual amount of data relating to other American families.

The editor, Hopper Striker Mott, announces the death of Ellsworth Eliot, M. D., a trustee of the society, at his home, 48 West

36th Street, New York, December 9, 1912, in his 86th year, at the time of his death the oldest member of the society, and that an obituary of Dr. Eliot will appear in the April RECORD.



#### JASON BROWN DIES AT 90.

AKRON, O., Dec. 25, 1912.—Jason Brown, ninety years of age, second son of John Brown, famous as the leader of the raid on Harper's Ferry, West Virginia, at the outbreak of the civil war, died here last night.

He was actively engaged in recruiting and enlisting a company of negroes from among those smuggled into Canada by the "underground railroad," when the Harper's Ferry incident occurred. A younger brother, Salmon Brown, lives at Portland, Ore.

Jason Brown, while in personal appearance one of the mildest of men, was a man of most determined courage. At one time a mob of 500 Missourians, made all preparations to hang him. He defied them, and at the last moment was rescued by a company of U. S. troops. Two of his brothers were killed at Harper's Ferry. Another, John Brown, Jr., died some years ago at Put-in-Bay, Ohio.

Jason Brown was born in Hudson, Summit Co., Ohio, January 19, 1823. He married Ellen Sherbondy, who died in 1895. Their children were Austin, Frank and Charles P. Charles P. Brown is the sole survivor, and is now living in Akron, Ohio.

WILLIAM S. PELLETREAU.



#### THE LAST ACTUAL SON OF THE AMERICAN REVOLUTION

*The New York Times* of Jan. 11, 1913, prints the following notice which is of historic interest to the readers of AMERICANA: Dr. David Charles Whaley is dead at Pomeroy, Ohio. He was 85 years old, and was the last man alive who could boast being an actual son of the American Revolution. His father was a soldier in the struggle for independence and was 78 years old when his son was born.

MARCH, 1913

# AMERICANA

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# AMERICANA

March, 1913

## Traditions of the Earliest Visits of Foreigners to North America

BY COL. REUBEN THOMAS DURRETT, A. M., LL.D., President of  
the Filson Club.

**F**OLLOWING this work of Mr. Williams was a small volume entitled "The Welsh Indians, or a Collection of Papers respecting Prince Madoc, by George Burder, London, 1797." It contains much of the same matter as the work of Mr. Williams, but has some articles not in the Williams work. It cannot be said, however, to add many material facts to the story as already told, but only adds cumulative evidence. The following article is copied from Mr. Burder's work, page 7, because it gives something of the history of the Madoc family:

"Owain, Prince of Gwynez, who died in the year 1169 had nineteen children, the names of the Sons were Rhodri, Cynoric, Riryd, Meredyz, Edwal, Cynan, Rien, Maelgon, Lywelyn, Iorwerth, Davyz, Cadwallon, Hywell, Cadell, Madoc, Einion, and Phylip; of these Rhodri, Hywell, Davyz and Madoc were the most distinguished. Hywell was a fine poet as appears by his composition; of which eight are preferred. His mother was a native of Ireland, and though not born in wedlock, he was the first who aspired to the crown after the death of Owain, which event no sooner took place but his brother Davyz became his competitor, under the sanction of a legitimate birth. The consequence was, the country became embroiled in a civil war.



“Influenced by disgust at the unnatural diffensions among his brothers Madoc, who is represented of a very mild disposition, resolved upon the matchless enterprise of exploring the ocean westward, in search of more tranquil scenes. The event was, according to various old documents, the discovering of a new world, from which he effected his return to inform his country of his good fortune. The consequence of which was the fitting out of a second expedition, and Madoc with his brother Riryd, Lord of Clocran, in Ireland, prevailed upon so many to accompany them as to fill seven ships and sailing from the Isle of Lundy, they took an eternal leave of Wales. There is a large book of pedigrees still extant, written by Jean Brecva who flourished in the age preceding the time of Columbus. Madoc and Riryd found land far in the sea of the west and there they settled. Lyware, the son of Lywelyn, seems to have composed two of his poems in the time between the first and the second of the two voyages of Madoc. One of these pieces must be considered of great importance and curiosity; it is an invocation, as if he were undergoing the fiery ordeal, to exonerate himself from having any knowledge of the fate of Madoc; the second, being a panegyric upon Rhodri another brother, has a remarkable allusion to the same event. It is thus translated:

“Two princes, of strong passion, broke off in wrath, beloved by the multitude of the earth. One on land, in Arvon, allaying of ambition, and another, a placid one, on the bosom of the vast ocean, in great and immeasurable trouble prowling after a profession easy to be guarded, estranged from all for a country.”

In 1857, George Catlin published in Philadelphia two volumes entitled “Letters and Notes on the Manners of the North American Indians.” Mr. Catlin lived for some time among the Mandan Indians and studied their history and peculiarities. In the appendix to his work, volume 2, page 777, he expressed the opinion that the Mandans were descendants of the Welsh colony established in America by Prince Madoc in the Twelfth century. In support of the theory he described some of their peculiarities, and gave a list of words which resembled each other and had a similar meaning both in the Mandan and Welsh. He related also the destruction of the entire tribe by the smallpox, introduced

among them by British traders, so that if this Welsh colony, unlike other early discoverers of America, help to populate the country, they also perished by one of the epidemics of the new land. The country, however, was already inhabited and in no need of any immigrants from a foreign land to give it population when the Welsh colony appeared. What Mr. Catlin said on the subject will be found in the appendix to this monograph.

In the "Popular History of the United States," by Bryant and Gay, published in London in 1876, a considerable portion of the fourth chapter of the first volume is devoted to the Madoc tradition. Other articles from books, magazines, and papers on this subject might here be added, but they would contribute no important fact to the story as already told. They would simply be presentations in different forms of what has already been stated. What appears in Bryant and Gay's history will be found in the appendix to this monograph, as will other articles which would overload the text.

#### IX. THE MADOC TRADITION IN KENTUCKY

There is, however, in the State of Kentucky, considerable matter relating to the Madoc tradition which will not be found elsewhere and belongs to this country alone. This tradition was especially popular in Kentucky, where the Welsh Indians were believed to have dwelt in early times and where they were finally exterminated at the Falls of the Ohio by the Red Indians. The Kentucky pioneers were full believers in this tradition, and in the family circle, by the warmth and light of the huge log fires of the cabins, the story of Prince Madoc was told on long winter nights to eager listeners who never wearied of it. I now propose to present not only what appears in the Kentucky newspapers, magazines, and books, but also some of the traditions which have never before been published.

John Filson, the author of the first History of Kentucky, published at Wilmington, Delaware, in 1784, was a native of Pennsylvania, where the Madoc tradition was well known. He was also the first one in Kentucky to take the tradition from the oral sphere in which it circulated and dignify it with a place in his-

tory. He was a believer in the tradition, and employed the opportunities which he had among the pioneers to talk about it and gather facts concerning it from those who had met Indians in different places who spoke the Welsh or ancient British language. These Welsh Indians sometimes came among the Kentucky pioneers for the purpose of trade, and although Filson may never have met any of them himself, he took care to learn all he could from those who had seen and talked with them. He came to Kentucky early in the pioneer period, perhaps in 1782, and employed his time in hunting up information for a history of "Kentucke," as the new country was then spelled. He was a very busy man in collecting facts, and so persistent in his work that he was sometimes annoying to the settlers, who were more interested in locating lands, fighting Indians, and killing game than they were in historical matter. He was upon the best of terms with such pioneers as Daniel Boone, Levi Todd, James Harrod, Christopher Greenup, John Cowan, and William Kennedy, all of whom he mentions in his history and records his obligations to them for the help they gave him in compiling it. He also published in his history the indorsement of Daniel Boone, Levi Todd, and James Harrod, among the most prominent of the pioneers, that it was a valuable history, presenting a true account of the country. His opportunities were the best to learn what was known and believed about the Madoc tradition, and hence he recorded in his history that it was universally known and believed.

When Filson had gotten well under way with his "History of Kentucke" he made a visit to Louisville for the purpose of collecting information about the Welsh Indians, who it was believed once resided at the Falls of the Ohio. There was then a club in Louisville made up of such prominent citizens as General George Rogers Clark, Colonel James F. Moore, William Johnston, Doctor Alexander Skinner, Captain James Patten, Major John Harrison, John Sanders, and others. The club sometimes met in the quarters of General Clark, in the fort at the Falls of the Ohio, and sometimes at the "Keep" of John Sanders, near the northeast corner of the present Main and Third streets. The main object of the club was to secure the earliest information about the In-



dians and the progress of the Revolutionary War. When on the eve of one of its meetings it was learned that Captain Abraham Chaplain was the guest of General Clark, and that John Filson the historian was stopping with Captain James Patten for the purpose of securing information about the Madoc colony, it was decided to invite them to the club meeting, which on this occasion was to be held in the "Keep" of John Sanders. This "Keep," as it was called, was a large flatboat which had been converted by Sanders into a warehouse, in which he received the peltry of the country and gave receipts therefor, which were to be paid when the articles were sold. These receipts passed by delivery and circulated as money. They were therefore popular in the country, and the warehouse of Sanders, which he called his "Keep," was a kind of bank which was very useful.

When the members of the club and their guests had assembled and the news pertaining to the war and the Indians had been received and discussed, it was resolved that each person present, who might feel so inclined, should have the opportunity to state what he knew concerning the Madoc tradition, for the benefit of the historian who was their guest. There was in the statements made at this meeting, as in previous narratives made by others, some little confusion on account of the use of the names White Indians and Welsh Indians. They probably both meant the same thing in the use made of them by the early settlers of the country. From James Harrison, a son of Major John Harrison, one of the speakers, the following account of the proceeding was obtained:

General Clark spoke first, and confined himself to what he had learned from a chief of the Kaskaskia Indians concerning a large and curiously shaped earthwork on the Kaskaskia River, which the chief, who was of lighter complexion than most Indians, said was the house of his ancestors. Colonel Moore spoke next, and related what he had learned from an old Indian about a long war of extermination between the Red Indians and the White Indians. The final battle, he said, between them was fought at the Falls of the Ohio, where nearly the whole of the White Indians were driven upon an island and slaughtered. General Clark, on hearing this statement by Colonel Moore, con-



firmed it by stating that he had heard the same thing from Tobacco, a chief of the Piankeshaws. Major Harrison next spoke and told about an extensive graveyard on the north side of the Ohio, opposite the Falls, where thousands of human bones were buried in such confusion as to indicate that the dead were left there after a battle, and that the silt from inundations of the Ohio had covered them as the battle had left them. Sanders spoke next and said that in his intercourse with different tribes of Indians he had met several of light complexion, gray eyes, and sandy hair, but had never talked with them in the Welsh language, if they spoke it, because he did not understand it himself. The last White Indian he ever saw was in a hunt on the Wabash River. A White Indian had joined a party of Red Indians, as Sanders had, for a hunt. While separated from the rest of the party the White Indian had come upon a panther and wounded it. The infuriated animal turned upon him and literally tore him to pieces before any assistance could reach him. Doctor Skinner came next, and called attention to the large mound at the northeast corner of Main and Fifth streets in Louisville, and the larger one on the northwest corner of Sixth and Walnut streets. He said that the Red Indians never made mounds of this kind, and if they were artificial, as he believed they were, they might have been erected by the Welsh or White Indians for some purpose unknown to the people of this age. He had heard that there were Welsh Indians in this country long ago, but he had never seen one.

The guests were then called upon for any remarks they wished to make upon the subject. Captain Chaplain said he was familiar with most of the traditions that had been related by the speakers before him and could testify as to their popularity, but as he was not in the habit of speaking he hoped he would be allowed to remain a listener. He was excused and Filson was the last to speak. His speech was longer than all the others put together. He began with the Madoc tradition, at the death of the king of North Wales, and gave details of the civil war between the sons of the king for the succession; of the determination of Madoc, one of the sons, to get out of the country and escape the horrors of a civil war, and of his securing and preparing ships to



Tremadoc Village



Pont Y Cyssyllte



take him and his friends to some foreign land. He went so much into detail and consumed so much time that he never got his emigrants beyond the shores of Wales, where he had them in ships and about to sail, when he discovered that his hearers were paying no attention, and all of them except Doctor Skinner seemed to be asleep. He sat down and spoke of his mortification to Doctor Skinner, who consoled him with the remark that his hearers might not be asleep, but spellbound by his eloquence.

Filson, in his "History of Kentucke," gave a lengthy and kindly account of the Indians, but they were not kind to him in turn. While he was going through the woods from the Miami River to where Cincinnati now stands, to establish a city by the name of Losantiville, he disappeared and was never heard of more. None of his remains were ever found, and he was supposed to have been murdered by the Indians. In his account of the Indians in his "History of Kentucke," original edition of 1784, the following concerning the Madoc tradition appears on pages 95 and 96:

"In the year 1170 Madoc, son of Owen Gwynedd, prince of Wales, dissatisfied with the situation of affairs at home left his country, as related by the Welsh historians, in quest of new settlements and leaving Ireland to the north proceeded west till he discovered a fertile country where leaving a colony he returned and persuading many of his countrymen to join him put to sea with 10 ships and was never more heard of.

"This account has several times drawn the attention of the world but as no vestiges of them had then been found it was concluded, perhaps too rashly to be a fable or at least that no remains of the colony existed. Of late years, however, the western settlers have received frequent accounts of a nation inhabiting at a great distance up the Missouri, in manners and appearance resembling the other Indians but speaking Welsh and retaining some ceremonies of the Christian worship and at length this is universally believed to be a fact.

"Captain Abraham Chaplain of Kentucky, a gentleman whose veracity may be entirely depended upon, assured the author that in the late war, being with his company in garrison at Kaskasky, some Indians came there and speaking in the Welsh dialect were



perfectly understood and conversed with by two Welshmen in his company and that they informed them of the situation of their nation as mentioned above."

In the "Public Advertiser," a newspaper published in Louisville, Kentucky, by Shadrach Penn, early in the last century, appeared an interview between Lieutenant Joseph Roberts and an Indian in Washington City. Lieutenant Joseph Roberts was a Welshman born and reared in North Wales, and capable of judging of the kind of Welsh the Indian spoke. The following is his account of this interview as it appeared in the "Public Advertiser," May 15, 1819:

"In the year 1801 being at the City of Washington in America, I happened to be at a hotel, smoking a cigar according to the custom of the country and there was a young lad, a native of Wales, a waiter in the house and because he had displeased me by bringing me a glass of brandy and water, warm instead of cold, I said to him jocosely in Welsh, 'I'll give thee a good beating.'

"There happened to be at the time in the room one of the secondary Indian chiefs who on my pronouncing those words, rose in a great hurry stretching forth his hand, at the same time asking me in the ancient British tongue—'Is that thy language?' I answered him in the affirmative shaking hands at the same time, and the chief said that was likewise his language and the language of his father and mother and of his nation. I said to him so it is the language of my father and mother and also my country. Upon this the Indian began to inquire from whence I came and I replied from Wales, but he had never heard of such a place. I explained that Wales was a principality in the kingdom called England. He had heard of England and of the English, but never of such a place as Wales.

"I asked him if there were any traditions amongst them whence their ancestors had come? He said there were and that they had come from a far distant country, very far in the east and from over the great waters. I conversed with him in Welsh and English; he knew better Welsh than I did and I asked him how they had come to retain their language so well from mixing with other Indians. He answered that they had a law or estab-

lished custom in their nation forbidding any to teach their children another language until they had attained the age of 12 years and after that they were at liberty to learn any language they pleased. I asked him if he would like to go to England and Wales; he replied that he had not the least inclination to leave his native country and that he would sooner live in a wigwam than in a palace. He had ornamented his naked arms with bracelets, on his head were placed ostrich feathers.

"I was astonished and greatly amazed when I heard such a man who had painted his face of yellowish red and of such an appearance speaking the ancient British language as fluently as if he had been born and brought up in the vicinity of Snowden. His head was shaved excepting around the crown of his head and there it was very long and plaited and it was on the crown of his head he had placed the ostrich feathers which I mentioned before to ornament himself.

"The situation of those Indians is about 800 miles southwest of Philadelphia, according to his statement and they are called Asguaws or Asguaw nation.

"The chief courted my society astonishingly, seeing that we were descended from the same people. He used to call upon me almost every day and take me to the woods to show me the virtues of the various herbs which grew there; for neither he nor his kindred were acquainted with compound medicine.

JOSEPH ROBERTS."

This statement of Lieutenant Roberts is one of the best of all the contributions to the literature of the Madoc colony of Welshmen among the North American Indians. The Indian with whom Lieutenant Roberts conversed spoke the ancient British or Welsh language fluently, gave a good reason for this language being so long retained by his people in America, and indicated that Wales, a country unknown to him, was the land from which his nation had come, by speaking its ancient language and locating it far to the east, beyond the great waters. I can recall nothing said by any other Welsh-speaking Indian which throws more light on the Madoc colony or that contributed as much in such few words to the plausibility of the tradition. If there be no

truth in the tradition, then there is an astonishing amount of untruth in the numerous accounts of it. It is almost impossible to believe that so many witnesses as have testified in this case should have been plain liars about a matter in which they seem to have had no personal interest.

In 1804 the Honorable Harry Toulmin, who was Secretary of State under Governor Garrard, of Kentucky, wrote a letter to the editor of the "Palladium," a weekly newspaper published at Frankfort, Kentucky, in which he sets forth what had been learned from one Maurice Griffiths concerning the Welsh Indians. Griffiths was born in Wales, and while a mere lad emigrated to Virginia. While residing on the Roanoke River in Virginia he was taken prisoner by the Shawnees, about the year 1764, and conducted to their towns. After remaining with these Indians some two or three years he joined a party of five young braves, to go on a hunting and exploring expedition up the Missouri River. After ascending the Missouri for many days, amid great difficulties, they came to a nation of Indians who were white or of a light complexion, and spoke the Welsh language. Mr. Griffiths made his statement to John Chiles, a respectable citizen of Woodford County, who in turn related it to Mr. Toulmin, who reduced it to writing and gave it to the "Palladium" for publication. It appeared in the "Palladium" on the 12th of December, 1804. Mr. Griffiths is endorsed by Mr. Chiles as a gentleman of standing and veracity and Mr. Chiles is endorsed by Mr. Toulmin as a citizen worthy of all confidence and credit. Mr. Toulmin needs no endorsement. He was President of Transylvania University, Secretary of State, Judge of the United States District Court, and author of an early history of Kentucky, as well as several valuable law-books. He was a minister of the gospel, of the Unitarian faith, and stood high as a Christian statesman, judge, literary man of broad culture and strict integrity. His letter to the "Palladium" is too long for insertion, and the following extracts are taken from it:

"After passing the mountains they entered a fine, fertile tract of land, which having traveled through for several days, they accidentally met with three white men in the Indian dress. Griffiths immediately understood their language, as it was pure



Welsh, though they occasionally made use of a few words with which he was not acquainted. However, as it happened to be the turn of one of his Shawnee companions to act as spokesman, or interpreter, he preserved a profound silence, and never gave them any intimation that he understood the language of their new companions.

“After proceeding with them four or five days’ journey, they came to the village of these white men, where they found that the whole nation were of the same color, having all the European complexion. The three men took them through their village for about the space of fifteen miles, when they came to a second council house, at which an assembly of the king and chief men of the nation was immediately held. The council lasted three days, and as the strangers were not supposed to be acquainted with their language, they were suffered to be present at their deliberations. The great question before the council was, what conduct should be observed toward the strangers. From their firearms, their knives, and their tomahawks, it was concluded that they were a war-like people. It was conceived that if they were sent to look out for a country for their nation, that if they were suffered to return they might expect a body of powerful invaders, but that if these six men were put to death nothing would be known of their country, and they would still enjoy their possessions in security. It was finally determined that they should be put to death. Griffiths then thought that it was time for him to speak. He addressed the council in the Welsh language: he informed them that they had not been sent by any nation; that they were actuated merely by private curiosity; that they had no hostile intentions; that it was their wish to trace the Missouri to its source, and that they would return to their country satisfied with the discovery they had made, without any wish to disturb the repose of their new acquaintances. An instant astonishment glowed in the countenances not only of the council, but of his Shawnee companions, who clearly saw that he was understood by the people of the country. Full confidence was at once given to his declarations; the king advanced and gave him his hand. They abandoned the design of putting him and his companions to death, and from that moment treated them with the utmost



friendship. Griffiths and the Shawnees continued eight months in the nation, but were deterred from prosecuting their researches up the Missouri by the advice of the people of the country, who informed them that they had gone twelve months' journey up the river, but found it as large there as it was in their own country. As to the history of this people he could learn nothing satisfactory. The only account they could give was that their forefathers had come up the river from a very distant country. They had no books, no records, no writings. They intermixed with no other people by marriage; there was not a dark-skinned man in the nation. Their numbers were very considerable. There was a continued range of settlements on the river for fifty miles, and there were within this space three large water courses which fell into the Missouri, on the banks of each of which likewise they were settled. He supposed there must be fifty thousand men in the nation capable of bearing arms. Their clothing was skins, well dressed. Their houses were made of upright posts and the bark of trees. The only implements they had to cut them with were stone tomahawks. They had no iron; their arms were bows and arrows. They had some silver, which had been hammered with stones into coarse ornaments, but it did not appear to be pure. They had neither horses, cattle, sheep, hogs, nor any domestic or tame animals. They lived by hunting. He said nothing about their religion."

#### X. DESTRUCTION OF WHOLE TRIBES OF AMERICAN INDIANS

The truth of the Madoc tradition has been questioned by some because they claim that no Indian tribe in America could be readily traced back to a colony of Welsh planted here by Madoc. This view is in direct opposition to the testimony of dozens of respectable witnesses who stated that they had seen and talked with Indians in different localities who spoke the ancient British or Welsh language, and indicated that their ancestors had come from a far distant land beyond the great waters. But even if there are now no Welsh Indians in America, it does not follow that they were not here at a previous date. Whole tribes of Indians have been swept from the face of the earth by war, pestilence, and famine before and since the discovery of Columbus.

Drake, in his "Aboriginal Races of North America," enumerated nearly five hundred tribes, a large percentage of which were extinct when the list was made out and known only by the name they bore in former days. The Iroquois Indians, after getting possession of firearms in the Seventeenth century, carried death and desolation to many neighboring tribes. Among the nations destroyed by them were the Eries, who gave their name to one of the great lakes in this country. War between different tribes has been constant from time immemorial, and some tribes have always been destroying others. There is no telling at this date how many tribes have been utterly destroyed in one way or another.

Smallpox has been a great destroyer of different tribes of Indians. This disease, until it was brought among them by the whites, was unknown to them, and they were utterly incapable of controlling it. Catlin, in his "North American Indians," mentions the destroying of the Mandans by smallpox as late as the summer of 1838. They were confined within their villages by the hostile Sioux, when a boat from St. Louis landed traders with the smallpox among them. Not being able to get out and scatter in the country on account of the besieging enemy, they died in their quarters, not by individuals, but by families. Deaths were so fast and so numerous that no attempts were made to bury, and the dead lay in heaps to putrify in every wigwam. Out of the whole nation only about thirty were left alive, and these sought self-destruction by rushing upon the besieging enemy and thus securing death. The whole nation perished in a few days, and passed forever from the number of living tribes.

It must be stated also, however bitter may be the acknowledgment, that civilization has been a great destroyer of the Indians. The white man, with civilization in one hand and the whisky bottle in the other, has caused the death of more savages than he has civilized. He has also introduced among them a loathsome disease more revolting than the smallpox, which contests the death rate with the other destroyers.

It is therefore well known to us that whole tribes have perished and left only a name behind. That the Madocs were one of these extinguished tribes we have some Indian traditions in

evidence. An old Indian told Colonel James F. Moore, of Kentucky, that long ago a war of extermination was waged between the Red Indians and the Indians of a lighter complexion in Kentucky, and that the last great battle between them was fought at the Falls of the Ohio, where the light-colored Indians were driven upon Sand Island as the last hope of escape, and there all were slaughtered by their pursuers. It was the opinion of George Catlin, who spent years among the Indians and a good part of the time among the Mandans, that these Mandans were direct descendants from the Madoc colony. He reached this conclusion after living with this tribe and studying their habits and learning their traditions. With this opinion of Catlin and what was said by the old Indian to Colonel Moore and the statements of the many witnesses heretofore mentioned in this article, all of whom had seen Welsh Indians in America and talked with them in the Welsh language, it would hardly seem just to doubt the truth of the Madoc tradition for no better reason than that there is now no existing tribe of Welsh Indians in this country.

The principal pre-Columbian discoveries of America have now been presented, and not one of them found America uninhabited. Madoc, the Welsh prince, in his discovery in the Twelfth century is said in Llwyd's translation of Caradoc's history of Wales to have found the continent without inhabitants, but this is a typographical error. It was probably intended to be stated that the country did not have "many" inhabitants, instead of "not any" inhabitants. The text bears this interpretation, from the fact that it states a few lines above that Madoc found the natives different from what he had seen in Europe. It is possible, however, that Madoc may have landed at some point where there were no inhabitants in sight, as there might have been many such places in a country as vast as America. While a single spot reached by Madoc may have been void of inhabitants, the rest of the country might have been more or less populated. He doubtless, however, found the new country inhabited, as it is so stated elsewhere in the text.





View Near Aber



Llangollen Village





## XI. AMERICA THE OLDEST OF THE CONTINENTS

After the discovery by Columbus in the latter part of the Fifteenth century, it was customary to speak of the eastern hemisphere as the Old World, and the western as the New. No one seemed to care how long the western hemisphere may have existed before this discovery. The discovery was new, and therefore the country was deemed new also. After the discovery by Columbus made it known, many alleged discoverers, before unheard of, came into existence from different nations. Besides the six discoveries set forth in this article, there were Arabians, and Italians, and Dutch, and Poles, Japanese, Jews, and others who laid claim to this honor. None of these, however, could make out a satisfactory claim to its discovery, and it may not have been possible to satisfy all doubts in any one case. We knew that the eastern hemisphere existed and had existed for thousands of years, but, disregarding the claims of some of the ancients, we did not certainly know of the western world until it was discovered by Columbus, and as the discovery was new, the country discovered was called new also.

We have no certain way of arriving at the age of continents or of determining the relative age of any one of them, especially if the age is to be calculated in years. Geologists get over the difficulty of estimating in years by the use of such terms as eras, ages, periods, epochs, etc. They will tell you what geological age a thing belongs to by the fossils imbedded in it, but when they undertake to tell the year in which anything existed, it is by estimation only. Professor Shaler estimated that the North American continent had existed between one hundred and four hundred millions of years since it was prepared for life—since plants and animals began to be developed and live upon it. To say nothing of four hundred million years, one hundred millions present a period of which the human mind can have no rational conception. We could form quite as just a conception of four hundred million as of one hundred million. Both terms suggest an incomprehensible duration of time. It probably makes no difference, therefore, whether we designate this period as four hundred million or one hundred million or one million, or even a

less number of years. There is no danger of an error being discovered in the addition, because there has been no fixed unit to start from in estimating the existence of a continent in years, and possibly can be none.

If, however, it has been between one hundred million and four hundred million of years since animals and plants began life in America, how long did America exist before it was fit for the life of man? If the theory of the nebulous origin of the earth be correct, quite as long a period may have been necessary for the central nebulous mass out of which our solar system was evolved to break up into sections, and for these sections to whirl around in space until they were consolidated into worlds. Our planet probably acted in common with others until cooling formed a crust sufficiently strong for an ocean bed over its internal fires, and rains to descend from an atmosphere which held them in suspension, until they covered the crust with the waters of a universal ocean. Then it began to act for itself by eroding this crust and contracting from further cooling until it pressed the sides of sections of the crust upon one another and crushed and pushed them upward in the confusion of a crumpled, peaked, and valleyed mountain range. Such were the first mountains of the earth, and they formed the nucleus of the North American continent along the line which separates the United States from Canada. It is known as the Laurentian range, and is made up of the first metamorphosed sedimentary rocks that were formed. It extended from the Atlantic Ocean on the east along the trend of the St. Lawrence River and the lakes westward beyond the Mississippi River nearly to the subsequently erected Rocky Mountains, a distance of some two thousand miles in length and three hundred miles in width. This continent may have been outlined beneath the universal ocean long before its upheaval, but this was its first appearance above the water, and it was before any one of the other continents made its appearance above the sea. As it first appeared, America was a mass of metamorphic rocks contorted and crumpled and twisted and jumbled into a shape which had nothing of the appearance of suitability for plant or animal life. It would require much time after this bleak and barren assemblage of rocks got above the water for them to

expand into a continent and assume a fit form for the habitation of man. It had to go through the long years of the Silurian, Devonian, Carboniferous, Triassic, Jurassic, Cretaceous, and possibly into the Tertiary period before it could be ready for human life. It, however, got the start of other continents, and there is no good reason for supposing that it did not continue in the lead until it became the habitation of the original man. There is reason, therefore, for believing that the existence of the earth from its nebulous stage to the beginning of the Azoic age was as long as from its beginning in the Azoic to the Psychozoic age. And if this be so, another fearful period of from one hundred to four hundred millions of years would have to be added to the entire duration of the earth. Such figures, however, are about as reliable as counting the sands of the seashore without seeing them.

It has recently, however, been contended by some of the most eminent of geologists that North America was the first of the continents. In the Canadian geological surveys the earliest sedimentary rocks were found in the Laurentian Mountains, and as no older rocks have been found anywhere, America was pronounced the first-born of the continents. Louis Agassiz, in speaking of America as the oldest of the continents, grew eloquent and expressed himself in his "Geological Sketches," volume 1, page 1, and paragraph 1, in the following language:

"First born among the continents, though so much later in culture and civilization than some of more recent birth, America, so far as her physical history is concerned, has been falsely denominated the New World. Hers was the first dry land lifted out of the waters, hers the first shore washed by the ocean that enveloped all the earth beside; and while Europe was represented only by islands rising here and there above the sea, America already stretched an unbroken line of land from Nova Scotia to the far west."

## XII. AMERICA THE FIRST INHABITED OF THE CONTINENTS

It was the belief of the wise Thomas Jefferson that America was the first seat of the human race, and that the eastern hemisphere was peopled from the western. A letter written by him



to President Stiles of Yale College, in 1786, while he represented the United States at the Court of France, was published in the "American Museum" for November, 1787, page 492. From this letter the following extract is taken, clearly stating Mr. Jefferson's belief that the first inhabitants of Asia, who so much resembled the American aborigines, went from America to Asia instead of coming from Asia to America:

"I return you my thanks for the communications relative to the western country. When we reflect how long we have inhabited those parts of America, which lie between the Alleghany and the ocean—that no monument has ever been found in them, which indicated the use of iron among its aboriginal inhabitants—that they were as far advanced in arts, at least as the inhabitants on the other side of the Alleghany a good degree of infidelity may be excused as to the new discoveries which suppose regular fortifications of brick work to have been in use among the Indians on the waters of the Ohio. Intrenchments of earth they might indeed make, but brick is more difficult. The art of making it may have preceded the use of iron; but it would suppose a greater degree of industry than men in the hunter state usually possess. I should like to know whether General Parfons himself saw actual bricks among the remains of fortifications. I suppose the settlement of our continent is of the most remote antiquity; the similitude between its inhabitants and those of the eastern parts of Asia, render it probable that ours are descended from them, or they from ours. The latter is my opinion, founded on this single fact. Among the red inhabitants of Asia there are but few languages radically different; but among our Indians, the number of languages is infinite, which are so radically different as to exhibit at present no appearance of their having been derived from a common source. The time necessary for the generation of so many languages must be immense."

Mr. Jefferson gave the best reason he could for his belief that the first inhabitants went from America to Asia instead of coming from Asia to America. Since his time, however, scientific research, in its wonderful progress, has developed other reasons for the truth of this theory. Scientists have exhumed, in America, the skeletons of past geological ages and the remains of dead

human beings which gave evidence of as early existence here as any yet found outside of America. Had Mr. Jefferson lived to this time he might have been foremost among the scientists whose investigations look to solving the problem of the oldest continent and the first human beings on the globe.

The Red Indians were the oldest inhabitants of America known to white men, though there were here, doubtless, older beings who antedated them by many centuries and had many traditions as to their origin, but none sufficiently divested of myth and absurdity to lead to a rational conclusion as to the first country inhabited by them or the beginning of its occupation. They had some vague traditions of a very long-ago people who were inhabitants of this country before them, but nothing sufficiently definite for reliable information as to the character or the time of this people. Some tribes believed that their ancestors had sprung from the ground in this country, and that they and their descendants had never lived in any other land. Others believed that their ancestors had come from a distant land, but they could give no intelligent account as to where that distant land might be or when they left it and came to this. The traditions of the wigwam throw no satisfactory light on the dark problem as to which of the continents was first inhabited by man. All information on this subject that is worth knowing has come from another source, and that source is not from the living of the present or of the unknown past. As we must look into the rock-built graveyards of buried fossilized animals to learn their history, so we must exhume the relics and skeletons of dead and forgotten human beings to learn where and how they began life on the earth, and on this continent.

The implements and bones of primitive man have been found in the caves and in the river-drift of Europe mingled with the bones of extinct animals which inhabited the earth during the Quaternary age. In the drift of the upper terrace of the river Somme, in France, have been found flint implements which had been chipped into shape by man, associated with the bones of such extinct Quaternary animals as the mammoth, the rhinoceros and the cave lion. In a cave at Mentone, near Nice, the skeleton of a man was found with paleolithic implements near

him and the bones of extinct Quaternary animals about him. The bones had been preserved by a covering of stalagmite, and the teeth of the reindeer—which had probably been used as ornaments—showed the holes with which they had been pierced. In a cave on the river Vizere was found a piece of bone shaped by man on which there was a rude drawing of the mammoth whose tusk had furnished the plate on which the picture was etched. Such findings as these in the undisturbed dust of the cave or the drift of the river clearly indicate that man was there in the Quaternary age, and possible contending with those extinct animals for the caves as a habitation. The cases cited are among the oldest evidences of man yet found in the eastern hemisphere and there is no need of citing others, though many exist not only in France, but in Belgium, in England, in Norway, and in other countries. As early, however, as they indicate the presence of man in the eastern hemisphere, there have been findings of his relics and his bones in America which show his presence here as early, if not earlier. Evidences of man in America during the Quaternary age, which some geologists estimate as two hundred thousand years ago, while others make the time much longer, have been found in the sands and gravels drifted by glacial currents and in localities with surroundings possibly indicating the Tertiary age.

In the glacial drift on a bluff in the valley of the Delaware River, near Trenton, New Jersey, have been found rudely chipped argillite implements which scientists have pronounced paleolithic. They were found imbedded in the sands and gravel, which clearly indicated that they had reposed undisturbed ever since they had been deposited there by the glacial flood which deposited the sands and pebbles around them. The hard stone of which they had been made could not have been worn or chipped in to the shape they bore by any force except that of the hand of man, and hence it is inferred that man was there when the current of the melting ice of the early glacial period bore them there. This would take man back thousands of years beyond the Quaternary age to his possible existence in America in the Tertiary age.

In the auriferous gravels of an old river bed in Calaveras

County, California, was found at the bottom of a mining shaft, one hundred and fifty feet below the surface, the skull of a human being. Over it had been deposited four successive beds of gold-bearing drift and five streams of lava from volcanoes long since extinct. The gold-bearing gravels in which it was found belonged to the Tertiary age, and man is therefore assumed to have been in California during that age.

On the Bourbois River, in Missouri, the skeleton of a mastodon was found buried in such a position and with such surroundings as to indicate that the animal had been rendered helpless by being mired, and in that condition killed by human beings. Arrow-heads were found about and around it, and wood ashes indicated that fire had helped in its destruction. As no animal but man is known to have used fire, it was assumed that the monster had been killed by a fire when the paleolithic weapons had failed.

Many other instances of the relics of man found in the glacial drift might be cited, but the above three are enough to show that he was in America as early as he was in the eastern hemisphere and perhaps earlier, and that America did not need immigrants from the east or from any other terrestrial source to begin her population. America possibly had citizens to spare while the eastern hemisphere was void of inhabitants.

Besides the three cases before cited, which carried the inhabitants of America back beyond the Quaternary and into the Tertiary age, there are examples of man's very early appearance upon the American continent, in which the time is sometimes given in years.

In the Mammoth Cave of Kentucky a mummy was to be seen, early in the last century, about the age of which no reliable conjecture was formed, from the fact that it was said to have been removed from an adjacent cave without noting with sufficient particularity the original position it occupied. As it appeared in the Mammoth Cave, it was sitting in an excavation about four feet square and three feet deep. The skeleton—that of a female—was perfectly preserved, with the flesh and skin dried upon it. It was clad first in the skin of a deer and over this was a mantle made of the inner bark of the linden tree. The hair was cut short and was of a dark red color. The woman was above the



average size and was neither black nor red, but of a light complexion. By her side was a large reticule or sack, made of the inner bark of the linden tree. In this ample portmanteau were the following articles: one cap of woven or knit bark; seven head-dresses made of the quills of birds, so put together that when placed upon the head the quilled ends would bind the head while the feathered ends would expand like an umbrella and make a showy head-dress; hundreds of seeds of a dark color strung together like beads; a number of the red hoofs of the fawn, strung together into a necklace; the claw of an eagle, with a string through it so it could be worn as a pendant; the jaw of a bear, seemingly designed to be worn also as a pendant; the skins of two rattlesnakes, with fourteen rattles still upon one of them; a quantity of coloring matter done up in leaves; a small bunch of threads or strings made of the sinews of the deer; a number of needles made of bone, and two whistles of cane. How long she was an occupant of the cave we have no means of determining or even of rationally estimating, but if the cave was two million years old, as stated by Professor Shaler, she might be allowed a few thousand of these years for her enjoyment of the darkness and solitude of her subterranean abode.

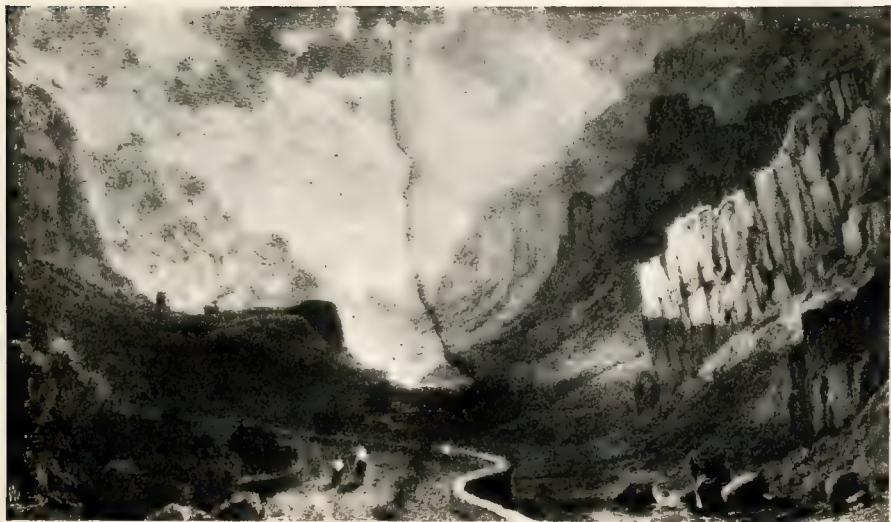
The skeleton of a man found in a Florida reef was pronounced by Agassiz to be ten thousand years old.

While excavating for the gas-works in New Orleans a human skeleton was found in the delta of the Mississippi below four successive forests and pronounced by Doctor Fowler to have been there fifteen thousand years.

That mysterious people who antedated the Red Indian and covered the Mississippi Valley with mounds, circumvallations, temples, and fortifications, and scattered everywhere stone axes, flint arrow-heads, pottery, pipes, and ornaments of copper and clay, may have been the autochthons of America. Some of their mounds—and especially those immense piles at Cahokia and Grave Creek—remind us of the mass heaped over the body of Alyattes near Sardis, but unlike that monarch's mound, believed to have existed twenty-five hundred years, they furnished no key to the time at which they were reared. Trees have been found growing upon some of them whose annulations showed them to



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Pass of Llanberis



be eight hundred years old, but this determined nothing as to the real age of the mounds. The trees that measured eight hundred years may have been preceded by others and those again by others of equal or greater age, and so on until thousands of years were exhausted in the indeterminate calculation. Some of these trees may have antedated the giant redwoods of California or the fossil forests of Yellowstone Park, but we have nothing to guide us in arriving at a just conclusion as to their age.

In the midst of these perplexities, we can have no reason to doubt that the Power which is said to have created man in Asia might have created him elsewhere, and placed him in habitable quarters in America before any part of the eastern hemisphere was ready for his occupancy. The first formed rocks which have yet been seen upon the globe, and the earliest forms of life yet discovered, and the oldest human relics which have yet been found, were in America. If, therefore, man first lived and died and laid down his bones in the western world before he died and laid them down in the eastern hemisphere, why should we look for his origin in the East instead of the West? Why not claim him where we first find his remains, instead of troubling ourselves about the time of his coming and the place whence he came? The Orientals have not been able in thousands of years to fix the latitude and longitude of the Garden of Eden, where the human race is claimed to have first begun existence, and as the question is still open the Occidentals may reasonably claim America as the first land above the ocean and the first inhabited by man, until the proof is made clear of an earlier inhabited continent.



# A Patriot's View of the Political Situation Immediately Following the Civil War

CONTRIBUTED BY DUANE MOWRY, of Milwaukee, Wisconsin.

**T**HE letter which follows, which is taken from the Doolittle correspondence in the contributor's possession,, is valuable to the historical student, aside from its local bearing and significance, as indicating the well and forcibly expressed opinions of a very intelligent and thoughtful man upon the burning political questions of the hour, questions which were the direct outgrowth of the Civil War.

The letter is, of course, the sentiments of a Northern man, of a friend and supporter of Senator Doolittle. He makes it clear in his letter that while he is unalterably opposed to slavery, he recognizes the fact that the negro problem is still upon us as a people and unsolved. The letter clearly indicates that the author of it is in substantial accord with the policy championed by Mr. Doolittle, by President Johnson, and others, with reference to reconstruction and the other questions growing out of the war between the states. It is equally clear that the writer is opposed to the political attitude of the Honorable Thaddeus Stevens and his adherents, with reference to the South and the problems from that section crowding upon the Congress for some just and adequate solution.

Although Mr. Sholes was a layman, his luminous discussion of the public questions of the day show him to be a man of clear mind and of bright intellectual parts. His proposed methods of dealing with political opponents show him to be a practical politician of more than ordinary sagacity. Certainly his letter shows him to be a man possessed of great energy, of considerable native shrewdness, and of real power. He had the courage

of his convictions and the ability to clearly express those convictions.

It is proper to note that at the time of writing this letter, Mr. Sholes was the postmaster at the Milwaukee post office, presumably, the appointee of Judge Doolittle.

It ought also to be mentioned that the author of this interesting letter was, at a somewhat later date, the inventor and first patentee of the typewriter.

Christopher Latham Sholes, "the father of the typewriter" was of New England ancestry, his grandmother on the maternal side, being a lineal descendant of John Alden, the Pilgrim. He was born in Columbia county, Pennsylvania, February 14, 1819, and died in Milwaukee, Wisconsin, February 17, 1890. He was educated largely in the printing office of the Danville Intelligencer, Danville, Pennsylvania, between the years 1833 and 1837. He removed in 1837 to Green Bay, Wisconsin territory, where an elder brother had settled and he printed the house journal of the territorial legislature of Wisconsin in Philadelphia, making the journey from Green Bay for the purpose and carrying the printed copies of the journal back with him. In 1839 he was placed in charge of the "Wisconsin Inquirer" printed in Madison and owned by his brother Charles Sholes. In 1840 he became editor of the Southport, (afterward Kenosha) "Telegraph" and in 1844 he was made postmaster of Kenosha by President Polk. He removed to Milwaukee, where he was postmaster, collector of customs, and commissioner of public works. In Milwaukee he was editor of the "Sentinel" and subsequently of the "News" which subsequently was absorbed by the "Sentinel." In 1866 he began work on a numbering machine which developed into the typewriter and the next year he made a working model of the machine, and during the next six years the instrument as manufactured by him and his associates, on the Milwaukee canal, was so perfected that in 1873 the Remington Fire Arms Company at Ilion, New York began the manufacture on a large scale. These machines he continued to improve and two years before his death he perfected two new machines for typewriting. He was a free-soil Democrat in 1848, was a state senator from Racine county, 1848-49; a representative in the state legislature for Kenosha county, 1852-53 and a state senator 1856-57, and in the latter year was president pro-tempore of the senate.

## LAY THIS ASIDE FOR A RAINY DAY

Milwaukee, Wis., Jan. 1, 1866.

Hon. J. R. Doolittle:

Dear Sir: You ask, substantially, whether the *Sentinel*<sup>1</sup> is incapable of treating you fairly, or, if capable, is not indisposed to do it. A day or two ago I should have expressed the opinion that the paper did not *mean* to be unjust nor unfair, but that its editor was so intensely partisan as to be incapable of fairness or magnanimity, and was unjust and unfair without knowing it. But I notice this morning that the paper copies that stupid, malicious, and absurd article against your self, from the *Racine*<sup>2</sup> *Advocate*. For this there is no excuse whatever, nor is there any explanation of it, except a deliberate purpose on the part of the editor to be unfair and malignant. Unless there is a change of programme (and on that point I am not informed) I presume Willard's connection with the paper ceases with this number, and the article in question is a sort of a Parthian shot. Should Tenney come in, I think it will be safe to assume that no such articles will find place in its columns, for his sympathies I am tolerably sure are with us, though he will be obliged to speak with bated breath, or not speak at all. If Chamberlain, (Willard's assistant) should be left in charge, which is possible, the paper will be quite as malignant, and even less discreet than it has been. Indeed, I am inclined to attribute the copying of this article from the *Advocate* to Chamberlain rather than Willard. I think also, the article you cut out and sent me as also all the short articles which have some little slur or malignant point about them that you notice from time to time, are from Chamberlain not Willard. He is one of those unfortunate young men who conceive that the chief end of a writer is to say something smart, though truth, justice, fairness, and all the proprieties and decencies of life are sacrificed to it. Should the paper be left in his charge, it will very soon be incapable of doing you or any person else, any harm, or good either. As I feel now, were I in your place, if I had any influence, I would use it to totally expunge the sheet from all recognition in the state, or any other department of government. And I should say another thing here. I do not think it would be advisable for the President to make changes of office-holders for disagreement with his views, but whenever commissions expire, or new officers are to be appointed, I do hope he will discriminate in favor of his friends, as a matter of *public duty*. To do this, of course, he must not

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1. The Milwaukee Sentinel.

2. The Racine Advocate, of Racine, Wis., being Senator Doolittle's home town.

accept as potential, the voice of Congressmen and Senators who are opposed to him.<sup>3</sup> No one I esteem personally more than Gen. H. E. Paine,<sup>4</sup> yet it is unmistakable that he is in a minority of 1500 or 2000 of the *people* of this district. Now yourself and (the?) President, as a matter of necessity, must throw yourselves on to these *people*, or on to this radical minority. There is no middle choice. With the former you will be sustained, with the latter you will sink. Assuming that you do not intend to do the latter, it would be little short of suicidal to accept unquestioned the advice in essential matters, of these opposition and minority members. Gen. Paine is as candid, patriotic and disinterested as it is possible for a man with his peculiar views to be, and his recommendation generally would be safe to follow. Nevertheless, were I the President, in making new appointments I would take the unqualified recommendation of none of them, but would be *sure* that the desired appointee was a *friend* and not an *enemy*. For I tell you the time is at hand, when we must succumb to these men, or accept them as open enemies. In this district, next fall, we must do it. And we may as well recognize the fact now, and prepare accordingly. I look for the complete overthrow of the freedom *fanatics*, (as *has been* the case with the slavery *fanatics*) at the next Congressional election, or *certainly* by the next Presidential election, when the country will settle again to its normal condition, and take up with renewed vigor its march to prosperity. And the country will never be safe nor prosperous until they are overthrown. Therefore, it is the part of patriotism to take no compromising nor middle course, but fight them to the death of one or the other. Any hope of being able to control or moderate the *party* is useless. The *Sentinel* fairly represents the *party*, and will continue to. It is on our part unconditional surrender or open war. I am for the latter, especially, as I am sure we shall unite with us, in time, (and brief time) the majority of the people. I *hope* to carry the next Congress. I am sure we shall carry the next President, in the person of Johnson, or some man like him. You are not as radical on the questions pending as I am. I see no better reason for keeping a Tennessee or an Alabama or any other Southern representative from the floor of Congress, than I do for keeping Eldredge<sup>5</sup> of the 4th district of this state from

3. It should be borne in mind that at about this time there was a very pronounced feeling crystalizing against President Johnson and his policy in Wisconsin. And Senator Doolittle, who was a supporter of the administration, was coming into the knowledge of a share of the local condemnation. It is to the existence of this feeling that Mr. Sholes evidently refers.

4. Hon. Halbert E. Paine, a member of congress from Milwaukee.

5. Hon. Charles H. Eldredge, a democratic member of congress from Wisconsin.



the floor. There is no *war of arms* pending that I am aware of, and the difference between the Alabama or South Carolina members, and the *majority* in both houses, is precisely the difference that exists between Eldrege and that same *majority*, neither more nor less. It is a difference of *opinion* as to the proper administration of government; nothing more. And the great mischief of the attitude of the majority is, that it is sure, if endorsed by the people, to ultimate in the rejection of Eldrege and all men who do not agree with the majority in opinion, thus, in fact, ultimating in the entire destruction of the Government. This would finally have been the result of the *fanatical* and *crazy* slavery rule, it will be the result, (if it is to be continued) if the *fanatical* and *crazy* freedom rule, illustrating again the uniform experience, that one extreme begets another, and both being wrong, both finally meet in a common ruin. And not only should I take that position as a constitutional requirement, but also, as a matter of policy. The quicker the states are restored to their constitutional relations to the government, the quicker will the past be forgotten and the march of progress in sound and righteous principles and also in substantial and enduring prosperity be resumed. And just as long as that is postponed, so long will there be irritation, strife, turbulence, and *decay*, instead of progress, both north and south. And if it is delayed, there will never be a Union again, for the passions and difficulties that dissever us *now*, if we are to be dissevered, will strengthen and increase by the attitude we propose to assume to each other until they make in their virulence and strength, union utterly impossible. And there is *no* national question, whether it refers to "Freedom" or any other subject, but which can be better and more quickly settled, with relations of the states established, than without. Indeed, I think nothing can be permanently settled until first is settled this fundamental (and therefore *preliminary*) question of the attitude of the states under the constitution; for to attempt to settle questions where the basis on which you *must* build is itself unsettled, is like building on shifting sands. In fact, settle the states under the constitution, and all these questions will settle themselves, better than legislation can do it. I like your Freedman's bill much better than any other, but my policy would be to restore the states, and then let alone all internal relations. Slavery cannot be resuscitated. *Freedom* is now the dominant *principle* all over the country, and it will in its own good time, resolve all these knotty questions into harmony with itself. No amount of legislation will just now make a northern man or an African altogether lovely at the South. A sensible man will not expect it.

For a time, both yankees and negroes must expect a reasonable amount of animosity from that quarter. But this animosity will subside, and sound and correct principles resume their sway and enter into practice under a system of tolerance, trust and confidence much sooner than by any possible effort of coercive legislation. In short, if we are *ever* to trust the South with its own affairs, we may as well begin *now* as to put off. Indeed, if we do not begin *now* we *never* will, for the causes which now separate us will assuredly strengthen by every hour's separation under the relations it is proposed to establish.

Your policy, though not so radical as mine, leads to the same end, and perhaps is in better harmony with the public temper and therefore more politic. But the policy of our opponents leads right straight away from these ends, to permanent dissolution, to an overflow of the constitution, and the death of the republic, and hence it has my present opposition and my undying hatred.

With reference to your proposed amendment to the constitution, touching voters, apportionment, etc., it rather strikes me that if you, I would not do it. If I understand it, you propose to make *voters* alone, the basis of representation. I don't know that any injustice would arise from it, but I fear it would not strike the public mind favorably. It would be a good thing for the west and a bad thing for New England, but would not the fact that a voting basis is changed by accidental causes—from such causes may be increased or diminished—while the *whole* population has a certain steady growth or decline, uninfluenced by accidental causes make it objectionable. A hundred young men may emigrate from one town in the East—they may be a very small fraction of the population—but a very large fraction of the voters. And when they settle west, they add little to the population but much to the voters. Or the heads of a hundred families may leave, leaving that whole population without representation, and carrying the whole representation 1000 miles west. In short, will it not make an inequality which will condemn it? It don't occur to me that there is any objection to Congress, determining the qualification of voters for purely National positions, on the contrary, it seems to me rather proper that it should do it. I presume, however, your proposed amendment refers rather to a settlement, if possible, of the vexed question of negro suffrage. That is a question which affects the South more than us, therefore, preliminary to it, the South should be represented in Congress. I am unalterably opposed to interfering with the internal relations of the states any further than the war has compelled and made necessary. Without disparaging

the African, it is nevertheless incontrovertible we and the world must look to the whites of that region for the display and development of whatever may be valuable in or about it. It is bad policy then to establish or introduce anything which will be a source of strife (or) irritation to and among this population. If there is any virtue whatever in free principles, and any vitality whatever in our free constitution and republican institutions, now that the antagonistic principle of slavery is gone, they will assuredly, in good time, solve this question of the rights, etc., of the African better than we can do it. You once said in one of your speeches, that after the question of slavery was the question of the African himself, the latter even a more important and more puzzling question than the former.<sup>6</sup> That question is now before us—we cannot solve it—it must solve itself. Most assuredly under our institutions, the negro will in time resolve himself or be resolved into his true relations and position. My own opinion is that *extinction* is to be his fate, but never mind my *opinions*. *Time* only can determine the question in harmony with the Divine purposes. If he is to be exalted to an equality with the white most assuredly inevitable progress under our free institutions will determine and establish the fact, and do it in harmony with the convictions of the whole people. The vote of the people of the North, and the known views of the people of the South, make it about certain that the convictions of the people are not yet at that point—therefore it seems to me unadvisable to indulge in legislation, which nothing but a temporary excitement of the public mind would make possible, and which, when this excitement is allayed, will be found to be a source of irritation, and a cause of unhappiness, like an ill-assorted marriage hastily entered into. There is a grand chance just now for a statesman who would prefer an enduring fame to a present temporary popularity.

But I must, in mercy, close this interminable talk. If you are disposed to be vexed at the length of what *I have* said, please reflect for a moment on the greater length of what I haven't said, and excuse me.

Yours, etc.,

C. L. SHOLES.

What I have said about the suffrage amendment is said on very brief and superficial thought and may not be worth anything.

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6. Here the writer shows himself to be something of a prophet, or indicates that Senator Doolittle sees with a statesman's vision the great difficulty in solving the problem which the freeing of the negro has thrust upon the government.







BRADFORD HOUSE, 1675  
Kingston, Mass.



WINSLOW HOUSE, 1700  
Marshfield, Mass.

# Historic New England Towns Revisited, or Back on My Native Heath

## CHAPTER VII (Continued)

BY ANDREW M. SHERMAN

**A**MONG the places of historic interest in Kingston I can only mention the following: The site of the house, on the summit of a small knoll, once occupied by Governor William Bradford and his son William. A large boulder now marks the site of this house, which marker may be seen from the railroad. A sign board, containing an inscription, guides the tourist to the site of the Bradford house; and this inscription appears also on a tablet on the boulder, and is as follows:

“This eminence is a portion of the ancient estate of Wm. Bradford, the illustrious governor of the Plymouth colony, where he had a house before 1637. Here his son, the Hon. Major William Bradford, lived and died in the year 1704. Wamsutta, the Indian chieftain, tarried here just previous to his death in 1662.

In the year 1897, the Massachusetts Society of Mayflower Descendants, who now own the place, held appropriate dedicatory exercises. In connection with the house site is a quarter of an acre of land which is also the property of the Society above named.

Near the present Kingston alms house may be seen what is known as “the old Bradford house;” this house is said by reliable historical authorities to have been the home of John Bradford, grandson of Governor William Bradford, and is supposed to have been erected as early as the year 1674. There is an ap-

parently reliable tradition to the effect that during the King Philip War an attempt was made by the Indians to burn this house; certain it is that charred timbers were found in the old house when it was being repaired in the early part of the nineteenth century.

The tourist in visiting Kingston should not omit seeing both the places above mentioned.

Among the things of modern origin in this old town mention should be made of the Soldiers' Monument, the Adams Free Library, The Old Forge, the High School, Delano's Wharf and the Town Hall.

It is a fact of no small interest that in Kingston, in colonial days, some of the ancestors of Webster, the eminent American statesman, lived; and Webster was fond of calling the attention of his friends to this.

As one approaches Duxbury, the second township to the northward of old Plymouth, his attention is attracted to a promontory off to the right, or eastward, and on its summit may be seen a monument surmounted by a statue. This promontory, known as Captains Hill, and which was once a part of the farm owned and occupied by Captain Miles Standish, of colonial fame, is about two hundred feet above the sea level. This monument, erected to the memory of Captain Miles Standish, is the highest erected to an individual north of Baltimore, and was completed in 1898, although the corner stone was laid October 7, 1872. The statue surmounting the monument is of Captain Miles Standish, and is fourteen feet in height. As might be expected, monument and statue may be seen for many miles in every direction, landward and seaward. The Standish Monument Association own about twenty acres of land around the monument, which it is proposed to lay out in paths and open places, thus making a beautiful park. At Powder Point, only a short distance above the site of the Standish Monument, a part of the land granted to my first paternal American ancestor, William Sherman, by the Plymouth colony, was located.

The house owned, and for about twenty years previous to his decease occupied by Captain Miles Standish, was destroyed by fire about the year 1665. Many articles have since been found

in the cellar of this house, and are sacredly preserved. The site of the old cellar and house is now designated by a stone boulder bearing a suitable inscription; it is the property of a lady in Boston, Mass.

The house now known as the Standish House, in Duxbury, is located about one-fourth of a mile to the northward of the site of the cellar of the Captain Miles Standish house, and is said to have been built by Alexander Standish, a son of the Captain, about the year 1666. I have been thus explicit for the reason that some visitors to Duxbury take away with them the impression that the Standish house now to be seen in this old town is the identical house owned and occupied by the famous Indian fighter of early colonial days; whereas the house now to be seen is that of Alexander Standish, built about the year 1666, about one year after the destruction, by fire, of the original Captain Miles Standish house.

Several other points of historic interest may be seen as one passes through Duxbury, but of these I can only mention the Alden House, erected by Colonel John Alden, a grandson of the John Alden, the latter of whom came in the Mayflower in 1620. The original John Alden is said to have come to Duxbury from Plymouth about the year 1631, where he settled on land granted to him by the Plymouth Colony. The site of his house is now designated by a stone stating the fact. He is thought to have been buried in the original burial place in Duxbury, the oldest headstone of which is dated 1697. In this burial place the remains of Captain Miles Standish are also thought to lie.

It is a fact of no ordinary interest that the farm once owned by the original John Alden has ever since been held by one of the family; and it is still known as "John Alden's Farm."

The Alden house now to be seen in Duxbury, as my readers will doubtless be interested to learn, is a two and a half story structure shingled on roof and four sides. Through the middle of the house there arises an immense chimney occupying sufficient space for a good sized room. A liberal quantity of shrubbery about the front of the old house relieves it of its otherwise barren appearance, for it is unpainted, except by the ravages of the elements upon the now almost black shingles.



I should not omit mentioning that the famous Indian fighter, Colonel Benjamin Church, was born in Duxbury, in 1639; and the house in which he was born was in what is now known as Millbrook. The house has disappeared, but its site is still known and is not infrequently visited by the lovers of early colonial history. Of the King Philip War, in which he commanded the colonists, he wrote a book, which was published in 1716.

If we were not on our way to Marshfield Hills "on special business" I would gladly linger longer in the interesting old town of Duxbury.

A ride of a few miles brought us to the railroad station at Marshfield Hills, which is about two miles to the eastward of the village, to reach which, one has either to walk or take the carriage that conveys the mail to the postoffice. Learning, upon our arrival at the station, that it would not be necessary for us to go up to the village to accomplish our object, we walked a short distance toward Marshfield Hills, to the home of some friends, where we awaited developments.

I must not omit saying that during our brief stop at the railroad station at Marshfield Hills we met a friend who now occupies and cultivates a farm the land of which was purchased by his ancestors of the native Indians in the early days of the town's history; and it is a pleasure to this conscientious young man to contemplate the fairness with which his ancestors dealt with the original inhabitants of the region from which they have entirely disappeared.

To say that Marshfield Hills is a beautiful New England village gives the reader but a meagre idea of the place. The village lies about three miles inland from and overlooks Massachusetts Bay, above which it is elevated at least one hundred and fifty feet. Numerous stately elms and maples adorn the streets, at some points forming a graceful and sun-excluding arch. Two churches, the Congregational Trinitarian and Congregational Unitarian (or "Orthodox and Unitarian," as some distinguish them), both of which edifices are kept in excellent condition, stand within a few rods of each other in this typical New England village, a vivid reminder of the heated theological controversy which raged in Massachusetts about a century ago and

which resulted in the division of many Congregational churches and the organization of what are now known as Congregational Trinitarian (or "Orthodox") churches in distinction from the Congregational Unitarian (or "Unitarian") churches, the latter of which, by the decision of the state courts, retained the church property in which both had for many years worshiped prior to the separation. Marshfield Hills, then East Marshfield, was among the communities that were torn by the controversy mentioned.

The bitterness of feeling consequent upon the theological controversy above mentioned has, thanks to mutual concessions, become a thing of the hazy past, and the people of varying shades of theological belief now dwell together in peace and harmony; but the communities in which the controversy raged are still suffering because of the presence of two religious organizations, where, as is frequently the case, there should be but one. With but one religious organization in these rural communities a minister would receive an adequate support.

The Clift Rodgers Free Library and Hall, nearly opposite the Congregational Trinitarian Church, of Marshfield Hills, is worthy of mention. As its name indicates it was the gift of Clift Rodgers, a native of Marshfield Hills. Beside donating the building he set apart a fund for the support of the library, which contains upwards of one thousand volumes. Mr. Rodgers was a spiritualist; and one of the conditions of his gift was that spiritualist speakers should have the use of the hall, which seats about two hundred persons, by the payment of the expense of lighting and heating, and the janitor's fee. Spiritualists are evidently far from numerous in Marshfield Hills and vicinity, for there has never been any demand from the adherents of that faith for the use of the hall. For lectures, entertainments and dances, however, the hall is sometimes rented. The influence of the library in the community is educative and elevating. It is open once a week, afternoon and evening, and its patrons are well served by a native of the place who has been librarian since the establishment of the institution about twenty-five years ago.

A short distance out of the village is the Second Baptist Society; and on the road leading thence there resides a worthy cou-

ple, the husband of which is a descendant of Rebecca Bates who, with the assistance of Sarah Winsor, prevented the British from landing and burning Scituate Harbor in the War of 1812.

It was my great pleasure, a few years since, to occupy the pulpit of the Congregational Trinitarian Church in Marshfield Hills for the period of two months, during which time a unanimous call to the pastorate was extended to me; but circumstances beyond my control prevented me from accepting the call and taking up my residence in the historic township in which I was born. Had circumstances favored my acceptance of this call so cordially and unanimously extended to me, and my settlement there as their pastor, it would have been one of the crowning pleasures of my life to have spent the remainder of my days in this beautiful New England village amid its interesting historical associations, and to have enjoyed the privilege of frequent visits to and from my blood relations.

Among the attractions to the pastorate in my native town were the facts that several of my near relations were officers in the church whose pulpit I was supplying, and that a fine parsonage, with ample grounds surrounding it, awaited my occupancy. From the windows of the parsonage study on the rear of the second floor a most delightful view of Massachusetts Bay was afforded, and vessels, sail and steam, could, at almost any hour of the day be seen passing and repassing upon its sparkling blue waters. The roaring of the surf upon the shores of Massachusetts Bay not a few times lulled me to sleep while occupying a room in the parsonage.

I had occupied the pulpit of the church at Marshfield Hills but a short time when I learned that among the congregation to which I ministered and the residents of the beautiful village there were, in addition to the near relations above mentioned, third, fourth, fifth and even sixth cousins, some of whom bore my christian name; and that in the village burial grounds a few rods from the church whose pulpit I was supplying not a few of my relations were interred. The contemplation of these facts produced in me undefinable feelings, particularly as I stood in the pulpit Sunday after Sunday and looked out into the upturned faces of my congregation. Imagination was very active



during my two months sojourn in that fine old New England village; and its picturesque streets were sometimes peopled with the almost visible presence of those long since departed.

The treasurer of the church whose pulpit I occupied at Marshfield Hills was Leander Sherman, own cousin to my father, deceased. The treasurer's daughter, Miss Agnes L., was the efficient superintendent of my Sunday School, and his son, Ashton W., sang in the choir, which was a helpful adjunct to the pulpit in the Sunday service. To me these were interesting circumstances, and they spurred me to my best efforts in my pulpit ministrations.

My visits to the home of my father's cousin (then about ninety years of age) at North Marshfield, a few miles distant, were frequent and highly enjoyable. It was during one of those visits that I was shown the musket carried in the Revolution by my great-grandfather, Ebenezer Sherman; it had, however, been changed from a flint-lock to a percussion-cap gun, and is now used for hunting game. It was very gratifying to me to hold in my hands this musket carried by a paternal ancestor in the seven years war for national independence.

My great-grandfather, Ebenezer Sherman, who carried this musket, served in the year 1777 in Captain John Byington's company of Colonel Nathan Sparhawk's regiment; and also in the regiment commanded by Colonel Job Cushing in an expedition to Bennington, Vermont.

Job Mitchell, the father of my paternal grandmother, served in the year 1776 in the brigade commanded by General Thomas; and also served in Captain John Turner's company of Colonel John Bailey's regiment.

Not the least of my pleasures in visiting my aged and venerable relation, Leander Sherman, was that of listening to his verbatim quotations, from memory, of lengthy portions of Webster's speeches and orations. Of Webster, with whom he was contemporary, and whom he had heard in the great statesman's palmiest days, he was an ardent admirer.

Having ascertained, upon our arrival at Marshfield Hills, that our second cousin, Ashton W. Sherman, whom, and his family, we wished especially to meet, were still at Humarock, one of



the numerous seaside resorts along the coast, where they are accustomed to spending the summer months, and having been cordially invited by "phone" to dine with them, we engaged a friend and distant relation to convey us by horse and carriage to our destination at the seaside.

While waiting for our conveyance to come from the livery stable we were entertained by an aged couple whose comfortable residence is on the road leading from Marshfield Hills to the railroad station. Bidding our hospitable host and hostess good-day, we started for Humarock.

The ride, with a competent driver, and a comfortable carriage, was a most delightful one, and we were soon at our journey's end.

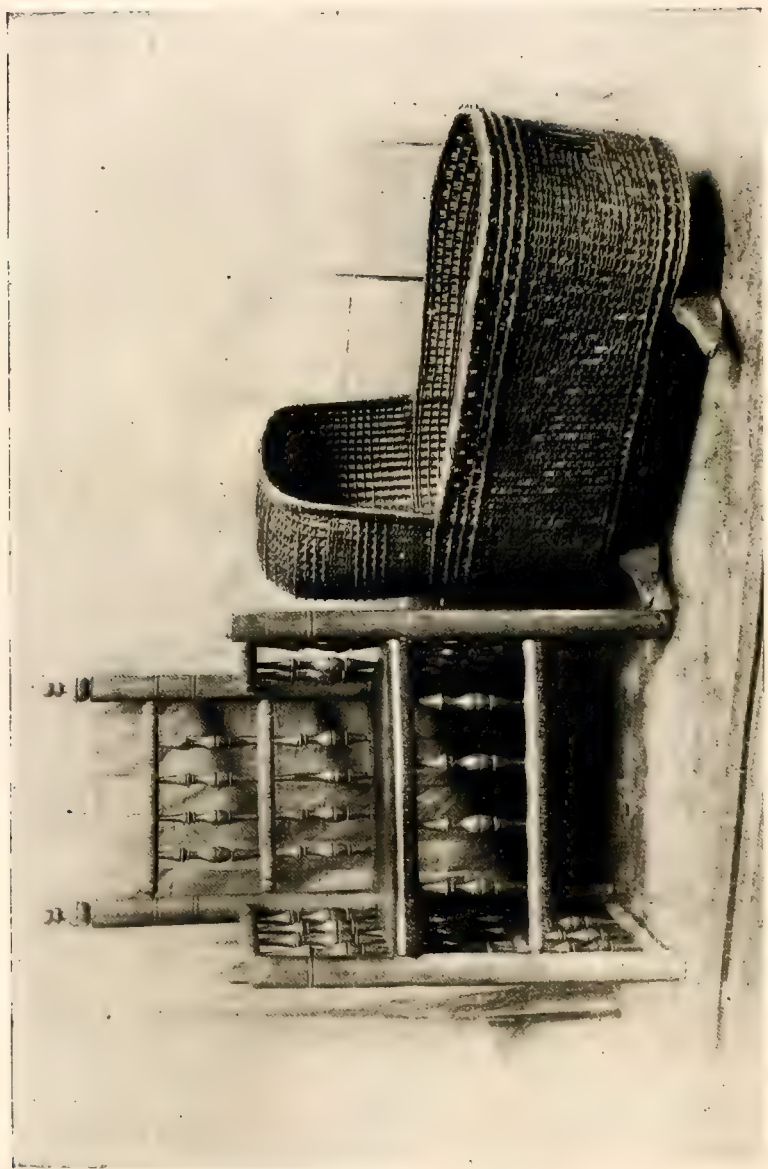
The summer cottage owned and occupied by our cousin and his family stands within a few rods of the beach of Massachusetts Bay, and, as there was "a good sea" on, the view of the incoming white capped waves as they dashed angrily upon the sandy beach was fascinating to one whose year round home is on the beautiful hills of Morris County, New Jersey. The roar of the surf was scarcely less fascinating than the view of

"Thou paragon of elemental powers,  
Mystery of waters—never slumbering sea."

Dinner over with our hospitable friends, we started by horse and carriage for Marshfield for the examination of headstones in one or two of the old burial grounds.

On our way from Humarock to Marshfield we passed what is known as the "Winslow House," which is thus spoken of in "History of Marshfield," by Lysander Salmon Richards: "The house on the estate at present, known as the Winslow House, built several generations later by Dr. Isaac Winslow, is very ancient, being one of the oldest in town. It is a large, square, Colonial house, and has the appearance of having been a century ago one of the finest mansions on the South Shore. This house, like other large mansions of its time, has a secret chamber, the entrance to which is by a sliding panel over one of the fireplaces. It is related that one of the Winslows took refuge in this hiding





Elder Brewster's Chair, and Cradle of Peregrine White, Pilgrim Hall, Plymouth, Mass.

place after the house had been surrounded by a body of patriots." In the room connected with the secret place, there was at the time a woman in bed with a new-born child. The Colonists, with a delicate forbearance, made but a superficial search of her apartments, and so the royalist in hiding escaped discovery.

I have also been informed that, leading from the cellar of the Winslow House, there was an underground passage to the shore, by which one could escape by water from pursuers.

We visited, on our way to Marshfield, the Peregrine White place, as some still call it, situated some distance off the main road and on low grounds near the waters of Massachusetts Bay. Peregrine White, it will be remembered, was the first child born to the Pilgrims after the arrival of the Mayflower off "Cape Codd." In due course he was granted land by the Plymouth Colony in what is now Marshfield, and thither he removed and established his home. He built his house on low grounds near a creek that runs through the meadows, or marsh lands, composing a portion of his farm. It is a particularly isolated and lonely situation for a dwelling; but fish and game abounded in the vicinity, and this may have attracted him to the locality selected for a house and home. "History of Marshfield," by Mr. Richards, already quoted, is authority for the statement that after the decease of Mrs. Peregrine White, in 1711, "He was very attentive to his mother, visiting her daily in his later years. He made these visits on a black horse and wore a coat with buttons the size of a silver dollar." Captain Peregrine White—he acquired this title in the Indian wars—died in Marshfield in the year 1704, at the age of eighty-four years. From his six children there have been numerous descendants, many of whom are now living in Marshfield. The last direct descendant of Peregrine White, Miss Sybil White, a maiden lady, lived on the White place until about thirty years ago, and removed because it was deemed unsafe for her to reside there alone; her brother, John White, who had worked the farm, had become insane, and was taken to a sanitarium.

The Peregrine White place is now held and occupied by Alonzo Ewell, whose flocks of hens, geese, ducks and pigeons are said to be the largest in Marshfield township.



During my occupancy of the pulpit of the Congregational Trinitarian Church at Marshfield Hills, in the autumn of 1901, previously referred to, Miss Avis A. Ewell, a daughter of the present occupant of the Peregrine White place, assistant post-mistress at Marshfield Hills, presented me with a good sized piece of hatchet-hewn lath from the portion of the original Peregrine White house now extant, and a twig from the shoot of an apple tree which is said to have been planted by Captain White; and these are among my most highly prized souvenirs of our early colonial history.

To have seen the place once owned and occupied by Captain Peregrine White is very gratifying to me, in view, particularly, of the fact that he and my first paternal American ancestor, William Sherman, were not only near neighbors but were also associated in more ways than one during their life times.

Under the efficient driving of our cousin, whose conveyance was our means of travelling, we succeeded in getting from the Peregrine White, or Ewell place, out to the main road from which we had deflected, without overturning, for the road being a private one was far from perfect. Among the inconveniences of our reaching and emerging from the White place was a pair of country bars which, going and coming, we were obliged to leave our comfortable seats in the carriage and "take down" and "put up." But for all that, I wouldn't have missed seeing the long ago residence of Peregrine White.

While picking our way, as it were, out to the main road from the Ewell place, I was more than once reminded of an amusing episode in connection with my first pastorate in the "Nutmeg State." The presiding elder of my district was to visit my church to hold quarterly conference. It was winter, and I drove four miles in an open sleigh to the most convenient railroad station to bring the presiding elder to the parsonage. A few days previously we had had a thaw and the sleighing was not the best. Whenever we reached a portion of the road where one sleigh runner was "high in air" and the other was correspondingly low, the genial elder, who, prior to his entering the Christian ministry, was a seafaring man, would call out, in sailor fashion, at the same time "leaning hard" toward the ele-

vated side of the sleigh: "Trim ship! Trim ship!!" This was the signal for me to "lean hard" in the same manner as the presiding elder, which I immediately did. In this way we passed safely over several places in the road where we would otherwise have been upset in the snow. Many a time, in the intervening years, have I "smiled a smile" equivalent to a laugh, as I recalled this episode of "long ago." And if I did not, while we were feeling our way from the Ewell place out to the main road on the occasion above mentioned, sing out: "Trim ship! Trim ship!" it wasn't because there was no necessity for it, for several times it seemed to me we were about upsetting, so uneven was the private way over which we passed.

The first "residence of the dead" visited were what are commonly known as the Winslow burial grounds near the Webster place, the latter of which is now owned and occupied by Walton Hall, a wholesale merchant of Boston.

As we drove through a portion of the Webster farm on our way to the Winslow burial grounds we saw off to the left, or west, an extensive (about thirteen acres, I have somewhere read) apple orchard which is said to have been planted by Webster about seventy years ago. The trees were heavily loaded with what looked, from a distance, like Baldwins. The ends of the limbs seemed to be almost touching the ground, so heavily were they loaded; the crop, I presume, reached several hundred barrels of the luscious fruit, at least. It was a sight seldom seen.

Of our highly interesting discoveries in the Winslow burial grounds, the second oldest, by the way, in New England (the one at Plymouth being the most "ancient"), something will be said in the next chapter.

## CHAPTER VIII

### THE WINSLOW BURIAL GROUNDS AND THE WEBSTER PLACE, MARSH-FIELD, VISITED

"So hushed be all our boasting then,  
Till we can show more glorious men;  
Among the sons of mortal man,  
Who nobler than the Puritan?"

The Winslow burial grounds, so named, probably, because of the interment here of numerous persons of the name of Winslow, are situated in the southern portion of Marshfield, near the former residence of Daniel Webster; and the promise to tell my readers about some of our discoveries in this ancient burial place of the dead will now be fulfilled:

“Marshfield,” I quote from the Massachusetts historian, William T. Davis, “stood next to Plymouth in historic importance in relation to the Colonists and Pilgrims of that early period.”

Few of the readers of this book are, I imagine, aware of the fact that on the 19th of June, 1776, fifteen days prior to the Declaration of Independence by the Continental Congress, the inhabitants of Marshfield, in Town Meeting assembled, virtually announced their independence of the mother country, as the following will show:

“Town meeting at the South Meeting house in Marshfield, June 19, Mr. Saml Oakman, Moderator. At said meeting they voted the following instructions be sent to Nehemiah Thomas, Esq., their representative (at General Court held in Watertown, Mass.), viz.: ‘Your constituents not doubting your patriotism, now in legal meeting assembled, think it necessary to instruct you touching the Independence of America.

“ ‘To the amazement of your constituents, the King of Great Britain is become a tyrant. He has wantonly destroyed the property of the Americans, and wickedly spilled their blood. He has assented to Acts of Parliament, calculated to subjugate the Colonies unparalled by the worst of tyrants. Our petitions he has rejected, and instead of Peace he has sent us the sword. Every barbarous nation whom he could influence he has courted for the destruction of the colonies.

“ ‘Once we would have expended life & fortune in defence of his crown and dignity, but now we are alienated, and conscience forbids us to support a tyrant whose tyranny is without refinement. Alliance with him is now almost Treason to our country, but we wait patiently till Congress, in whose counsels we confide, shall declare those colonies Independent of Great Britain. The inhabitants of this town, therefore, unanimously instruct & direct you that if the Continental Congress should think

it necessary for the safety of these United Colonies to declare them Independent of Great Britian, that the inhabitants of this town, with their lives & fortune, will most heartily support them in the measure.

BENJ. WHITE,

Clerk of the day.

“ ‘At said town meeting it was voted that Capt. Wm. Thomas—Capt. Joseph Clift and Benj. White be a committee to call those persons to an account who have borrowed powder, balls & flints out of the Town’s stock, & to receive the money of them in order to purchase town’s stock.

“ ‘Then they voted that there be the sum, 24 pounds raised in addition to the town’s stock to be laid out in powder, balls & flints.

“ ‘General Court ordered that the Declaration of Independence be printed, and a copy sent to ministers of each parish of every denomination, in this state, and that they severally be required to read the same in their respective congregations as soon as Divine Service is ended in the afternoon on the Lord’s day, after such declaration, thereof, to deliver the said declaration, to record the same in their respective town or district books, then to remain as a perpetual memorial thereof. In the name, & by order of the Committee of the Council.’ ”

Passing through an old fashioned and somewhat dilapidated turnstile we found ourselves in what is considered the second most ancient burial place in New England, and of this, I think there is no question.

The first church, or meeting house, erected in what is now Marshfield, stood in front of what is now commonly known as the Winslow burial grounds. Inasmuch as, according to the Year Book of the Congregational denomination, the original Congregational Church, or religious society, in what is now Marshfield, was organized in the year 1632, only twelve years after the landing of the Pilgrims at Plymouth, it is probable that the meeting house, or church, was erected as soon as about the year 1645.

It is highly probable that in this “ancient church” William Sherman, Sr., and his wife, Prudence, attended divine worship;



and the contemplation of this is of inexpressible interest to their living descendants.

Partly because we were looking for it and partly because of its conspicuousness, the first object to attract our attention in the Winslow burial grounds was a plain, square granite monument about eight feet in height, two and a half feet in diameter at its base and proportionately smaller at its summit. The central portion of the monument, bearing the inscription and names, has a highly polished surface, which adds distinctness to the lettering. The circumstances under which this monument was erected are as follows: At her decease, Miss Marcia Thomas, a resident of Marshfield, left a sum of money, by will, to pay for erecting a monument to the memory of the early settlers of Green Harbor, Marshfield, in the Winslow burial grounds; and her sister, Miss Sarah Thomas, was instructed to see that the provisions of said will were carried out; and the monument was therefore erected several years ago.

The Misses Thomas were descendants of the Thomases of Marshfield, who for many years were prominent in the affairs of the township. Miss Marcia Thomas, it is due her to say, was deeply interested in the early history of Marshfield, and, at her decease, left in printed form, for future generations, data concerning her native township which is invaluable, and which, but for her painstaking efforts, would doubtless have been lost.

Stepping up close to one side of this substantial monument we eagerly read the following inscription: "In Memory of the Early Settlers of Green Harbor, Marshfield." Just below the inscription we read the following names of the early settlers of this portion of the old township: "Edward Winslow and wife Susanna, Kenelm Winslow and wife Ellen, Josiah Winslow and wife Margaret, Josiah Winslow and wife Penelope, William Thomas, Nathaniel Thomas and wife Mary, John Thomas and wife Sarah."

On another side of the monument we read the following additional names of the early settlers of Green Harbor: "William Sherman and wife Prudence, John Adams and wife Jane, Thomas Bourn and wife Elizabeth, Robert Waterman and wife Elizabeth, Robert Carver and wife Christian, John Dingley and wife

Sarah, Thomas Little and wife Ann, William Foord and wife Anna, John Low and wife Elizabeth, Thomas Chillingworth and wife Joane."

Although my brother and I had for some time been aware of the erection of this monument, and had for some time contemplated visiting the old burial grounds in which it is located, we were both surprised and gratified to find upon one of its sides the names of our earliest paternal American ancestors, William Sherman and wife Prudence. Green Harbor, as the inscription above given suggests, was that portion of the present township of Marshfield in which our first paternal American ancestor settled about the year 1631, as previously mentioned.

Our cousin, who had afforded us the great pleasure of visiting this ancient burial place of the dead of colonial and later days, was no less interested and gratified than we to see and examine this monument erected to the memory, with others, of our paternal ancestors, who, nearly three centuries ago braved the perils of the turbulent deep to establish a new home in the then wilderness of this western continent.

Having lingered about the memorial monument as long as our limited time would allow, we then hastily examined some of the old moss-covered slate headstones in other parts of the burial grounds, in one part of which we found a large number bearing the name of Thomas. The Thomases were men of note in early colonial days; and from them Miss Marcia Thomas, the local historian and genealogist, was descended.

Looking off to the eastward, in the direction of Massachusetts Bay, we saw a marble monument, and, upon approaching it we discovered it to have been erected to the memory of Miss Adelaide Phillips, one of the sweetest public singers of her day. She was a native of Marshfield. In her early married life my mother was well acquainted with the Phillips family, and she often related to her children the humble and obscure circumstances from which the talented daughter rose to fame and fortune. There were two sisters Phillips, both of whom were talented singers, but Adelaide seems to have been the more accomplished and famous.

It would occupy much more of the space of this story than

could be justified if I should mention the numerous persons of colonial and later days whose remains lie in the Winslow burial grounds on the slightly elevation overlooking the former residence of Daniel Webster and the shimmering waters of Massachusetts Bay. But I must not omit mentioning that in these ancient burial grounds lie the remains of Peregrine White, already several times referred to; Mrs. Edward Winslow, wife of Governor Winslow, and mother, by a former husband, of Peregrine White; and the mother, also, of Governor Josiah Winslow by her second husband.

Of Josiah Winslow, a local historian has said: "Josiah Winslow, the first native Governor in New England and America, and the first commander-in-chief of the New England (military) forces. \* \* \* As commander-in-chief of the New England forces during King Philip's Indian war in 1676, he was acknowledged as the preserver of the Colonies in the dark period of its early and terrible struggles for a foothold on the continent."

As indicative of the early establishment of this burial place it may be said that not many years since there was a headstone here bearing the date of 1651; but it has disappeared. There is, however, a stone now in this yard bearing the date of 1699, the date of which is difficult to decipher.

In a part of the Winslow burial grounds, or perhaps more strictly speaking, adjoining said grounds on the front, and enclosed by an ornamental iron fence. Daniel Webster and his family are buried, which includes Mrs. Daniel Webster; one or more daughters; Colonel Fletcher Webster, a son, who was killed in the first battle of Bull Run, in 1862, and his wife, and Major Edward Webster, another son of the great statesman, who died in the Mexican war while in the United States service. Each of these graves has a plain marble monument with a suitable inscription. The inscription on the monument marking the resting place of Daniel Webster is worthy of special notice. Attracted to it by the unusual length of the inscription it bears I knelt on the ground in front of it, and, adjusting my spectacles, I read it word for word; it is as follows:

"Lord, I believe; help thou my unbelief.

"Philosophical argument, especially that drawn from the



vastness of the Universe, in comparison with the apparent insignificance of this globe, has sometimes shaken my reason for the faith which is in me; but my heart has always assured and reassured me, that the Gospel of Jesus Christ must be a Divine Reality. The Sermon on the Mount cannot be a merely human production. This belief enters into the very depth of my conscience. The whole history of man proves it. Daniel Webster."

The circumstances under which this inscription was directed by Webster to be placed upon his monument are thus given in "The Life, Eulogy and Great Orations of Daniel Webster," published by Wilbur M. Hayward & Co., of Rochester, N. Y., in the year 1853: "On Sunday evening, October 10, he desired a friend, who was sitting with him, to read to him the passage in the ninth chapter of St. Mark's Gospel, where the man brings his child to Jesus to be cured, and the Saviour tells him, 'If thou canst believe, all things are possible to him that believeth; and straightway the father and the child cried out, with tears, Lord, I believe, help thou mine unbelief.' Now, he continued, turn to the tenth chapter of St. John, and read from the verse where it is said, 'Many of the Jews believed him.' After this he dictated a few lines, and directed them to be signed with his name and dated Sunday evening, October 10, 1852. This, he then added, is the inscription to be placed on my monument. A few days later—on the 15th—he recurred to the same subject, and revised and corrected with his own hand what he had earlier dictated, so as to make the whole read as it appears on his headstone in the Webster burial plot contiguous to the Winslow burial grounds."

The following extract from the book already quoted is of such special interest in connection with the foregoing, that it should not be omitted: "When he first dictated this inscription, he said to the friend who wrote it down—'If I get well, and write a book on Christiaity, about which we have talked, we can attend more fully to this matter. But if I should be taken away suddenly, I do not wish to leave any duty of this kind unperformed. I want to leave somewhere a declaration of my belief in Christianity. I do not wish to go into any doctrinal distinctions in regard to the person of Jesus but I wish to express



my belief in his divine mission'; solemn and remarkable words, by which it is plain that, having given the deliberate testimony of his life to the truth of Christianity, as a miraculous revelation of God's will to man he desired, though dead, still to bear the same testimony from his grave to the same great truth. The monument on which he intended this striking inscription should be placed, he has elsewhere directed should be of 'exactly the same size and form' with the modest monuments he had already erected, within the same enclosure, for his children and for their mother."

The sublime language and sentiment of the inscription upon Webster's headstone, as I knelt, and carefully read it, impressed me deeply.

In addition to the plain marble monument which marks the resting place of the great statesman, a larger and more imposing stone has been erected in the rear part of the family plot, bearing but two words—"Daniel Webster"—and that is sufficient, for there has been but one Daniel Webster, as there has been but one Abraham Lincoln. This larger stone, or monument, as it is sometimes called, is of marble, with a heavy granite base.

Only as I stood, with bared head, in front of Washington's tomb at Mt. Vernon, Virginia, in 1892, and looked through the iron gates upon the stone sarcophagi containing the remains of Washington and Martha Washington, was I more profoundly impressed than at the grave of Daniel Webster in the out of the way burial grounds where his mortal remains now lie.

It is very gratifying to me to recall hearing my mother relate having often seen Webster passing and repassing her Marshfield home on his way to and from Boston—that was about the year 1845—where his law office was located. Mr. Webster reached Boston by horse and carriage, driven by his coachman. That was, of course, before the day of railroads and trolleys.

Daniel Webster was the greatest statesman this country has ever produced; and his famous reply to Hayne, in Congress, and his oration at the dedication of the Bunker Hill Monument, will ever be regarded as master pieces of oratory as well as among the choicest American classics.

Of his oration, delivered in old Plymouth, Massachusetts, on the occasion of the two hundredth anniversary of the landing of the Pilgrims, he remarked to an intimate acquaintance, substantially, as follows:—"I feel more pride in this oration than in any one of my public efforts."

In speaking of this oration, the author of "Historic Duxbury in Plymouth County, Massachusetts"—Laurence Bradford—says: "He loved and revered the memory of the Pilgrim Colonists and, \* \* \* considered his oration at the Two Hundredth Anniversary of the Landing as his greatest effort, and old people who were present on that occasion have left their testimony, that it seemed to them as if a young Jove had descended from the clouds to speak to them, so highly gifted in mind and body did he appear in this beginning of a career that was to be devoted to expounding and defending the Constitution of these United States, framed in his childhood."

Bidding a reluctant adieu to the Winslow burial grounds, for the day was well advanced and our cousin had a long distance to drive to reach his home, we turned our faces toward the former residence of Webster, still spoken of as "The Webster Place," although it is now owned and occupied by Walton Hall, a wholesale Boston merchant.

## CHAPTER IX

### A VISIT TO THE WEBSTER PLACE, MARSHFIELD, MASS.

"A rock in the wilderness welcomed our sires  
From bondage far over the dark rolling sea;  
On that holy altar they kindled the fires,  
Jehovah, which glow in our bosoms for Thee."

A drive of a few hundred rods from the Winslow burial grounds, where we had found so much of special and personal interest, brought us into a rough, sandy country road which runs along the easterly and northerly sides of a good sized fresh water pond, on which several pretty row boats were quietly moored, and which is less than a hundred yards (by guess)

northward from the substantial house which occupies the site of the original Webster residence. This pond, it is almost superfluous to remark, adds much to the picturesque beauty of the place.

Driving along the grassy bank of this pretty pond, and crossing a small rustic bridge which spans the narrow outlet of this body of water at its eastern end, we were on the beautiful and extensive lawn which surrounds the handsome residence of the present owner and occupant. The following extracts from the well known New England historian, E. M. Bacon, will give the readers many facts of deep interest concerning the great American statesman, his family and the Webster place:

“Webster, a born farmer and true lover of nature, was drawn to Marshfield for a country home by the rural beauty of its situation, and to this particular part through agreeable visits which he made to it when the Thomases resided there. Captain John Thomas’s family were then living in the old mansion house. His first purchase here was made about the year 1827 (after the death of Captain Thomas) of the old house, with that portion of the landed estate possessed by the tory Nathaniel Ray Thomas, before the Revolution, which was reserved unconfiscated at the close of the war, as a dower for his widow.

“To his original purchase subsequently Webster made repeated additions till his domain extended over two thousand acres, including that portion of the ancient Careswell estate, which embraced Governor Winslow’s home lot. (This estate included a part of what is known as Cut River and Brant Rock). He stocked it with blooded cattle, herds of sheep and fine horses. He had large collections of Chinese poultry, guinea hens and other fowl. Gay peacocks strutted over the lawn, which swept away from his Mansion house, and among his live stock were some curious llamas. He embellished the extensive grounds with a multitudinous array of trees of many varieties; a hundred thousand of them grown from seeds of his own planting.

“The original Mansion house (of Capt. Thomas) was more than doubled and with its numerous gables showing above the trees, suggested, when approached in the distance, the famous ‘Abbotsford.’ Besides the Mansion house and its outbuildings,



there were on the estate the farmer's house, the dairy man's cottage, the fisherman's house and other buildings, including the statesman's private office, now standing."

It is a pleasure to his descendants to recall, that our father, Aaron Simmons Sherman, when a young man, made the alterations and improvements in the house purchased by Webster of Captain Thomas; this was in the year 1827, and he had just returned from Machias, Maine, where he had begun his career as a boss carpenter. Later in life our father became a pattern-maker, and achieved a national reputation as a master workman at his trade.

Speaking of the Webster place, Laurence Bradford, in "Historic Duxbury in Plymouth County, Massachusetts," says: "Aside from its historical associations, Mr. Webster was a great lover of the place and its situation. In the first quarter of the century, while journeying along the shore, he passed the house that was destined to be his future home, and was struck with the scenery, which had a sort of wild, uncultivated look, partially wooded, with an undulatory surface of small heights which afforded picturesque views of the sea and the extensive reach of marshes. Gazing upon the attractive scene, Mr. Webster said to his wife: 'I am going to buy that place,' and suiting the action to the word, immediately turned back and began negotiations for it; which he soon brought to a close by letting the owner name his own price. The place was owned by the Thomas family, which had from the earliest times been associated with the history of the town, but the family having been loyalists in the Revolutionary War, part of the place had been confiscated, and the owner at that time had become involved in keeping it up, so that he was glad to sell to Mr. Webster, who offered to the old people a home in the house as long as they lived, an obligation on Mr. Webster's part which he fulfilled to the letter. While the place was a good-sized farm, Mr. Webster kept enlarging it, until he owned something over one thousand acres. This large tract he cultivated scientifically, and spoke of it with pride as his farm. He had herds of cattle of which he was very proud, having them severally named, and a short time



before his death, when he was able to sit out of doors, he had them driven past him, calling each by name. \* \* \*

“Mr. Webster owned a farm in New Hampshire, where he was born and bred, which he used occasionally to visit. He once said, that in three days of the year he could see all there was to be seen up there, but he could find something new for every day of the year in Marshfield.”

About twenty years after the decease of Webster, his former home was burned; and soon afterward the house which now occupies the site of the original Webster mansion was erected. This house was occupied by Mrs. Fletcher Webster and her family; Mrs. Webster was the widow of Colonel Fletcher Webster, who was killed at the first battle of Bull Run, in the Civil War.

At the centennial of Webster's birth, in the year 1882, President Arthur visited the Webster place, and he was greeted by thousands of people who were assembled there to honor the deceased statesman and the then incumbent of the presidential chair at Washington.

Soon after the important gathering above mentioned, the Webster place was purchased by Walton Hall, a native of Marshfield Hills (formerly East Marshfield). Mr. Hall and his family now occupy the place.

After the decease of Webster, his original estate was sold in parcels at different times, so that when it was purchased by Mr. Hall, the once immense estate had been reduced to two or three hundred acres. Mr. Hall, however, so it is said, has since purchased several estates around him until he now owns nearly, if not quite, a thousand acres.

The present residents of Marshfield township delight in relating stories of their former distinguished fellowtownsman, Daniel Webster.

From “History of Marshfield,” by Lysander Salmon Richards, of Marshfield Hills, the following interesting stories are quoted:

“Mr. Webster's foreman, C. Porter Wright, and Charles Peterson (his boy) who attended his gunning and fishing rambles, are still (1901) living. It is said of him that while on one of his

gunning sports, over the marshes of Marshfield, not far from his house, he was accosted by a couple of tourists from Boston, who were attempting to cross a small flooded stream; they could not jump it, and, espying an old man not far away, they yelled to him to come and carry them over. The old man responded, and having on a pair of high, rubber hunting boots, he took one on his back and carried him across, and returning, carried the other over, also. The Boston tourists then asked him if he could show them the way to Webster's. 'Why, yes' said he, 'I am going there; come with me. You are addressing Mr. Webster.' Amazed at this announcement, they felt like skulking away, but soon plucked up courage and followed the statesman to his house, where they were warmly welcomed."

Another story is related by Mr. Richards, which illustrates the greatheartedness of Webster; it is as follows:

"At Marshfield hills there is what is known as Walker's Pond; formerly a mill was close to it. A Mr. Walker owned and run the mill. Webster liked to come to the pond to fish for trout. One morning, on his arrival, he noticed that the mill was not running, and he asked a boy standing near, why it was not running. 'Father,' the boy replied, 'hurt his leg badly this morning, and can't run the mill.' Webster pulled out his wallet, and emptied the entire contents (some \$20), giving it to the boy, and told him to run home and give it to his father."

To the interesting stories given by Mr. Richards I am impelled to add the following appreciative estimate of the great statesman, as found in the life of Mr. Webster already quoted from:

"He was a friendly man; all along the shore there were plain men that loved him—whom he also loved; a good neighbor, a good townsman—

'Lofty and sour to those that loved him not,  
But to those men that sought him, sweet as summer.'

"And with all his greatness, we must be permitted to regard him in the light that we love best to regard the departed statesman. We love to read the simple, cordial, honest letters, that

he addressed to his farmer-overseer, at Franklin, and to those old friends, in which he described the struggles of his early life in the country; in which humor sometimes vies with pathos, until you both laugh and weep at the felicity of the combination. What, for example, could be more simple, more manly, more touching, than the following extract? The words of the closing paragraph seem to have sobbed as they dropped from the pen:

“ ‘My Father, Ebenezer Webster!—born at Kingston, in the lower part of the state, in 1739—the handsomest man I ever saw, except my brother Ezekiel, who appeared to me, and so does he now seem to me, the very finest human form that ever I laid eyes on. I saw him in his coffin—a white forehead—a tinged cheek—a complexion as clear as heavenly light! But where am I straying?

“ ‘The grave has closed upon him, as it has on all my brothers and sisters. We shall soon be all together. But this is melancholy—and I leave it. Dear, dear kindred blood, how I love you all!

“ ‘This fair field is before me—I could see a lamb on any part of it. I have plowed it, and raked it, and hoed it, but I never mowed it. Somehow, I could never learn to hang a scythe! I had not wit enough. My brother Joe used to say that my father sent me to college in order to make me equal to the rest of the children! Of a hot day in July—it must have been one of the last years of Washington’s administration—I was making hay, with my father, just where I now see a remaining elm tree, about the middle of the afternoon. The Hon. Abiel Foster, M. C., who lived in Canterbury, six miles off, called at the house, and came into the field to see my father. He was a worthy man, college-bred, and had been a minister, but was not a person of any considerable natural powers. My father was his friend and supporter. He talked a while in the field, and went on his way. When he was gone, my father called me to him, and we sat down beneath the elm, on a hay-cock. He said: My son, that is a worthy man, he is a member of Congress; he goes to Philadelphia, and gets six dollars a day, while I toil here. It is because he had an education, which I never had. If I had had his early education, I should have been in Philadelphia in his place. I came near it, as



it was; but I missed it, and now I must work here. My dear father, said I, you shall not work; my brother and I will work for you, and wear our hands out, and you shall rest—I remember to have cried, and I cry now at the recollection. My child, said he, it is of no importance to me; I now live but for my children; I could not give your elder brother the advantages of knowledge, but I can do something for you. Exert yourself—improve your opportunities—*learn—learn*—and when I am gone, you will not need to go through the hardships I have undergone, and which have made me an old man before my time. The next May he took me to Exeter, to the Philips Exeter Academy—placed me under the tuition of its excellent preceptor, Dr. Benjamin Abbott, still living.”

Of the great statesman’s private office on the lawn near his residence, in Marshfield, sometimes spoken of as the “garden house,” I will say that it is a plain, square, one story building, about 12 x 20 feet in dimensions and is kept in excellent condition by the present owner of the estate. It is now painted white. Leaving the carriage, my cousin and I opened the outer door and entered.

I do not, of course, know what my cousin’s emotions were as he realized that he was standing on the same floor which the great Webster had so often trodden and was looking at the same walls upon which his great, lustrous eyes had so often looked in the days of his country-wide influence and power as a factor in American politics. Speaking for myself, however, I will say that I had scarcely crossed the threshold of the building before I became subdued into silence; and, as I looked about me I could almost feel the invisible presence of the great statesman who once moved, a living, powerful personality around the room. I could have spent an hour or more in the place, but as it was getting late in the day I must needs content myself with a brief sojourn there. It was, indeed, with reluctance that I bade adieu to the building to resume my seat in the carriage beside my brother, who had not accompanied us into the office.

After a lapse of several months, since my short visit to the former private office of the great American statesman, my impressions have lost none of their original vividness.



I have learned, since my return from the Webster place, that in this private office the Ashburton Treaty with England was made and signed in the year 1842; Mr. Webster being, at the time, Secretary of State, under President Tyler, who had succeeded President Harrison, after the sudden decease of the latter. The Ashburton Treaty, it will be remembered, "settled the question of the northeastern boundary, and at once put an end to a long protracted and threatening dispute with Great Britain."

Once seated in our cousin's carriage we drove slowly and thoughtfully (I speak for myself) away, taking a lingering look at the house which occupies the site of the original Webster residence.

"He lives, ever lives, in the hearts of the Free;  
The wing of his fame spreads across the broad sea;  
He lives where the banner of Freedom's unfurled;  
*The pride of New England—the wealth of the world!*  
*Thou land of the Pilgrim!* how hallowed the bed  
Where thy Patriot sleeps, and thy heroes have bled!  
Let age after age in perennial bloom  
Braid the light of *thy stars* on the arch of his tomb!"

## CHAPTER X

### A VISIT TO CEDAR GROVE CEMETERY, SOUTH MARSHFIELD, MASS., AND HOMEWARD BOUND

"The Pilgrim Fathers are at rest,  
When summer's throned on high,  
And the world's warm breast is in verdure dressed,  
Go, stand on the hill where they lie."

A drive of about two miles to the northward from the Webster place brought us to the Cedar Grove Cemetery, which is the burial place in connection with the Congregational Church, of South Marshfield. It is worthy of mention that this is the church which Webster attended while a resident of Marshfield; and its re-

vered minister, Rev. Ebenezer Alden officiated at the funeral of his distinguished parishioner, held in the house from which he had passed away on the 29th day of October, 1852. As we have seen, Webster was buried in the family plot, near his late residence.

As indicative of the great statesman's opinion concerning the proper manner of presenting divine truth from the pulpit, the following significant words of his are here quoted: "When I attend upon the preaching of the Gospel, I wish to have it made a personal matter, a personal matter, a personal matter;" and with each repetition the emphasis of the speaker was increased.

Here, in this same church, some of my paternal ancestors almost certainly worshiped; and some of my relations, bearing the family name, now attend this church, organized, according to the Year Book of the Congregational denomination, in 1632.

It was late in the afternoon when we reached the cemetery mentioned; and as our cousin had a drive of several miles to reach his summer home at Humarock, he bade us adieu and turned his face homeward.

My brother and I at once began our examination of old headstones, with a view, more especially, to finding the grave of one of our ancestors, Mrs. Alexander Standish, whose last husband was a son of Captain Miles Standish, the doughty warrior of the Plymouth Colony.

In explanation of the foregoing statement I will say, that our second paternal American ancestor was William Sherman, Jr., who married Desire Doty, daughter of Edward Doty, who came in the Mayflower. In one of the Indian wars in which the Plymouth colonists engaged he served as a soldier; and, as a result of witnessing the torture, by the Indians, of some of the colonists, his health was seriously affected. In the year 1675, as is learned from the Plymouth Colony Records, he was allowed twenty pounds, by the colony, because of the injuries received by him in "the service of his country."

After the decease of William Sherman, Jr., his widow married a Mr. Holmes; and after Mr. Holmes' decease the widow for a second time married Alexander Standish.

After a somewhat lengthy search through the old burial

grounds we found the grave of Mrs. Alexander Standish, and I could read the partially effaced inscription on the crumbling headstone only by kneeling on the ground and carefully adjusting my spectacles. The inscription on this headstone is as follows: "Here lyes ye body of Mrs. Desier Standish wife of Mr. Elxander Standish who dyed January ye 22, 1731 & Aged 86 years."

In our search for the grave of Mrs. Alexander Standish we found the graves and crumbling headstones of other of our ancestors with their quaint and instructive inscriptions; among them that of Ebenezer Sherman, a son of William Sherman, Jr., and Desire Doty.

It is highly probable that in this cemetery the remains of William Sherman, Jr., now lie, although, so far as we know at present there are no traces of his grave; but the fact that his wife and one of his sons, Ebenezer, are here interred, encourages us to believe that the remains of our second paternal American ancestor are somewhere in this old burial ground.

It is also highly probable that husband and wife attended divine worship in the church which the Cedar Grove Cemetery adjoins.

It was almost dusk when we had completed our searches in the Cedar Grove Cemetery; and, walking a short distance to the railroad station, we took a train for Kingston, where we had planned to spend the night.

On our arrival at Kingston, in the early evening, we found a hotel and engaged entertainment for the night.

The windows of our sleeping room, at the village hotel, rattled so persistently that if I had been, in the least, tainted with superstition, I should have concluded the room was verily haunted by the restless spirits of some of the old colonial inhabitants.

After an early breakfast, next morning, we took a train for Whitman, on our way to Bridgewater.

Near the railroad station at Whitman is an immense three or four story frame building, seemingly about two hundred and fifty feet in length and seventy-five feet in width. This, as we were informed, is a shoe manufactory employing one thousand men and women—"a full regiment," in numbers, as a soldier would say.

## Wisconsin's New State Capitol and Its Mural Decorations

**A**MONG the Civil War heroes, Wisconsin has given conspicuous place to Lieut. Alonzo H. Cushing, U. S. A., who was killed while commanding his battery at the battle of Gettysburg in the final repulse of General Pickett's charge, which gave to the Federal forces the decisive battle of the Civil War, and of Col. Joseph Bailey, the engineer who built the Red River dam that saved Admiral Porter's fleet.\* The artist's technical description of the mural decorations in the governor's reception room we copy from the Milwaukee Free Press, January 12, 1913:

MADISON, Wis, Jan. 11, 1913.—Hugo Ballin, artist, of New York, authorized to do the mural decorations in the governor's reception room in the east wing of the new statehouse, was in the city during the past week placing the last of the paintings.

The ceiling is done in allegory and the walls in pictures representing historical incidents taken from the records of Wisconsin.

Mr. Ballin gives the following technical description:

The paintings on the ceiling in the executive chamber are symbolic.

The circle in the center (nine feet in diameter) represents Wisconsin surrounded by her attributes, horticulture and agriculture, (by a woman in yellow and green holding a basket). The man in the foreground represents the mining and forest industries. The semi-nude woman, commerce by sea, (leaning on a bale and holding the lactometer), commerce by water, (a prophet with sextant and trident).

Above the central figure hangs the American flag, which falls behind the stone seat. The words in gold are taken from the declaration of independence. The child holding an oak branch

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\*See "An Echo of War Times" in February issue, and "Are Republics Ungrateful" in December, 1912, AMERICANA.



represents the young state. In the open book, in the right hand of the central figure, are the words justice, charity, invention, religion, pioneering and art, being the subjects depicted in the side "T's" and "L's."

Panel to right of circle—(looking east)—labor, attended by the spirits of rain and sunshine. Labor is seated on a low mound surveying the country. Her attributes are the barrow, a shovel and a laden basket. Back of her is shown a low factory. In the distance a storm is brewing while the figure of sunshine is driven away by the spirit of rain.

Panel to left of circle—(looking east). The seeker of knowledge at the shrine of wisdom. Wisdom extends her hand to a young student who, dressed in her graduation robe, presents a parchment on which is written the course of study pursued by her. In the background is shown the tree of life and the University of Wisconsin.

Pioneering is represented by a girl looking forward into the dawn "a dawn of yellow promise." Back of her a prairie schooner. In her hand she holds a leveling rod. The Wisconsin transit in the immediate foreground was designed by Prof. Leonard S. Smith.

Invention is represented by a young woman looking above her. She hears the noise of an aeroplane, while back of her rises the black smoke of two factories. Against the light cloud towers a "wireless." In her hand she holds a calipers with which she measures the world.

Justice, a female figure looking straight before her. In her left hand she holds a sword, in her right the decalogue. The child is symbolical of purity, in the background the roof top of a small cottage, and the facade of a palace, while above the head of justice is a ball of light, a symbol of wisdom.

Charity, under an arbor of plenty. She is dispensing kindness. The child is feeding the dog, as emblematical of dependency. On the stone seat is an open money bag.

Art, a semi-nude woman, holding a palette in her left hand; her right hand rests on the model of St. Gauden's Puritan. Her other attributes are a portative organ, two masks and a scroll. She wears the machicolated crown. Handicraft is represented by the intricate tapestry, which serves as background.

Religious toleration, a young girl, the credulous, seated in a barren landscape. Her left hand rests on a large book, the book of dogma. Her right hand points to a massive cornerstone. The two small semi-lunettes above the clock depict war and peace.

The side wall paintings are decorative pictures illustrating important events in the development of Wisconsin.

The painting on the left as you enter (west wall)—Nicollet meeting Wisconsin Indians in 1634 and demonstrating the explosive property of powder. Jean Nicollet, the son of a Parisian mail carrier, was the first white man to reach the western shore of Green Bay—which now is a part of the state of Wisconsin. Little was known of the vast forests that lay west of Quebec, and for a period of over 150 years after Columbus discovered the western hemisphere no white man ventured as far as Lake Michigan. The people who dwelt in the unexplored western land were known as the “people of the sea.” These were the Wisconsin Winnebagoes. They had migrated to the lake country.

Through fanciful description brought to Champlain by Indian visitors east, he inferred that the route to China had been discovered and that these lake dwellers were Chinese. Jean Nicolet was chosen ambassador. At first he journeyed with a small number of Jesuit priests, who were to establish a mission in the Huron country. When these priests were established, he continued his voyage with seven Huron canoemen to Green Bay. Nicolet sent one of his canoemen to apprise the supposed celestials of his approach and prepared to meet them in becoming style. For this purpose he had brought “a robe of gorgeous hue, like unto Joseph’s in its resplendent coloring.”

“The Vicont Relation,” an early French narrative, describes the clothes Nicolet wore.

During the year 1634 the Wisconsin tribes were in council. It is recorded that Nicolet appeared before them in a robe of state adorned with figures of flowers and birds. He appeared with a pistol in each hand. The astonished natives styled him “Thunder Beaver.” He made friends with the Indians and encouraged them to visit Montreal.

The paintings on the right as you enter (west wall)—Major Whistler accepting a peace calumet from Red Bird.

In 1822 white men first occupied the Wisconsin lead mines. About twenty persons spent the ensuing winter at Galena. The Indians had made an agreement with Col. Johnson, permitting the whites to occupy this region. The news of the riches of the upper Mississippi lead mines soon spread, and by 1825 the spirit of migration had taken possession of the inhabitants of Illinois, Missouri, Kentucky and Tennessee.

The red man realized that his sway was ebbing, but it was too late to repulse the emigration.

For a period of three years these settlements of the lead mines were in constant apprehension, fearing the resentment of the Winnebagoes. The Indians regarded it an unwarranted invasion for which they determined to be revenged.

In 1825 there was a grand council for the purpose of making a treaty for general and lasting peace between Indian and white. In 1826 serious fear was expressed by Michael Brisbois, believing that the Indians were ready to go on the warpath.

In 1827 the Methode family was found shockingly mangled. A Winnebago named Wa-man-does-ga-ra-ka confessed to this and implicated others. Red Bird was chief of the Winnebagoes. He had confidence of all, and was known as a protector. At about this time two Indians, who were imprisoned at Fort Crawford, and who had been confined to the guard-house for some trivial offense, were reported killed, and this was believed by the leading Winnebago chiefs. They resolved upon retaliation. Red Bird was called upon to "take meat." We-kau, said to be quite deformed and ugly, and Chic-honsic joined him. They proceeded to Prairie du Chien and went to the house of James H. Lockwood, who had left the previous day. It was their intention to kill. Red Bird then went to where lived Rijeste Gagnier and his wife, with two small children. As Mrs. Gagnier was about to give the Indians something to eat, Red Bird fired and killed her husband. An old soldier, Solomon Lipeap, was killed by Chic-honsic. Mrs. Gagnier struggled with Wekau, captured his rifle but was unable to use it. She ran to the village with her elder child and gave the alarm. We-kau had scalped the younger child, but she survived.

Several other demonstrations had been made by the Dakotas, the most important of which was the attack on the keel-boat "Perry" on which several whites were wounded, twelve Indians killed and many injured.

Red Bird and the other Winnebagoes having, it was believed fled up the Wisconsin river, Gen. Atkinson and Col. Dodge decided to follow. Maj. Whistler in command of Fort Howard, proceeded up the Fox river. He drove them out of every hiding place, and when he reached where Portage City now stands, it was found that the Winnebagoes, led by Red Bird, were encamped a little more than a mile distant. In a few days after they discovered the proximity of the Whistler forces, Red Bird decided to give himself up.

The Indians approached bearing three flags—two were American and the one borne by Red Bird was white. They carried no arms. Singing was heard and those familiar with it said: "It is Red Bird singing his death song." Capt. Childs met them at the edge of the Fox river to ascertain their mission. An Indian Carimaunee answered: "They are here. Like braves they come in. Treat them as braves; do not put them in irons."

In the painting Red Bird is about to hand a pipe of peace to Maj. Whistler. Behind him are his two accomplices.



Red Bird was considered the most handsome brave of his tribe. It was impossible to conceive that such a face concealed the heart of a murderer.

There he stood. Not a muscle moved nor was the expression of his face changed a particle. He appeared conscious that according to the Indian law, he had done no wrong. His conscience was at repose. Death had no terrors for him. He was there prepared to receive the blow that should send him to the happy hunting-ground to meet his friends and brothers who had gone before him.

Approaching Maj. Whistler, he said: "I am ready. I do not wish to be put in irons. Let me be free. I have given away my life, I would not take it back—it is gone."

Red Bird died in prison at Prairie du Chien. In 1828 his accomplices were indicted, tried and convicted. They were to be hung, but President Adams pardoned them.

The painting between the doors on the south wall: Lieut. Alonzo Cushing, Gen. Edward E. Bragg, Gen. J. C. Starkweather and Mrs. Codelia A. P. Harvey, surrounding a symbolic figure representing unity, the spirit of the civil war.

The standing figure, with hat in hand, is Lieut. Alonzo Cushing, entered West Point in 1857 in the seventeenth year of his age. He graduated June 24, 1861. Cushing distinguished himself at the battle of Gettysburg by repulsing Pickett's charge, and was during this action mortally wounded after having been shot three times.

To quote Sergeant Fryer's letter, "Cushing's superiors placed implicit confidence in him, as well they might. His fearlessness and resolution displayed in many actions were unsurpassed, and his noble death should present an example for emulation to patriotic defenders of the country through all times to come."

The figure to the right of Cushing is Gen. Edward S. Bragg, born February 20, 1827. In 1861, upon the occasion of the first war meeting in Fond du Lac, when many of his political friends were lukewarm and hesitating, he made a speech which is pronounced as having been the first great effort of his life. Bragg raised a company for the Sixth regiment Wisconsin volunteer infantry. He was finally commissioned a brigadier general by the president. He commanded the famous "Iron brigade" of the army of the Potomac. He died in 1912.

The figure in three-quarter back is Gen. J. C. Starkweather, colonel of the first regiment to leave Wisconsin for the civil war. The troops remained in camp until June, 1861, when, in obedience to orders from Washington, the First regiment left the state for Harrisburg, Tenn.



Mrs. Cordelia A. P Harvey was the wife of Louis P. Harvey of Wisconsin, who went south soon after the Battle of Shiloh to furnish Wisconsin soldiers with army supplies and medical aid. Gov. Harvey was drowned in passing from one boat to another at Savannah. Mrs. Harvey for a time almost succumbed to her deep grief, but realizing the importance of her husband's mission she was convinced that her duty lay in finishing the work Mr. Harvey had commenced. She obtained a grant from President Lincoln to establish a general hospital in Madison, known as the Harvey hospital. In 1865 she interested herself in establishing a Soldiers' Orphans' Home, of which she was the first superintendent. The boy behind her represents the growing generation. The young girl in the foreground stands for home influences and interests which were potent factors during the civil war.

Space left of Mantel, lake of the evening, Lake Mendota.

Space right of Mantel, lake of the morning, Lake Monona.

The following poem by Longfellow is explanatory, in a degree, of these two panels:

#### THE FOUR LAKES OF MADISON

Four limpid lakes,—four Naiades  
 Or sylvan deities are these,  
     In flowing robes of azure dressed:  
 Four lovely handmaids, that uphold  
 Their shining mirrors, rimmed with gold,  
     To the fair city in the west.

By day the coursers of the sun  
 Drink of these waters as they run  
     Their swift diurnal round on high:  
 By night the constellations glow  
 Far down the hollow deeps below,  
     And glimmer in another sky.

Fair lakes, serene and full of light,  
 Fair town, arrayed in robes of white,  
     How visionary ye appear!  
 All like a floating landscape seems  
 In cloud-land or the land of dreams  
     Bathed in a golden atmosphere!

Space in left corner on east wall, Wisconsin's first capitol at Belmont, where the legislature met in 1836.

Right space between on east wall, Col. Joseph Bailey.

During the civil war Admiral Porter's river fleet of eleven "turtles" was imprisoned by low water above the falls at Alexandria at the close of the futile Red River expedition in 1864.

It was suggested by Bailey, who having been a lumberman in Wisconsin, and who during the civil war occupied the position of acting chief engineer of the Nineteenth Army corps, to build a dam. In eleven days he succeeded raising the water so that the vessels were able to float through.

Admiral Porter said: "This is without doubt the best engineering feat ever performed."

Bailey received a purse of \$3,000 and a sword from Porter's fleet. He was shot in 1867 by "Bushwhackers."

In the painting Bailey, with hat in hand, is resting on his sword. The figure behind him is crowning him, and symbolizes the watchword of Wisconsin "Forward." In the background the "Black Hawk," Admiral Porter's flagship, is floating past the dawn. Note: Thanks is due to "Century Co." and "Review of Reviews" for their valuable assistance.

Left space between windows on east wall, Increase Lapham, born at Palmyra, N. Y., March 7, 1811; died at Oconomowoc Wis., Sept. 14, 1875. He was the originator of the storm signal service in the United States. He was the very first to send a weather prediction, Nov. 8, 1870.

Dr. Lapham's great achievement was making practical the application of scientific knowledge for the benefit of navigation and commerce.

Dr. Lapham has been considered the "most distinguished citizen of Wisconsin."

In the painting the two children holding a map of North America are emblematical and represent winds.

Space in right corner on east wall, Wisconsin's second capitol. The old building occupied the site on which the present capitol stands.

The narrow spaces in the niches under clock depict the seasons and signs of the zodiac.

Mr. Ballin is 33 years of age, married and lives on a farm at Saugatuck, N. Y., forty miles from the metropolis, where he does most of his work, although he has studios in New York, Philadelphia and Boston. Mr. Ballin says he considers the work in the governor's reception room the best he has ever done. He is to receive \$25,000 for this work.—*Milwaukee Free Press*.

# History of the Mormon Church

BY BRIGHAM H. ROBERTS, Assistant Historian of the Church

## CHAPTER LXXXII

### MISCELLANEOUS EVENTS IN BOTH STATE AND CHURCH DURING THE YEARS 1851-7

**I**N pointing out the underlying cause of the troubles between the Latter-day Saints in Utah and the government of the United States; and following the first clash between the United States "foreign" appointees for Utah and the Saints to its conclusion—chapters LXXX and LXXXI—I passed by many events in the history both of the Church and of the Territory that were parallel with events noted in those chapters, and that now claim our attention.

Among these events was the extension of the Latter-day Saint colonies in the Great Basin. The first colony planted east of the line of counties extending north and south of Salt Lake county was a settlement in Parley's Park, a little southeast of Salt Lake City. The settlement was made by Samuel Snyder who built saw-mills in the park, early in 1853. Later settlements were formed along the valley of the Weber river, and later, *viz.* 1861, Summit county was organized.<sup>1</sup> It takes its name from the fact that it includes within its boundaries the summit of the Wasatch range. It borders Salt Lake and Morgan counties on the east, and is noted for its coal and mineral deposits.

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1. Geo. A. Smith, "Answers to Questions," p. 21, and Bancroft's Hist. Utah, pp. 594-5. The chief settlements, founded in early days, were Kamas, at first but a grazing ranch owned by Thomas Rhodes; Coalville, the present county seat (1859), Wanship, after an Indian of that name, and highly esteemed by the early settlers of Utah; Peoa (1860), Hoytsville, Hennifer, and Echo soon followed. Park City, the most considerable town of the county, grew from the development of the great silver mining industry in the south end of the county, which occurred some two decades later. The great Ontario and Silver King being among the best known mines of the district, and of the inter-mountain west.

In the same year, two companies were organized in Salt Lake City to effect a settlement in the Green River valley. The first company, consisting of 39 men, was led by John Nebker; the second, numbering 53 men, was under the leadership of Isaac Bullock.<sup>2</sup> Both companies united and formed a settlement on a stream known as Smith's Fork, in the vicinity of Fort Bridger, calling their settlement Fort Supply. Some months previous to the founding of this settlement Brigham Young had purchased of James Bridger a tract of land comprising thirty square miles, for which he paid \$8,000 in gold. He erected a stone fort and made corrals for the protection of animals, and made other improvements on the ranch, amounting to \$8,000 more. A county was organized called Green River county, with Fort Supply as the county seat. "In 1857 the United States Army, under General Albert Sidney Johnston, took possession of Fort Bridger in the name of the United States, and declared it to be a military reservation. The reservation was also extended over the settlement and farming lands of Fort Supply, the county seat. "Alfred Cumming, then (1857-1861) Governor of Utah, made an attempt to restore the property to the citizens who had been dispossessed by military authority, but his efforts were unsuccessful, having been overruled by John B. Floyd, then Secretary of War. The loss and damage sustained by these pioneers were about \$300,000."<sup>3</sup>

Another attempt at settlement eastwardly was made in 1855, when, on the 21st of May, about forty settlers under the leadership of Brother Alfred N. Billings, went from Manti, Sanpete county, to a valley near La Sal mountains, then called Elk Mountains, east of Grand river. The settlement was formed in the vicinity of the present site of Moab in Grand county, near what is now the Eastern line of Utah. In September, however, the settlers were treacherously attacked by Indians and three of their number killed and one other wounded. The Indians also burned the settler's hay in the stack, and turned off the water

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2. Some writers (Jensen, "Church Chronology," 1853, p. 49; and Bancroft's Utah, p. 595), give the number of the United companies as 53. I follow *Ms. Hist. Brigham Young*, where the two companies are distinctly named, and the numbers given as in the text above. See *Ms. Hist.* 16th of November, 1853, p. 140.

3. Church Historian Geo. A. Smith's "Answers to Questions," p. 21.



that supplied the fort that had been erected during the summer. On the second day of the attack the Indians surrounded the fort in great numbers, and there being no prospect of a reconciliation, and acting upon the advice of a few friendly Indians, the settlers mounted their horses, and leaving all their cattle and other effects in the fort, they started for Manti where they arrived without further adventure on the 30th of September.<sup>4</sup>

The first extension west of the north and south line of counties founded under the provisional government of Deseret, was the settlement at San Bernardino, California, already considered in chapter LXXVII of this history. The next movement westward was in 1855, under the leadership of Elder Orson Hyde of the Twelve Apostles. Elder Hyde with a company of thirty-five men left Salt Lake City on the 16th of May, and arrived at their destination—Carson Valley, on the west side of the Great Basin,—about the middle of June.<sup>4</sup>

The first settlers of Carson Valley were from among the emigrants of 1849-50, 51, and made up of both Mormons and Gentiles, with the former predominating in numbers. The inducement to settlement in this valley, so far removed from the set-

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4. See Hist. Brigham Young Ms. 1855, entries for July 17, p. 79; and Sept. 23 and 24th, p. 92. The names of the persons killed were James Wiseman Hunt, William Behunin and Edward Edwards; the president of the colony, Alfred N. Billings, was wounded. Soon after crossing Grand river in their retreat, and only "a short distance from the fort, they met an old chief and two of his sons who told them they should have their cattle. After they were about fifteen miles on their way the old chief overtook them with eight cows (the other cattle having been killed or badly wounded), and some beef for their journey; and said he would see to the burying of the three brethren who were killed. The company were not molested on their way to Manti." *Id.*, p. 92.

4. "Elder Orson Hyde wrote from Carson (in June) as follows: "We arrived at John & Enoch Reese's Ranch in this county on the 17th inst. We had an excellent trip, but a very fatiguing one for both man and beast. *Messrs.* John & Enoch Reese have a most splendid mill and ranch. The labor that has been done by them is immense. Their crops generally look well. Grasshoppers are very destructive, however, on wheat and vegetables, especially on late wheat. The harvest will be only middling on account of the insects.

"Great numbers of cattle are dying on the road. So great mortality among stock on the road was never before known. It is heart sickening to see and smell the dead carcasses on the road. The fuel is generally good on the south side of the Humbolt; but the road, the hills and mountains on this side of Hawe's ranch on the south are very difficult for wagons to traverse.

"The Big Mountain east of Salt Lake City is not a 'patching' [i. e. circumstance] to several that we came down, all four wheels locked, and men behind with lariets to hold back and keep the wagons from ending over upon the teams. Still we got along well, and without accident. It is a miracle how we ever got over with the mill stones. But thanks be to our heavenly Father, we are all here safe and sound, and in fine spirits. The Lord has been with us, and is still with us, and I trust ever will be." (History of Brigham Young Ms., 1855, p. 68).

tlements on the east side of the Great Basin, aside from the attractiveness of the valley itself, was the prospect of great gain by trade with the overland emigration to California. Among the Mormons prominent in making these settlements was H. S. Beatie and John Reese. The former built a house on the present site of Genoa, the county seat of Douglas county, now in Nevada, and after two years of profitable emigrant trade sold out his "station" to John Reese, who in partnership with his brother Enoch continued to occupy it for several years.<sup>5</sup>

It was a matter of duty on the part of the Territory of Utah to extend government over these settlements in Carson valley, and accordingly, in 1854, the legislature passed an act creating Carson county, and Orson Hyde was appointed its probate judge.<sup>6</sup> Carson county was within the third judicial district of the Territory over which United States judge George P. Stiles presided and who accompanied Elder Hyde to Carson valley, for the purpose of holding court in that part of the judicial district. Joseph Heywood, United States territorial marshal went with the party to aid the court. These three gentlemen had been appointed by Governor Young to act with commissioners from California, to establish the proper boundary between Utah and California. A commission which Governor Young announced to the Utah legislature of 1855-6, and whose duties were satisfactorily executed.<sup>7</sup>

The year following another company of settlers went to Carson valley, in which were included a number of men who became prominent in both civic and ecclesiastical life of Utah;<sup>8</sup> and

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5. Bancroft's History Nevada, Ch. IV. The establishment of Beatie and Reese was known by all emigrants between 1851 and 1857 as "the Mormon station." *Id.*

6. Under his direction an election was held, on the 20th of September, for county officers, which resulted in the election of James C. Fain for sheriff; Henry W. Niles, surveyor; Charles D. Daggett, prosecuting attorney; R. D. Sides, treasurer; H. M. Hodges and James A. Williams, constables; Nicholas Ambrosia and Henry Van Sickle, justice of the peace; Henry D. Sears, William P. Allen and James McMarlin, selectmen, "whose duties were to act as associates with the probate judge, and attend to the care of the county's poor, orphaned and insane" (Bancroft's Hist. of Nevada, ch. IV). Enoch Reese was elected the representative from the county to the Utah legislature. (Whitney's Hist. of Utah, Vol. I, p. 551.)

7. See Governor Young's Message, Deseret News, Vol. V, Dec. 19, 1855.

8. Among these were William Jennings, afterwards, and for many years a leading merchant of Salt Lake City and for one term (1882-4) mayor of that city; Christopher Layton, after whom Layton, in Davis County, was named; Peregrine Sessions, the first settler of Sessions settlement or Bountiful, Anson Call, of Davis County, founder of Call's Fort in Box Elder County, and William Kay, the latter the founder of Kaysville in Davis county.

doubtless the western side of the Great Basin, the beautiful Carson valley, would have been the scene of strong, thriving Mormon colonies but for the incident known as the "Utah War"—to be considered later—which led to the practical abandonment of this and other outlying settlements.

In Carson valley the Saints were again in contact with a non-Mormon population; for the people in the Sacramento and the American river valleys, no less than the people of Utah, were aware of the advantages of trading stations in that locality, and some of them hastened to establish them. Until the arrival of Orson Hyde's company of settlers, in 1855, the inhabitants of Carson valley were nearly evenly divided as between Mormon and non-Mormon; though among the former a number were classed as Mormons who really had no standing in the church, as they had either been excommunicated, or of themselves had fallen away from conscious union with the Church.<sup>8</sup> Always restive under the dominion of Utah territory, and also suffering some inconveniences because of the distance they were removed from the seat of the territorial government, the Gentile and apostate Mormons of Carson valley had made several attempts, even before the arrival of Elder Hyde's company of settlers, to obtain either a separate Territorial government or to be incorporated within the state of California; and after the departure of the main body of the Saints in 1857, to meet the emergency of the "Utah War," these efforts were renewed from time to time until finally, on the 2nd of March, 1861, the terri-

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8. In addition to the inducement of trading stations in the Carson valley, to the mining population of California was the added one of reputed mineral deposits in the adjacent hills and canons; so that miners as well as traders were attracted to the Carson settlements, and increased the number of non-Mormons. During the year 1856 a conflict between Mormons and non-Mormons threatened. Orson Hyde wrote to President Young asking that an additional one hundred men be sent to strengthen the brethren already in the valley (Hist. Brigham Young Ms., 1856, entry for Dec. 7th, p. 1152). President Young was not in favor of sending the reinforcements, but wished that all the brethren in Carson valley were home and Hyde with them. Meantime news of the threatened disturbance reached the mining camps on the west side of the Sierras, and a number prepared to go to the aid of the non-Mormons. Both parties, it is said, established hostile camps, and for two weeks the opposing forces were camped almost within sight of each other, "but without coming to blows." A truce was finally agreed upon by which it was provided that all should be allowed to remain on their lands (See Bancroft's Hist. of Utah, p. 591, also letter under date of Jan. 17, 1859, by the delegate elect from Nevada, James M. Crane, published in full in Waite's Mormon Prophet, p. 31, *et seq.*).



tory of Nevada<sup>9</sup> was created by act of Congress out of the western half of Utah, the eastern boundary being fixed, at first, at the thirty-ninth degree of longitude, west from Washington; but by act of Congress in 1862 the eastern boundary was extended to the thirty-eighth degree, and by an act of the same body, in 1866, to the thirty-seventh meridian, the new territory thus being given more than one-half of the territory of Utah, as organized by Congress in 1850.

The boundaries of Utah were still further cut down on the organization of Colorado as a Territory in 1861. The west boundary of said Territory extended to the thirty-second meridian, west from Washington, thus cutting down Utah's area by two full degrees on the eastern borders. Utah was still further despoiled of dimensions when the territory of Nebraska was organized—1854,<sup>8½</sup> and again when Wyoming was organized in 1868. Taking advantage of the temporary abandonment of the Fort Bridger district by the Salt Lake colonies in 1857, on account of its seizure by the U. S. army under Gen. A. S. Johnston, the friends of Wyoming prevailed upon Congress so far as to have included this portion of Utah in the new Territory, running north from the forty-first parallel of latitude and east of the 34th meridian, an area of about eight thousand square miles, leaving the Territory of Utah—and now the state—an area of about 85,000 square miles.<sup>9</sup>

About the time the Carson valley settlers left Salt Lake City, another company, known as the "Salmon River Lamanite Mission," consisting of twenty-seven brethren, led by Thomas L. Smith, of Davis county, started for a point on Salmon river, now in Idaho,—then Oregon—a distance of three hundred and eighty miles north of Salt Lake City, where they arrived about the middle of June and erected a fort which they named "Fort Limhi."<sup>10</sup>

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8. "The word *Nevada*—in Spanish signifying 'covered with snow,' 'white as snow,' 'snow fall'—is taken, of course, for the naming of this state, from the mountain range upon its western border." (Bancroft's "Hist. of Nevada," p. 23.)

8½. See Note 1, end of chapter.

9. Bancroft's Hist. of Wyoming, p. 740. Also Bancroft's Hist. of Utah, pp. 592, 623.

10. Hist. of Brigham Young *Ms.*, Entries for May and June, 1855, pp. 51 and 68. There were eleven wagons, forty-six oxen, twenty-one cows and seven horses in the expedition. Limhi is the Book of Mormon name of a somewhat noted



In the spring of 1857 President Young with a company of 115 men, 22 women, and five boys paid a visit to Fort Limhi, the purpose being to explore the country with a view to the establishment of settlements in the future. President Young remained four days and a half at Fort Limhi, during which time he held a friendly conference with the Indian chiefs in the vicinity, smoked the pipe of peace with them at the fort, and distributed gifts of blankets, tobacco, etc., with which the Indians were delighted. Among the interesting incidents of this journey is the fact that Arapeen, the brother of Walker, the Utah chief, and who succeeded Walker as war chief of the Utahs, accompanied President Young to Fort Limhi, and was present and participated in the friendly conferences with the Bannocks.<sup>11</sup>

The expedition occupied thirty-three days, and included a visit to all the settlements north of Salt Lake City.<sup>12</sup>

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Nephite chieftain or "king," who lived in the second century B. C. The name, though the Mormon settlement was abandoned in 1857, still survives in Idaho maps. Indeed it is the name now of the stream on which the fort was built—a tributary of Salmon River—and of the Indian reservation located in its valley (See Century Atlas, map of Idaho).

11. Hist. of Brigham Young *Ms.*, entry for May, 1857, pp. 306-7. The account of the expedition to Limhi occupies from p. 297 to 312. Early in the year 1857, Chief Arapeen reported having had a visitation from the spirit of his brother Walker, of which the following is the record in President Young's *Ms. Hist.*:

*Vision of Arapeen*: "Arapeen, brother of Walker, Utah chief, reported to the brethren in San Pete that he had a vision, in which Walker appeared to him, and told him not to fight the Mormons, but cultivate peace with them. The Lord had revealed to Arapeen that the land was his and did not belong to the Indians nor the Mormons; that Walker had taken sick and died a natural death; that the Indians who stole should be whipped and have a ball and chain put on them; but it was not good to kill them and spill their blood on the land; that Arapeen was to relate what was communicated to him to President Welcome Chapman and Counselor Higgins and Bishop Lowry (of Manti), and they would write it.

"Arapeen was also informed that it was not good for the Mormons to trade guns and ammunition to the Indians at present. The Lord said that by and by when all people were good, and at peace, he would live on the earth with them. Arapeen saw three personages whose garments were as white as snow and as brilliant as the sun, and he was informed that all good people would eventually appear as these personages did: the Lord often talked with Brigham and now would talk with Arapeen also (Hist. Brigham Young, *Ms.*, entries for February, 1855, p. 7). The frame of mind resulting from this 'vision' led doubtless to the chief accompanying President Young on this expedition to the north."

12. This "expedition" is a fair sample of the manner in which President Young made such journeys. As stated in the text the company consisted of 115 men, 22 women and 5 boys. There were 54 wagons and carriages, and two light boats with decking planks for ferrying. The old organization in transit of the plains was followed. There was a Presidency over the camp—Young, Kimball and Wells; three chaplains, Elders Hyde, Richards and Snow (Lorenzo); a captain, R. F. Burton; a marshal, J. C. Little; sergeant of the guard, Warren S. Snow; three engineers, A. Carrington, Jesse W. Fox and T. D. Brown; two clerks, J. W. Cummings and T. D. Brown. The wagons were grouped into tens, and a captain appointed to each group.

During this period—1851-57—Colonial growth also included the settlement and organization of Morgan county, northeasterly of Salt Lake county, by Jedediah Morgan Grant, Thomas Thurston and others. The county took its name from the “Morgan” in Elder Grant’s name. Southward Millard and Washington counties were organized; and Fillmore, about one hundred and fifty miles south of Salt Lake City, in Millard county, was made the capital of the Territory.<sup>13</sup> President Fillmore was doubly honored by having both the county and the capital city named for him. The Utah colonists believed that President Fillmore deserved well at their hands, both because of inaugurating such government as had been accorded to Utah, as also in withstanding all pressure to support the “run-a-way officials,” and by his manifest friendliness in the appointment of their successors.<sup>14</sup>

The reason for removing the capital from the Salt Lake to the Pauvan valley, as set forth in Governor Young’s message to the legislature, 1852, are as follows: The location is far more central to the territory than Salt Lake City; the Pauvan valley

Compass courses and odometer readings marked the line of the journey, and the distances from point to point; all of which were kept in tabulated form. The best of discipline, resulting in perfect order, was maintained, and the journey made without loss or serious inconvenience. On disbanding the camp at the end of the return journey, “a united and most heartfelt vote of thanks was returned to our President,” says the chronicler, “for his fatherly care and kindness, for his prudent mode of regulating the travel, noon halts, and camps; and for his most excellent example, counsels and instructions during the journey.” (Hist. Brigham Young, *Ms.* entry for April and May, 1857, pp. 298, 308).

13. The Enactment of the Legislature naming the capital was approved Oct. 4, 1851. Anson Call, a prominent settler in Davis county, was authorized to effect the county organization. (Acts of the Legislature Assembly, of Utah, 1855, p. 224). The site of the capital city on Chalk creek, in the noble and beautiful Pauvan valley, was chosen by a commission appointed by Governor Young, *viz*, Orson Pratt, Albert Carrington, Jesse W. Fox, and William C. Staines. President Young, Heber C. Kimball, Geo. A. Smith, Gen. D. H. Wells, Major Rose, sub-Indian agent, and others,—fifteen men and three boys in all—accompanied the commissioners. The site was selected on the 29th of October, 1851. “The few Indians who appeared at the city,” says the chronicle, “professed great friendship, and promised good behavior to bishop Call and company who were on the ground, ready to build a fort forthwith—a work preparatory to fencing fields and building up the City.” (*Deseret News* of December 13th, 1851).

14. The following toasts in honor of Mr. Fillmore were given at the 4th of July celebration in Salt Lake City, 1853:

“Ex-President Fillmore: May his retirement be as happy and prosperous as his administration was successful and glorious; and the American people learn to know and appreciate their good men before they lose them.” *D. H. Wells*.

“Franklin Pierce: May his conduct in the presidential chair towards the ‘Bee Hive State’ be as that of Millard Fillmore.” *W. W. Phelps*. (*Deseret News*, July 9th, 1853).

will sustain a large and dense population; locating the seat of government there it would encourage settlers to go there and very much facilitate the settlement of all other suitable places in that region. Under all these circumstances, concludes Governor Young, the location of the capital at the place selected "appears judicious upon its own merits, and will unquestionably advance the already prosperous and vastly increasing resources of the territory."<sup>14</sup> The city was surveyed into blocks of ten acres each, sub-divided into eight lots of eight rods wide, running at right angles and with the four points of the compass. Saw mills and flouring mills were soon erected; also a city hall and a school house. Work on the State House was begun, and the south wing of it completed by December, 1855, at a cost of about \$32,000 dollars. This wing of the State House was built of stone, the dimensions being 41 feet 4 inches wide, by 61 feet 8 inches long. There was a basement and two stories. The basement was 10 feet high, the first story 12, and the second 14 feet 6 inches to the spring of the arch. A cut of the building as far as it was completed accompanies this chapter, showing it as it stands to-day.

Fillmore, did not long enjoy the distinction of being the capital of the territory. One session only of the legislature was held there, that of 1855-56,<sup>15</sup> which continued through forty days; and for that winter Fillmore was the center of the officialdom of Utah, since, in addition to Governor Young, Secretary Almon W. Babbitt—successor to Secretary Ferris—and members of the legislature, there were present that winter in the half built frontier town, judges J. F. Kinney, G. P. Stiles, and W. W.

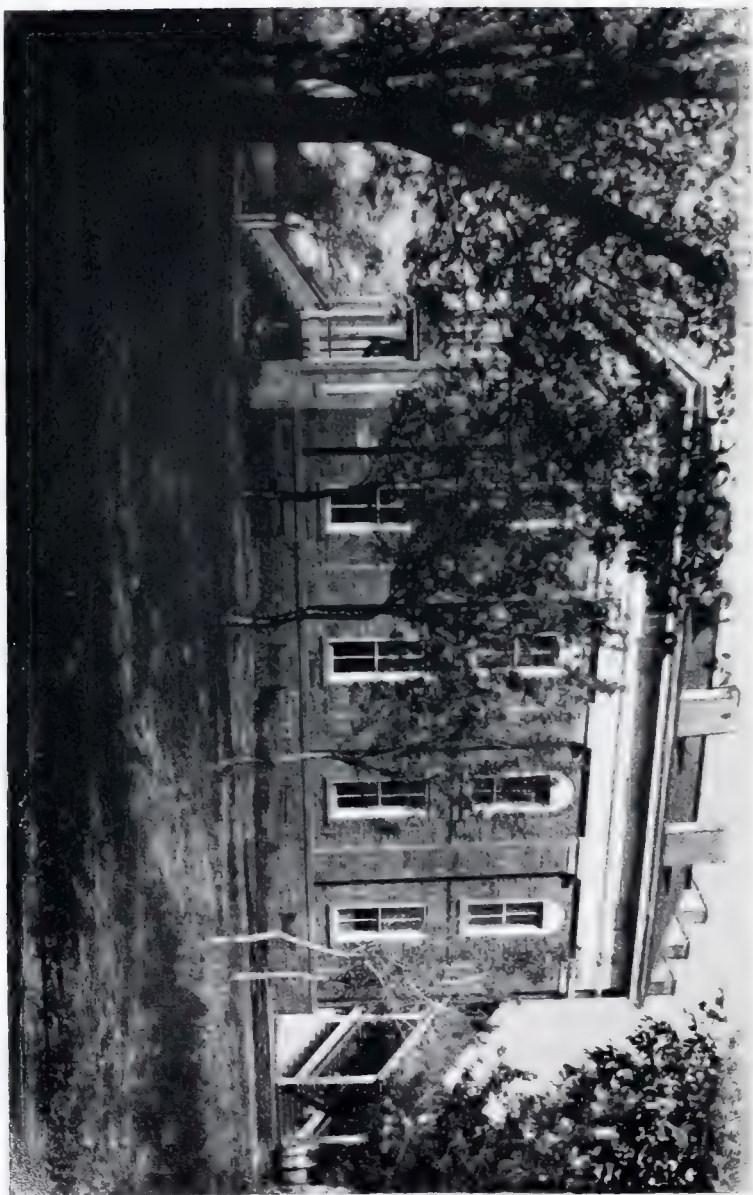
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14. Gov. Young's Message to the Legislature, Jan. 5th, 1852. *Deseret News* of Jan. 10th, 1852.

15. The estimated cost was \$40,000; but according to a statement in Governor Young's message of 1855, the expenditure on the building in excess of the government appropriation up to that time, (\$20,000), had been \$12,000. (See Governor Young's message *Deseret News*, December 19, 1855, p. 324). The \$20,000 appropriation for public buildings on the organization of the territory, 1850, first expended by the governor on a purchase of the "Old Council House" for state purposes (until the state house at Fillmore could be "completed for the sitting of the legislature." *Deseret News*, Feb. 7th, 1852), was returned to the territory, and the "Old Council House" reverted to the possession of the Church.

16. It appears that for a number of years afterwards there was some formality kept up by which the legislature continued to meet at Fillmore, but only to adjourn to Salt Lake City. (Whitney's Hist. of Utah, Vol. 1, p. 545; also Linn's "Story of the Mormons," p. 458, and note.





117. The building at the University of Chicago.





Drummond of the supreme court; marshal of the territory, J. L. Heywood, T. R. King, probate judge of Millard county, and Amasa M. Lyman and Erastus Snow of the council of the Apostles, all of whom were accorded the freedom of the floor of the general assembly.<sup>17</sup>

Heber C. Kimball was president of the council and Jedediah M. Grant speaker of the House.<sup>18</sup>

Within the period covered in this chapter a number of the public buildings which are regarded as historical in Utah were erected or begun. Among them the "Old Council House," already referred to in a previous chapter, also the "Social Hall," on the east side of state street between South Temple and 1st South street, Salt Lake City. It was built in 1852, but not opened for use until the first of January, 1853. It was built of adobies and in dimensions is 73x33 feet, having two floors, a basement and a main floor. It was built for uses implied by its name, social and semi-social functions, balls, feasts, amateur theatricals, birthday anniversaries of prominent persons, and the like.<sup>19</sup> It was also used for more serious purposes. Some sessions of the legislature were held there,<sup>20</sup> and council meetings of the priesthood were frequent.

On the opposite side of the street, and between First and Second south, was the "Seventies Hall of Science," later known by the less pretentious name of the "Seventies Hall." This was also an adobie building, 50x30 inside measurement, erected to accommodate as a meeting place and class room the Seventies,

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17. *Deseret News* of Dec. 19, 1855.

18. *Ibid.*

19. "The balls at the social hall," says Captain Burton, of the British army, "are highly select, and are conducted on an expensive scale; invitations are issued on embossed, bordered, and gilt-edge white paper, say to 75-80 of the *elite*, including a few of the chief Gentiles." He gives a fac-simile of an invitation to a social function, "Tickets \$10.00 per couple." "The \$10 per ticket will admit only one lady with the gentleman; for all extra, \$2 each must be paid. In less splendid fetes \$2.50 would be the total price. ("City of the Saints," pp. 230-231). See also *Deseret News* for January 11th, where a detailed account is given of a Legislative Party, "Given at the social hall by the governor and legislative assembly, on Monday, Jan. 1st, 1855, in compliment to Judge Kinney—his associates—other U. S. officers of the territory—and Lieut. Col. Steptoe of the U. S. Army—with the officers in command."

20. "At one time," remarks O. F. Whitney, "the legislature and the district court occupied the hall simultaneously. The council sat upon the stage, the house in the auditorium, and the court in the dressing room under the stage." "School History of Utah," p. 65 note.

who constitute, in the main, as already explained in a former chapter, the foreign missionary force of the church.<sup>21</sup> The

Seventies hall has long since been displaced by more pretentious buildings; but the fact of its once having had an existence is mute testimony of the ambition for learning on the part of the Seventies, the preaching ministry of the Church.

In this same period also the "Old Tabernacle"<sup>22</sup> was built on the southwest corner of Temple block, on the site now occupied by the "Assembly Hall." This building was 126 feet long by 64 feet wide, arched without a pillar, and capable of seating 2,200 persons, (some put the seating capacity at 3,000) an auditorium such as was not to be found in any other frontier town in western America. It was dedicated to the sacred purposes to which it was devoted—the public worship of God and religious instruction—on the 6th of April, 1852, amid great rejoicing of the people.<sup>23</sup>

The "Tabernacle," however, by the time it was completed, was still inadequate to accommodate the public, and a "Bowery," 156 feet long, and 138 feet wide, capable of seating an audience of 8,000, was attached on the north;<sup>24</sup> but as this was not

21. See chapter LIV, this History, AMERICANA, Sept., 1911. "The Seventies Hall of Science" was begun late in 1850, the resolution to build being passed on the 27th of November of that year. Joseph Young, brother to Brigham, and senior President of the Seventies was appointed trustee and superintendent of the work. Shares in the building were placed at twenty-five dollars each, and the seventies "abroad" were invited to purchase. It was dedicated Dec. 25th, 1854, and cost \$3,500. (See Gen'l Epistle of the Presidency," April 7th, 1851, Mill. Star, Vol. XIII, p. 212).

22. The descriptive term "Old" was not applied to this tabernacle erected in 1851-52, until the large Tabernacle now occupying the west centre of Temple square was began; with which it should not be confounded. Proceedings of the dedicatory services of the "Old Tabernacle," are to be found in the *Deseret News* of the 17th of April, 1852; also *Ms. Hist.* Brigham Young, April, 1852, pp. 38, 39.

23. "When the doors of the Tabernacle were thrown open at 9 a. m. the people rushed in, as if the flood gates of a mighty reservoir had given way, and in a very few minutes all the seats were occupied, so great was the desire of the saints to hear the teachings of the servants of the Lord." (*Deseret News*, April 17th, 1852). The dedication inspired two hymns, one by W. W. Phelps, "In Deseret We're Free;" and one by Eliza R. Snow Smith, "The Son of God will Come." The first was but short lived, the second has survived, and is still sung by the Saints, and is worthy a permanent place in the hymnology of the Church.

24. *Liverpool Route*, p. 109. Burton says 3,000. "The place was a kind of a 'hangar,' about 100 feet long by the same breadth, with a roofing of brushes and boughs, supported by rough posts, and open for ventilation on the sides; it can contain about 3,000 souls." It will be observed that Burton is mistaken in his dimensions.

roofed in, except by an annual supply of "brush" for shade, it could only be used in the summer season.

In the northwest corner of Temple Square stood the "Endowment House," an adobie two story structure, flanked by two one story wings, was also of this period, and built for the purpose implied in its name—the solemnization of endowment ceremonies—pending the erection of the great temple. It was dedicated to its sacred purposes on the 5th of May, 1855, and remained in use, with little interruption, for thirty-four years, when it was taken down by order of Wilford Woodruff, in the spring of 1889, because of rumors that plural marriages, contrary to the law of the land, were being solemnized in the buildings.<sup>25</sup>

Within the period being considered the great Salt Lake Temple was begun. From the time of leaving the temple at Nauvoo the building of another and a grander temple was constantly held before the vision of the westward migrating Saints. In the "Old Tabernacle," during the second conference that was held within its walls, namely, in October, 1852, the vote to build the temple was taken on the 9th of October,<sup>26</sup> after discourses upon the subject by Elder Heber C. Kimball, Geo. A. Smith, and John Taylor; and on the 14th of February following, ground was broken in the presence of several thousand people, who formed a hollow square round the plat that had been surveyed. All the civil and military pagentry of the city were present, and several bands of music. President Young and others addressed the multitude.<sup>27</sup> Ground was broken at the south-east corner,

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25. Official Declaration of Wilford Woodruff, Conferences Proceedings, October 6, 1890.

26. "It was voted unanimously that the Temple be built of the best material that can be obtained in the mountains of North America." Hist. Brigham Young *Ms.*, 1852, p. 86.

27. Among other interesting remarks in reviewing the past, and speaking of the future glory of the work, President Young delivered the following respecting revelation as related to temple building:

"Some might query whether a revelation had been given to build a house to the Lord, but he is a wicked and slothful servant who doeth nothing but what his Lord commandeth, when he knoweth his master's will. I know a Temple is needed and so do you; and when we know a thing, why do we need a revelation to compel us to do that thing? If the Lord and all the people want a revelation, I can give one concerning this Temple.

"In a few days I shall be able to give a plan of the Temple on paper, and then if all heaven, or any good man will suggest any improvements, we will receive and adopt them. \* \* \*



by President Young;<sup>28</sup> who afterwards dismissed the people. "But the day being pleasant many remained to work on the excavation, and much earth was removed that afternoon," says the chronicle.

On the sixth of April, of the same year, the corner stones were laid with becoming ceremonies and amid great rejoicing. Many bands of music were present, together with civic, military, and religious orders in attendance. The southeast corner stone was laid by President Young and his counsellors—the Presidency of the High Priesthood of the Church; the southwest corner stone by Presiding Bishop Hunter and his counselors—the Presidency of the Aaronic Priesthood of the Church; the northwest corner stone was laid by John Young, President of the High Priests quorum of the Salt Lake Stake, assisted by the High Council of the stake; the northeast corner stone was laid by the Twelve Apostles, the General Presidency of the Seventies and the Presidency of the elders.<sup>30</sup>

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"Brother Joseph often remarked that a revelation was no more necessary to build a Temple than a dwelling-house; if a man knew he needed a kitchen, a bedroom, a cook room, etc., he needed no revelation to inform him of the fact; and I, and my brethren around me, know what is wanting in a Temple—having received all the ordinances belonging therein—just as well as we do what is wanting in a convenient dwelling-house." (*Mill. Star*, Vol. XV, p. 391-2.

28. The ground was frozen to the depth of about six inches. "After the earth was loosed around, about six inches deep, President Young said it was his privilege to remove that, and took the lump about one foot square upon his spade, and lifted it high up, and said—"get out of my way, for I am going to throw this," and there he held it, about one minute, before he could get room to lay it down, from off the Temple site, so dense were the multitude around." *Deseret News*, Feb. 19, 1853.

30. The same sequence of laying the cornerstones was observed as at Nauvoo, under the direction of the Prophet Joseph; but there was a slight variation in the grade of officers who officiated at the respective cornerstones, except as to the first, or southeast corner, at which the First Presidency in each case officiated. In Nauvoo the Presidency of the Nauvoo stake officiated at the southwest corner; at the northwest corner the high council of the Nauvoo stake officiated; and at the northeast corner the presiding Bishop of the Church officiated (Documentary Hist. of the Church, Vol. IV, ch. XVII). The variation was not important, as President Young noted and explained. The Prophet Joseph, after giving the proper sequence in which the cornerstones of temples should be laid, said: "The First Presidency should lay the southeast cornerstone, and dictate who are the proper persons to lay the other cornerstones. If a Temple is built at a distance, and the First Presidency are not present, then the quorum of the Twelve Apostles are the persons to dictate the order for that temple." (Documentary Hist. of the Church, Vol. IV, p. 331.) From the above it would appear that the personnel of those officiating at the respective cornerstones, after the first is laid, may vary, since some discretion seems to be lodged with the authorities laying the southeast cornerstone, as to those who shall be appointed to officiate at the other corners. The fact that the Twelve were absent in England when the cornerstones of the Nauvoo Temple were laid, accounts for the fact that they took no part in the ceremonies of laying

Thus the corner stones of the Salt Lake Temple were laid—just twelve years from the time the corner stones of the Nauvoo Temple were laid. But thirty-nine years must elapse before the Saints shall bring the cap stone to its place with rejoicing; and forty years before they shall see it brought to completion and dedicated to God in whose honor its foundations were laid, and to whose glory its noble, granite walls and splendid towers were upbuilt.

The dimensions and a description of this noble edifice, together with a steel engraving of it as it now stands completed on Temple square, has already been published in these chapters,<sup>31</sup> and precludes the necessity of giving them again. But it may be instructive as giving an insight into the character of these men—the Church leaders, and this small frontier community—who on the 14th day of February broke the ground for, and on the 6th day of April, 1853, laid the corner stones of that sacred structure—which has since become world-famed,—if we are reminded that its foundations, which they then began, were 193 feet east and west through the centre of the building, embracing the footings of the walls; 125 feet north and south through the centres of the towers, including the footings of the walls; that these dimensions cover an area of 21,850 square feet; that the foundations begun that day were laid 16 feet deep, and 16 feet broad at the base, tapering on each side to 9 feet in width, from which rise the walls eight feet thick in the first story, but reduced by stages in the second story to 6 feet—to the height of 167 feet 6 inches; the east centre tower rising to 210 feet high, the west centre tower being 6 feet less in height.<sup>32</sup>

The Latter-day Saint community then laying the foundation of this great structure in the western wilderness numbered in the Territory of Utah less than twenty thousand souls—men, women and children; and less than six thousand Latter-day Saints in

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the cornerstones of the temple at Nauvoo. The proceedings and ceremonies, together with the speeches, prayers and remarks of the above interesting occasion, will be found in the *Deseret News* of April 16th, 1853; also in *Mill. Star*, Vol. XV, Nos. 29 and 30.

31. See chapter LIV, note 2, end of chapter, *AMERICANA* for September, 1911.

32. *Liverpool Route*, p. 109. The dimensions are given by the Church Historian, 1854, from which there were but slight variations as the building progressed towards its completion.

Salt Lake City,<sup>32½</sup> and they had not yet been six years upon the ground. An undertaking so immense and begun under such circumstances, shows the Church leaders to be men of large vision, and presents both the leaders and the people to the view of history as possessed of splendid courage and sublime faith in their mission and destiny. Nor did their faith in their ability to achieve result in disappointment. Realization in this case even out ran anticipation; for while this noble granite structure slowly rose through the years to its completion, three other temples were built in various parts of the territory,<sup>33</sup> second only in solidity and grandeur, in the western country, at the time of their completion, to this temple in Salt Lake City. And meantime the Saints were engaged in many other activities and enterprises of both a public and private character that enter into the building of a state, the enlargement of a Church, and the world wide promulgation of religion.

The policy of encouraging domestic manufactures adopted by the State of Deseret was continued under the regime of territory, especially in the period with which this chapter is dealing. Both in the general epistles of the Presidency of the Church and in his messages as Governor, Brigham Young emphasized the importance of establishing home manufactures; and in these documents notes the advancement made in these industries.

Thus in a supplement to the General Epistle of April 7th, 1851, the Presidency of the Church said:

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32½. The exact figures are: In the Territory, 18,206; in Salt Lake City, 5,979. The numbers here given are from the reports of the bishops at the October conference, 1853. (*History of Brigham Young Ms.*, entry for October, 1853, p. 127). There is some discrepancy between the census tabulated at this conference, from the reports of the bishops, and the census dealing with the population of the Territory at this time given in chapter LXXIX. The difference is accounted for, in part at least, by the fact that the figures above give the number of Church members in the Territory; the former, that of the entire population. The difference, however, would show the Gentile population too large; "in 1853," says the authority formerly quoted (Burton), "the Saints were reckoned at 25,000 by the Gentiles, and from 30,000 to 35,000, by Mr. Orson Pratt, in the *Seer*." Taking the smaller figure for the basis of comparison, and accepting the above named conference reports as representing the Latter-day Saint population at 18,206, it would represent the Gentile population at 6,794, or nearly seven thousand non-Mormons in Utah, which is altogether too large.

33. For an account of the location, structure and appearance, see this History, Chapters LIV and LV—notes at the end of the respective chapters—*AMERICANA* for September and October, 1911. Also "The House of the Lord. A Study of Holy Sanctuaries, Ancient and Modern," by James E. Talmage, 1912.



It is our wish that the Presidency in England, France, and other places should search out such practical operations in the manufacture of sugar as fully understand their business, and forward them to this place, with all such apparatus as may be needed and cannot be procured here.”<sup>34</sup>

In the sixth General Epistle from Salt Lake Valley the Presidency in noting the progress of manufactures said:

“‘The Deseret Pottery’ is in successful operation, some good light yellow ware was drawn from the kiln, June 27th, and white ware is soon expected. It is anticipated that the valley materials for making crockery and china ware, will be equal to any other place; and that the pottery will soon be able to supply this market. Good potters are wanted. A carding machine is in operation and doing extensive business in this valley; also one in Utah [valley], and others in progress.

“There are four grain and five saw mills in operation, or nearly completed in Great Salt Lake county; also two grain and two saw mills in Weber county; one grain and two saw mills in Davis county; two grain and three saw mills in Utah county; one grain and two saw mills in San Pete county; one grain and one saw mill in Iron county; and one saw mill in Toole county; and an increasing desire and exertion to promote domestic manufactures prevails throughout the territory.”

In his message to the legislature, 1852, Governor Young made the following statement on domestic manufactures:

“*Domestic Manufactures*, I am happy to state, are in a flourishing condition; considerable quantities of leather and crockery having found their way into market, and a large amount of clothing has been made, principally by the hands of the ‘good housewife,’ who thereby adds dignity to her station and reflects credit and honor upon her household. Specimens of iron have also been forwarded from the works in Iron county, which for the first run, was exceedingly flattering. It separates well, but owing to the sulphur in the coal not being sufficiently extracted, was thereby injured; but a little experience in combining materials, and continued effort, it is believed, will soon produce that article in great abundance, and of good quality. A liberal hand should be extended unto the enterprising men who have no-

34. Mill. Star, Vol. XIII, p. 227.



bly devoted their time, under circumstances of penury and want, in producing an article of so much moment as iron, to the urgent necessities, and future wealth of the Territory. It will soon pay its own way, and become a source of profit to the producers; but until returns can be received, the enterprise exhausts the means of operators, and they should be relieved by the public funds. . . . I am also happy to announce the arrival in our territory, of the machinery for the manufacture of sugar from the beet. The machinery, and operators who have been accustomed to the manufacture of that article from the beet, have come together from the 'Old World,' and being under the direction of energetic, enterprising, and able men, will doubtless soon furnish an abundant supply of that article, for the wants of the people."<sup>35</sup>

The Governor was equally observant of the labors of the people in their homes in producing domestic manufactures, as evidenced by the following, which he had recorded in his journal (*Ms*):

"Sister Hulda Duncan of Davis county, between Aug. 5, 1854, and January 27th, ult., (1855), wove 194 yards of jeans, 508 of linsey and 64 of flannel, besides doing other work. Much cloth of the kinds named, and large quantities of rag carpeting have also been manufactured the past year in Utah. This was done by looms and spinning wheels of a very primitive character."<sup>36</sup>

Encouragement of domestic manufactures, then, may be written down as the policy of Brigham Young—a policy most willingly accepted and followed by the Latter-day Saints—both as president of the Church and governor of the territory; but always, it should be remembered, under the spirit of his declaration to the legislature of the state of Deseret, in 1850, wherein he

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35. *Deseret News*, Dec. 25, 1852. The Governor notes that the legislature had appropriated \$2,000 to further the enterprise of running a woolen factory, and that a Mr. Gaunt declined the appropriation, "the terms in his estimation being too stringent." "He has, however," continues the Governor, "with that indomitable energy, which so strongly characterizes the man, progressed in the work, slowly it is true, but he is now weaving and by another year, will be enabled to do an extensive business." *Id.*

36. Hist. Brigham Young, *Ms.* entry for February, 1855, p. 19. Two years previous to this President Young said: "We are going in for home manufactures pretty extensively. My own family alone have this season manufactured over five hundred yards of cloth, and the homemade frequently makes its appearance in our streets and our gatherings. (Hist. Brigham Young, *Ms.* entry for Feb., 1852, p. 16).

announced himself as in favor of encouraging and aiding home manufactures, but opposed to such governmental aid or such combinations of capital, as would result in monopoly against labor.<sup>37</sup> In the early days of the territory, however, and one may say it for Utah throughout the territorial period, manufacturing was of slow development.

"Manufacturing," says H. H. Bancroft, "is seldom a profitable industry in new countries, even from materials native to them, and under the most favorable conditions. It is doubtful whether this branch of enterprise, throughout the Pacific slope, yielded, on an average, six per cent. on the entire capital invested, and it is doubtful whether even this average was obtained in Utah."

Next in interest to the manufactures of the period was the development of means of communication between the settlements, and also with the outside world, both east and west; the establishment of mail and express routes, and carrying companies. The means of communication between the moving camps of the Church, and also with the Mormon battalion and those camps, have been described in a previous chapter. For some time in Utah means had to be improvised by the settlers themselves for communication both among the settlements and with the outside world. These means were various. Sometimes a courier sent with a special message from headquarters to a distant settlement, or from a distant settlement to headquarters, carried other messages, and letters and light packages. The departing caravans for distant colonies, or passing emigrant trains east or west were entrusted with the "mail" for settlements through which they would pass, or for migrating companies they would meet, or be likely to overtake. It was generally a matter of accommodation, the acceptance of this trust to receive and deliver mail in those pioneering times, and yet it was service willingly undertaken and faithfully discharged.

It was not until 1850 that the United States postal service was effectively extended to Salt Lake City;<sup>38</sup> and was very tardily

37. This History, Chapter LXXIX, AMERICANA for January, 1913.

38. Bancroft says, "The first post office was established in March, 1849 (i. e. in Salt Lake City), letters being usually delivered before that date at the conclusion of divine service on the Sabbath at the several places of worship" (Hist. Utah, p. 769). For an account of what may be regarded as the official installment of the U. S. mail service in Salt Lake City and Utah, see note 3 end of chapter.

enlarged to include even the principal settlements of the Territory,<sup>39</sup> notwithstanding the desire of the Utah colonists to enjoy this service so essential to civilized communities.<sup>40</sup>

When the U. S. mail service was established providing for a monthly mail between Missouri River points and Utah, the legislature at its next session memorialized congress for a weekly service; and at the same session asked that a semi-monthly mail service be installed between San Diego on the Pacific coast and Salt Lake City.<sup>41</sup> They also memorialized congress for the construction of a Territorial road from some of the northern settlements of Utah *via* Fillmore, then the capital, to the southern boundary of the Territory, and this as much for the safety and convenience of the California emigration as for the advantage of the inhabitants of Utah.<sup>42</sup> The same legislature also petitioned for a geodetic survey within the territory, in continuation of the scientific work begun by Captain Stansbury, in 1849-50.

The legislature also memorialized congress "to provide for locating, grading and macadamizing a national turnpike road from the mouth of Nebraska river,<sup>43</sup> *via* South Pass, Great Salt Lake City, to Sacramento, California." This piece of national work was also asked in the interest of the overland emigration to and from the gold mines in California, as well as to Oregon and Utah.<sup>44</sup>

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39. In the Fourth General Epistle of the Presidency of the Church,—Sept. 27, 1850,—the following passage on the subject in hand occurs: "The Government of the Union has been very tardy in rendering any facilities of communication between themselves and the State of Deseret, and having been left to our own resources for information, on the second of August, brother John Y. Green was dispatched to Kanesville with a mail, and on the 15th Elder O. Hyde arrived with a mail from Kane Post Office; also bringing with him the *Frontier Guardian*, the only file of newspapers we are in possession of from any part of the earth for the past year."

40. See petition of the citizens of Iron county, to the government at Washington, praying for a mail route and post office at that point, dated at "Little Salt Lake," January 28th, 1851; and petitioning the general assembly of Deseret for the construction of a railroad from Salt Lake to San Diego, in California, *via* Iron county settlements. Petitions for post offices from new settlements were frequent. *Mill. Star*, Vol. XIII, p. 239, and early volumes *Deseret News*, *passim*.

41. Utah legislative enactments, session of 1851-2, pp. 226 and 219.

42. *Ibid*, p. 221.

43. That is La Platte, at the point where it empties into the Missouri, about 15 miles below Council Bluffs. La Platte was some times called "Nebraska," the Indian name for that river, meaning "shallow stream." The Canadian *voyagers* first named it La Platte, meaning the "Flat River," which, Burton says, is a translation, after the fashion of the *voyagers*, of "the musical and picturesque aboriginal term 'Nebraska'" (City of the Saints, p. 40; also see Stansbury's Report, p. 40, and map).

44. Utah legislature enactments, session of 1851-2, p. 224.



The same legislature memorialized congress for the construction of a telegraph line from the east *via* Salt Lake City to San Diego, San Francisco, or Astoria, urging as the reason for the construction of such a line the otherwise isolation of the intermountain west, and the moral effect in preserving "our glorious Union" by binding "the east and the west by an 'electric' stream, . . . annihilate the distance, and make the free-men of Maine and Oregon, Florida and California immediate neighbors."<sup>45</sup>

This legislature also memorialized congress for the construction of a "national central railroad from some eligible point on the Mississippi or Missouri river to San Diego, San Francisco, Sacramento, or Astoria," or other points on the Pacific coast; and called attention to their own ability to be of service in such an undertaking by being so situated as to amply supply the builders of said road with materials and provisions for a considerable portion of the route."

The reasons set forth in this Memorial for the construction of the proposed transcontinental railroad are so convincing, and grasp the advantages to accrue to the nation in such statesman-like spirit, that I offer no apology for quoting them at length:

"Your memorialists respectfully state, that the immense emigration to, and from the Pacific, requires the immediate attention, guardian care, and fostering assistance of the greatest and most liberal government on the earth. Your memorialists are of opinion that not less than five thousand American citizens have perished on the different routes within the last three years for the want of proper means of transportation; that an eligible route can be obtained, your memorialists have no doubt, being extensively acquainted with the country. We know that no obstruction exists between this point and San Diego; and that iron, coal, timber, stone, and other materials exist in various places on the route. . . . Your memorialists are of opinion that the mineral resources of California, and these mountains, can never be fully developed to the benefit of the people of the United States, without the construction of such a road; and upon its completion, the entire trade of China and the East Indies will pass through the heart of the Union; thereby giving our citizens the almost

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45. Ibid, pp. 226-7.



entire control of the Asiatic and Pacific trade; pouring into the lap of the American states, the millions that are now diverted through other commercial channels: and last, though not least, the road herein proposed, would be a perpetual chain, or iron band which would effectually hold together our glorious Union with an imperishable identity of mutual interest; thereby consolidating our relations with foreign powers in times of peace, and our defence from foreign invasion by the speedy transmission of troops and supplies, in times of war.

“The earnest attention of Congress to this important subject is solicited by your memorialists, who, in duty bound, will ever pray. Approved, March 3, 1852.”<sup>46</sup>

Successive legislatures continued to memorialize congress on the subject of the telegraph line and the railroad until they became accomplished facts.

These memorials for national high ways, transcontinental telegraph lines, and railroads, in each case pleading as a reason for their construction the uniting of the people of a common country by the development and preservation of “an imperishable identity of mutual interests,” to result in, as they believed, the preservation of the national Union, must give effective contradiction to those who affirm that the policy of the Church leaders among the Latter-day Saints was one of practical isolation of their community from their fellow citizens, and unfriendliness for, and independence of, the general government of the United States.

The period being covered by this chapter had its Indian troubles, culminating in what is known as the “Indian War of 1853.” The immediate cause for the commencement of hostilities was the interference of a white man in an Indian family row, near Springville. An Indian was beating his squaw, according to Indian custom when displeased with them, when a Mr. Ivey, angered at the brutal incident struck the Indian who died from the effects of the blow.<sup>47</sup> but not until he reached the Indian encampment of Chief Walker and his brother, Arapeen, on Peteetneet creek at the mouth of a canon above the settlement of Payson, in Utah county. An immediate attack was

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46. *Ibid*, pp. 225-6.

47. Geo. A. Smith's Answers to Questions, 1869, p. 28.

planned against Springville, but the inhabitants being warned and on their guard, it was not made. The next day, however, Arapeen and a number of Indian braves having visited Payson, in an apparently friendly spirit, and after having partaken of a meal hospitably given to them, as they were leaving the town shot and instantly killed the guard on duty, Alexander Keele. They then rode on and reported to Walker what had occurred; whereupon the Indians broke camp and fled up Peteetneet canon firing upon a number of settlers living along the line of their retreat, and the war was on. The casualties of this war are here summarized from the *Deseret News* published at the time:

On the 19th of July the Indians attempted to surprise the settlement on Pleasant creek,<sup>48</sup> in the north part of San Pete county, and stole horses and cattle at Manti and Nephi. On the 20th the guard at Nephi was fired upon. On the 24th Clark Roberts and John Berry were wounded at Pleasant creek, while on their way to Provo, in charge of an express. On the 23d Col. Conover who had been sent from Provo on the 19th with a command of a hundred and fifty men in pursuit of the Indians, sent forth a scouting party which encountered a band of 20 or 30 Indians near Pleasant Creek, and killed six of them. On the night of August 10th a party under Lieut. Burns, encamped on Clover creek, was attacked, and one of them wounded, several animals being lost. On the 17th four men, who were hauling lumber near Parley's Park east of Salt Lake City, were fired upon and two of them killed.<sup>49</sup>

#### Again:

On September 30th, four men on their way to Manti with ox teams loaded with wheat were killed and mutilated at Unita Springs. Oct. 2d, eight Indians were killed and others captured in a skirmish at Nephi. Oct. 4th, two Mormons named John E. Warner and William Mills were killed at the grist-mill near Manti.<sup>50</sup>

By this time the Indians seemed to have tired of the war, and on the 28th of November, Ammon, brother of Walker, came into

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48. The settlement is now called Mt. Pleasant.

49. *Deseret News* of July 30th, and October 1st, 1853.

50. *Ibid*, October 15th, 1853.

Parowan, in southern Utah, to sue for peace in behalf of Walker and his band, and had an interview with Erastus Snow and F. D. Richards on that subject.<sup>51</sup> The formal peace meeting however did not take place until May of the following year, when Governor Young, with a number of leading brethren visited the southern settlements; and the Indians who had engaged in the troubles of the past summer coming from their mountain retreats, met with him on Chicken creek, in Juab county, 109 miles south of Salt Lake City, and a peace settlement was effected. Among the chiefs met with were Walker, Grosprene, Washear (generally known as Squash-head). "All the natives met with," says the Chronicle, "even to the distant Piedes, rejoiced exceedingly at the visit and were highly pleased with the words and counsel of the 'Big Captain of the Whites' who are settled in Utah."<sup>52</sup>

51. Hist. of Brigham Young, Ms. entry for May, 1854, p. 46.

52. *Deseret News*, of June 8th, 1854; see also *News* of May 25th, same year. The last Chronicle also records that "Much grain had been sown for the Indians, who generally appear very friendly." *Id.* Orson F. Whitney, in his *History of Utah*, Vol. I, p. 528, relates the following incident of the peace council, which illustrates the temper of both whites and Indians at that time; the one, conciliating, forbearing; the other sullen, proud, offended at trifles—the child-nature of the savage:

"An incident occurred at this very meeting [the peace meeting on Chicken Creek], which though apparently of little moment, had its ill effect not been at once retrieved, might have led to more trouble. The two parties sat facing each other from opposite sides of a tepee in which the council was held, and the presents brought by the governor were being distributed. Among the gifts was quite a quantity of tobacco. This, General Wells was asked to dispense to the assembled braves. He did so taking the sack which contained it and tossing to each of the warriors a plug of the compressed weed so delightful to the senses of most savages, and, it may be added, of most civilized men as well. The General's action, though not meant to offend, was very displeasing to the dignified Ute chieftain. His eyes blazed with anger, and he refused to lift his piece of tobacco from where it lay. Some one directed his attention to it, whereupon he remarked that he was not a dog, to have a present thrown at him, like a bone to a cur. General Wells good-naturedly made amends for his oversight, and taking a new plug of tobacco presented it to Walker with a polite bow. The chief's anger was at once dispelled, and the proceedings continued amicably to the close. Walker remarked on this occasion that Governor Young was a big chief, but that he was a big chief, too, and illustrated the principle of their equality by holding up both his thumbs, one as high as the other."

Another incident connected with the pacification of Walker, and one which illustrates the great patience of Brigham Young, and shows the Mormon leader at his best, is related in the *Journal of Bishop Anson Call* (Ms.). The Bishop was one of the Governor's party on the southern journey to the Indians: "We learned after we arrived at Nephi that Walker and his band were camped within a distance of 15 miles. President Young immediately took his company and visited Walker's camp. After arriving many of the Indians visited us and were apparently glad to see us. The President inquired for Walker. He was told he was in his wick-up. The President sent for him, he refused to come and said the President must come and see him. The President accordingly went



One remarkable thing about this Indian disturbance of 1853 is the extent of territory over which it is extended—from Iron county in the south to Summit county, east of Salt Lake City, in the north, a distance north and south of over two hundred and fifty miles, and along the whole line of white settlements. It seems to be altogether too general to arise from a circumstance so local as that in which it apparently had its origin. The fact is that the incident at Springville of the white man interfering with an Indian beating a squaw, and unfortunately producing his death, was not the real cause of the war, but merely a pretext for beginning hostilities which were inevitable under the operation of influences then at work, and the temper of the red men. It had been the custom among the Utah Indians for the stronger tribes to kidnap the children of weaker bands, sell them to Mexicans to be carried into New Mexico, and even to Mexico, where they were sold into slavery. An editorial in the *Deseret News* of November the 15th, 1851, takes notice of three several parties of traders in San Pete county engaged in this dastardly business. The parties were operating under licenses signed by James S. Calhoun, Governor and superintendent of Indian affairs in New

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into his wick-e-up, found the chief very surly. This was the first time the President had seen him since the Indian war, yet I had visited him some four weeks before in company with E. T. Benson, Erastus Snow, Mr. Bedell, the Indian agent, Demick B. Huntington, the interpreter, and some others in the company at Fillmore, the place appointed to make a treaty of peace, which treaty we accomplished, smoked the pipe of peace and went through all the Indian ceremonies in making treaties—as Walker stated, to his entire satisfaction—with about 50 of his men; we ate and drank together and parted. When President Young entered Walker's tent the chief requested him to leave and return in about an hour and perhaps he would have the spirit. If he did he would talk with him. The President accordingly left and returned at the time appointed. The President asked the chief what ailed him. He said that one of his children was very sick. He then began to beat the mother of the child. The President stopped him and reprimanded him severely and asked why he abused his squaw in that way. He answered him that he did not want the child to suffer alone. Walker told him that he was not ready to talk with him nor he should not be till he knew whether the child would die or live, and he must not leave with his company until he knew, and if the child died somebody had to die with it and he did not know whether it would be some of his men or some of the Mormons; also some horses. He said the child was to have company and some horses to ride. The President then took the child and administered to it and left the wick-e-up and told him (Walker) that he would return to the wick-e-up and the child would be better. The President accordingly returned and found the child better. Walker became satisfied that the child was going to live. He was friendly and had a talk with the President who made him and his men presents of shirts, blankets and ammunition. Walker and his men traded horses to our company. Next morning about 11 o'clock we left Walker's camp, stayed the next night on the Sevier River. The day following we arrived at Fillmore."



Mexico, authorizing the holders<sup>53</sup> to "proceed to the Salt Lake country in the territory of Utah, for the purpose of trading with the Utah Indians in said region." There were about twenty members in each of the three parties, one of which was headed by one Pedro Leon. They were attempting to exchange horses for Indian children and fire arms. The *News* editorial above quoted warns against this unlawful traffic, saying that "the purchase and removal of Indian children from Utah territory to any other state or territory, or the removal of Indian children without purchase to any other territory by such means or process as appears to have been contemplated by said men (Leon, *et al*), is kidnapping in the eyes of the United States law and ought to be treated so in any United States court."

Governor Young's message to the territorial legislature dated January 5th, 1852, also deals with this subject. He calls attention to the fact that the practice of purchasing Indian children for slaves, carried on by traders in New Mexico and California, had of late years been extended into the limits of Utah. "This trade," he remarks, "I have endeavored to prevent; and this fall, happening to encounter a few of them [i. e. the slave traders] in my travels [viz. the Leon parties], as superintendent of Indian affairs, strictly prohibited their further traffic. The majority of them appeared satisfied [i. e. with the Governor's directions and instructions] and, after making a few exchanges of property in the settlements, returned to their own country. Unfortunately, however, a few of them determined to carry on their nefarious traffic; they have been arrested and are now on trial in this [i. e. Salt Lake] city."

"It is unnecessary perhaps for me," continues the governor, "to indicate the true policy for Utah in regard to slavery. Restrictions of law and government make all servants; but human flesh to be dealt in as property, is not consistent or compatible with the true principles of government. *My own feelings are*

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53. In one license filled out and signed by the Governor and superintendent of Indian affairs for New Mexico, the place for the name of the holder was left blank; so that it could be used by any person to whom it might be given, by "any honest man or scoundrel," as the *News* editorial phrased it, "who may please to put his name to it."

*that no property can or should be recognized as existing in slaves, either Indian or African.*'<sup>53</sup>

In his message to the legislature which convened in December, 1853, following the outbreak of that year, Governor Young again alludes to this slave traffic in Indian children, and assigns the pernicious influence of the slave traders upon the minds of the Indians as the cause of the Indian troubles. Repeating his account of stopping the Leon parties in their traffic in Indian children the governor charges that the slave traders had poisoned the minds of the Indians against the white settlers of Utah, by representing that they had not accorded the Indians a sufficient compensation for their lands; that the settlers stock should be as free to them as the game upon the mountains; that the settlers would not allow them to trade off their children as was their custom previous to the whites settling among them. In proof that these representations had an effect upon the minds of the Indians the message proceeds to point out the fact that in making their annual visit to the Indian agent that year, some of the Indians "manifested a turbulent spirit; and although aiming to conceal it, plainly showed that they had been tampered with, and that their feelings were very different than upon former visits." Subsequent events proved these to be the facts in the case, the

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53. The message in *extenso* is published in the *Deseret News* of Jan. 10th, 1852. The rest of the passage in this subject is somewhat involved, but the governor alludes to the custom of the Indians in "gambling away, selling, and otherwise deposing of their children;" as also "sacrificing prisoners"—that is, at the death of members of the prisoner-holding tribe; and recommends the deliverance of such children and prisoners from these conditions, and of rearing them among the settlers. "If in return for favors and expense which may have been incurred on their account, service should be considered due, it would become necessary that some law should provide the suitable regulation under which all such indebtedness should be defrayed." *Id.* This doubtless led to the enactment of the law that session under the title, "*An Act for the Relief of Indian Slaves and Prisoners.*" It required that any white person in the territory having in his possession any Indian prisoner, child or woman, should go before designated country authorities to have it ascertained if such person was suitable to rear and educate such Indian child, and if so said authorities were to bind out by indenture said child for a term not to exceed twenty years. Selectmen in their respective counties were authorized to obtain such Indian prisoners, children or women, and bind them to some useful vocation. The person to whom the Indian child or prisoner was apprenticed was required by the law to send his apprentice to school for the term of three months each year, when between the age of seven and sixteen years. It was also provided that the master should cloth his apprentice in a comfortable and becoming manner, according to the said master's condition in life. (Laws of Utah, 1852, p. 94).

governor holds, "for the Indians had no sooner left the stronger settlements than they began hostilities."<sup>54</sup>

Editorial comment of the *Deseret News* on the occasion of the breaking out of hostilities in July also calls attention to the unfriendly spirit of chief Walker for a year past, saying:

"It is well known to the residents of this territory that the Indian chief Walker has been surly in his feelings and expressions at divers times and places within our borders for more than one year passed, and that he has repeatedly endeavored to raise an excitement and open war out of small pretexts that in former times he would have smiled at."

The suppression then of the slave trade among the Indian tribes of Utah, and the evil counsels and influence of the slave traders among them, as a consequence of that suppression, may be set down as the cause of the Indian disturbances above recounted, and not the unfortunate Springville incident.

The saddest incident connected with the Indian troubles of 1853, was the massacre of Captain John W. Gunnison and a number of his men on the Sevier river in Millard county some distance northeast of Sevier lake. This massacre, however, was in no way connected with the general hostile movement of the savages in Utah that year, nor in any way related to the cause producing that war. It stands an incident wholly by itself, the result of a California emigrant company's folly, and the Indian traditional law of vengeance. Captain Gunnison, it will be remembered, served with Captain Stansbury's company of topographical engineers in the survey of Salt Lake and Utah Lake, in 1849-50. He was also the author of "*The Mormons*," a very just and creditable work from the view point of one knowing the story of the Latter-day Saints, as also their personal and community virtues, but not convinced of the truth either of the origins of their faith or of the correctness of the philosophy or the religion of the new dispensation.

Gunnison was now in command of a government party of

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54. The Message is found at length in *Deseret News* of Dec. 15, 1853. Of course it would be more accurate to say that the Indians availed themselves of the first pretext for hostilities that presented itself, which was the Springville incident as stated in the text.



topographical engineers, making a survey of one of the proposed routes for a transcontinental railroad to the Pacific, this particular route being known as the "Central Pacific Railroad Route." During the summer the surveys had been completed through the Grand and Green river valleys, and in the latter part of October the party with its small military escort arrived in the Pauvan valley, and made camp about six miles from Fillmore. Gunnison went into Fillmore to purchase supplies for his command where he met Bishop Anson Call with whom he had formed pleasant relations on his former sojourn in Salt Lake City; where now it was Gunnison's intention to go into winter quarters, as soon as he could make the journey.

While visiting with Bishop Call that gentleman told the captain, by way of warning, the emigrant Indian episode referred to above, which in brief is as follows: A few weeks before Gunnison's arrival a company of emigrants passing through Fillmore bound for California, under the leadership of a Mr. Hildreth,<sup>55</sup> hearing of the Indian outrages perpetrated in the Territory, and their own camp having been fired upon the night before, swore they would kill the first Indian who came to their camp. Bishop Call remonstrated with them for making such declarations, and informed them that some of the Indians were friendly disposed towards the whites. He referred to a small band of Indians then encamped at Meadow Creek, a few miles south of Fillmore, as being of this class; it was their custom to visit emigrant camps to trade and beg, but the emigrants need have no fear of them, and asked that the Indians be not molested. The day following this conversation the emigrant company camped on Meadow Creek in the vicinity of the Indians, and no sooner was camp formed than Moshoquop, the Pauvant war chief, with his father, and Mareer, and several others of the band rode into the emigrant camp and wanted to trade buckskins for tobacco, etc. Whether it was fear of the Indians that prompted their action or a determination to carry out their silly threat made at Fillmore, may not now be determined, but the emigrants surrounded the Indians and undertook to disarm them. Naturally the Indians resented this effort and one of

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55. Anson Call gives the name Hilliard, *Journal*, Oct., 1853, p. 46.



them in the melee thrust an arrow shaft into the breast of an emigrant, whereupon the emigrants opened fire with their revolvers and several of the reds were wounded, one of whom, the father of Moshoquop, the war chief, died the next day.

The band of Indians a few days later, making threats of revenge, moved northwesterly—it was afterwards learned—to a distance of about twelve miles north of Sevier lake, and several miles west of the Sevier river.

On hearing this recital Captain Gunnison “expressed deep regret,” and remarked, “the Indians are sure to take their revenge.”<sup>56</sup> A remark which arose from the Captain’s knowledge of the Indian character and their law of vengeance. Gunnison at Fillmore, finding himself so near the Sevier lake, resolved to explore that region, and divided his command for the double purpose of exploring the lake and at the same time examining the canon of the Sevier river. Gunnison took charge of the lake exploring party, consisting of himself, Mr. R. H. Kearns, topographer of the party; Mr. J. Creutzfeldt, botanist; William Potter, (whom Beckwith describes as “an experienced, cautious, and resolute citizen of Manti,” Utah), as guide; John Bellows, an employe; a corporal and six army privates—twelve in all. The main body of the command was left with Captain Morris and Lieutenant Beckwith of the engineers to follow up the Sevier and examine the canon through which it passed into the Pauvant valley.

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56. The narrative so far is condensed from the journal of Bishop Anson Call, the portion of his journal covering the period of Gunnison’s visit and the subsequent burial of his remains at Fillmore being attested by affidavit by Call. See Bancroft’s Hist. of Utah, p. 471, note. The Gunnison narrative in Call’s Journal, now in possession of this writer, is found at pp. 45-49. The Indians, after the incident at Hildreth’s emigrant camp, met in council with Bishop Call and other brethren, and reported the emigrant attack upon them and their intention to avenge the death of Moshoquop’s father, from which purpose Call tried in vain to dissuade them, for a party of the Indians followed that company of emigrants and annoyed them for some time, but apparently without doing more mischief than killing some of the sheep the company were driving with them. (Journal, p. 46). The account given in the text respecting this California company is sustained by S. N. Carvalho in his “Incidents of Travel and Adventure in the Far West.” He states that Captain Hildreth was absent from the camp when the attack upon the Pauvan Indians was made; that had he been in camp the fatal event would not have occurred, and he lamented the occurrence. (See Whitney’s Hist. of Utah, Vol. I, pp. 523-4. See also letter of Carvalho in New York *Tribune*, impression of June 2nd, 1855). In addition to relating the incident of the emigrants’ attack upon the Indians, Carvalho in the above letter details a conversation he had when in Salt Lake with Captain Morris and Lieutenant Beckwith, both of whom exonerated the “Mormons” from any complicity with the “Gunnison Massacre.” “I think I am correct in saying,” he writes, “that they did not entertain a suspicion of such a thing.”

It was expected that Gunnison's task would occupy two days. On the evening of the first day of the separation the Gunnison party encamped under a willow covered embankment on the Sevier, as a protection from the keen wind of the region in that season of the year. "The usual vigilance of night guards was maintained," says Lieutenant Beckwith—who succeeded Gunnison in charge of the surveying expedition—"each of the party in turn performing that duty." At the break of day the whole camp was aroused, and while engaged at breakfast preliminary to a projected early start, a number of rifle shots and a flight of arrows startled the camp. Beckwith's account states that but one man was killed in this opening assault; and as captain Gunnison rushed from his tent he raised his hands and called to his assailants that he was their friend. "But this call was of no avail, the deadly fire was continued."<sup>56</sup> The result was that the captain and seven of the party were killed outright; all except the corporal and three privates who had made their way to the horses in the melee, mounted and escaped. The corporal was the first to reach the main camp and deliver the awful intelligence of the massacre. A company under Captain Morris immediately proceeded to the scene of the tragedy where they arrived late in the afternoon and found the bodies of their comrades dismembered and horribly mutilated, even beyond savage custom. All night they stood near the scene of the massacre holding their horses by the bridles hoping that if any of Gunnison's party had escaped and were still in the vicinity, they would make their way to their fires. They left the next morning without interring the remains, a christian and kindly office afterwards performed by Bishop Anson Call, about ten days later; all were buried on the site of the tragedy except Captain Gunnison and Mr. Potter, the guide, whose remains, so far as they could be identified, were carried, the former to Fillmore, the latter to his home at Manti.<sup>58</sup>

Commenting on this sad event the *News* editorially, in the same

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56. I am following Beckwith's account which will be found in the *Deseret News* of November 12, 1853. It was written at the request of the *News*, the editor having placed his columns at the disposal of the Lieutenant for a full account of the sad event, which courtesy is acknowledged in the lieutenant's communication.

58. *Deseret News* of Nov. 12, 1853.

impression containing Lieutenant Beckwith's account of the tragedy, says:

"We feel to commiserate deeply with the friends of those who have been so suddenly and unexpectedly cut off, but more especially with the wife and children of Captain Gunnison, who was endeared to us by a former and fondly cherished acquaintanceship, in 1849-'50, while he was engaged with Captain Howard Stansbury in the survey of the Great Salt and Utah lakes. And we take this occasion to bear tribute to the memory of Captain Gunnison, as a gentleman of high and fine-toned feeling, as particularly urbane in his deportment to all, and as an officer having few equals in the service, in the strict, accurate, energetic, speedy, intelligent, persevering performance of duty under any and all circumstances."

And in an editorial *postscript*, following its belated account of the burial of the bodies, this is added:

"It may be well to remark in addition, that the massacre on the Sevier was entirely unconnected with the late Indian difficulties, but was the direct result of the foolish, and reckless conduct of a party of emigrants from the states, on their way to California by the south route, who killed a Pauvan Indian on Corn creek, and wounded two others, not long since; hence followed the Indian rule of revenge on the next American party found on their grounds. A more perfect history of the whole affair will be given hereafter."<sup>59</sup>

Naturally the Indians were reticent upon the subject of this massacre, and it was not until after many years had elapsed that anything like a complete account of the part taken by individual Indians in the affair could be ascertained.<sup>60</sup>

In later years it became known that Moshoquop, planned and led the attack, to avenge the death of his father, and he was followed by about twenty Indians who had left Meadow creek threatening vengeance after the unfortunate incident with the emigrants bound for California.

In March, 1855, the Indians who were supposed to have mur-

59. *Deseret News*, Nov. 12, 1854.

60. This is even conceded by the author of the Anti-Mormon book, "Lights and Shadows of Mormonism," p. 177.



dered Captain Gunnison were brought to trial before Judge Kinney's court, in the second judicial district at Nephi. "The jury brought in a verdict of manslaughter against three of the Indians, who were sentenced to three years' imprisonment in the penitentiary."<sup>61</sup>

A large band of Indians interested in the progress of the trial were encamped in the vicinity of Nephi, and to give the court security against any uprising of the savages, Col. Steptoe, whose command of about two hundred men *en route* for California had wintered in Salt Lake City, detailed a company of United States soldiers for that purpose.<sup>62</sup>

I have given this incident at greater length perhaps than its importance really warrants. My reason for going so far into detail is, that the plain history of the event might be a refutation of the charge that the "Mormons" were guilty of the crime. This charge was first made by Judge Drummond in a letter accompanying his resignation as United States judge in the Territory of Utah,<sup>63</sup> and has been reiterated by many anti-Mormon writers. "In this instance," says Bancroft, "not only is there no valid proof against them, but there are many circumstances pointing in the opposite direction, one of them being that among the slain was a Mormon guide [Potter]. The Gunnison massacre was brought on by Gentiles. It was the direct result of killing of the Pah

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61. History of Brigham Young, Ms. entry for March, 1855, p. 24. Notwithstanding these plain facts of history, an anti-Mormon writer, whose book "Lights and Shadows of Mormonism," was published in 1909, in his chapter devoted to the "Gunnison Massacre," says that "the only participant who was even arrested, was Indian Sam. During a brief season he was imprisoned in the Territorial penitentiary, where he ate his ration with unusual regularity. And when questioned as to the identity of the reds who killed Gunnison and his party, Sam was equally regular in his 'me no savy.' . . . Sam was released in the spring of 1854." (pp. 176-7). Mr. Gibbs, the author, makes no mention of the arrest, trial and conviction before a United States judge, and of the sentence passed upon the three Indians as detailed in the text. And even Linn, in his "Story of the Mormons," will go no further in the exculpation of the Mormons from complicity in the Gunnison tragedy, than to say "The charge . . . has not been supported by direct evidence," (p. 473, note). To which I add—no, nor by indirect evidence either, it was a base slander from the first.

62. To the shame of the times and of human nature, yet as part of the record of events and of the contact of the two races, the following is written: "I understand, from the Indians," says President Young's chronicle of this trial, "that some of the officers, civil and military, did some trading with the squaws. . . . Report says it was an effort at improving their morals, or introducing civilization!" Hist. Brigham Young, Ms. March entry, 1855, p. 24.

63. See House Executive Doc. 35, Congress 1st session, x. no. 71, p. 212.



Ute by California emigrants. As no compensation had been made to the tribe, they avenged themselves, as was their custom on the first Americans—for thus they termed all white men other than Mormons—whom they found in their territory.’<sup>64</sup>

A better witness than Bancroft however, is Lieutenant Beckwith, who succeeded to the command of Gunnison’s surveying party, and completed the work assigned to that officer. In his report to the government, he writes:

“The statement which has from time to time appeared or been copied in various newspapers of the country, since the occurrence of these sad events, charging the Mormons or Mormon authorities with instigating the Indians to, if not actually aiding them in, the murder of Captain Gunnison and his associates is, I believe, not only entirely false, but there is no accidental circumstance connected with it affording the slightest foundation for such a charge.”<sup>65</sup>

Returning now to the main events of this “1853 Indian war, it remains for me to say that the policy of Brigham Young in that and all other subsequent events involving dealing with the Indians is of very great interest. Upon the outbreak of hostilities there was prompt action on the part of the Utah county militia for the protection of the settlement. The day following the flight of the Indians from the vicinity of Payson to the mountains, a hundred and fifty men were equipped, and mounted at Provo, who started under command of Col. Peter W. Conover for the southern settlements to warn them and assist in their defense, and likewise to make aggressive war upon the Indians. Other forces were mustered into service under the direction of George A. Smith,<sup>66</sup> and sent to the aid of the settlers. On the 21st of July Governor Young issued a general order through Lieutenant General Wells, of the Nauvoo Legion, directing that the policy heretofore urged, of constructing forts in the settle-

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64. Hist. of Utah, p. 470. Bancroft also quotes D. H. Wells as saying that Captain Gunnison’s brother at first believed the report that the Mormons were implicated, and met (Bishop Anson) Call by appointment at Salt Lake City. The latter produced his diary, from which he read extracts, and after a full investigation declared himself satisfied that the Mormons had nothing to do with the massacre. Well’s narr. ms. 15-19, Hist. Utah, p. 471.

65. Beckwith’s Reports, II.

66. Hist. of Brigham Young Ms. entry for July, 1853, p. 91.

ments and occupying them, be adopted and rigidly enforced; that commandants of the various military districts cause all the forces in their respective commands to repair immediately to their posts in their various settlements, and put the same in a state of efficient defense. Those in small, outlying settlements, in exposed districts, were to be brought into the large settlements and given protection, and provision made for corraling and guarding the stock; Col. Conover, and Majors Markham, and Boyce, who had begun a rather vigorous aggressive warfare upon the Indians, were ordered to bring their present expedition against the Indians to a close, and retire to their respective districts. "We wish it to be distinctly understood," said the order, "that no retaliation be made, and no offense offered, but for all to act entirely on the defensive until further orders; but be particular in ascertaining the person, tribe or name of every Indian offending, and forward the same to this office that it may be known who they are."<sup>67</sup> The policy was to put the respective settlement in such a state of efficient defense, and have the stock so amply protected that the Indians would find attacks upon the settlements futile. "General Orders, No. 2" assigned the command of all military districts of the territory south of Salt Lake City to George A. Smith, with instructions to strictly enforce the measures of Order No. 1, and to see that all surplus stock was driven to Salt Lake City. His authority was so absolute that it amounted to placing the portion of the Territory designated under martial law. In carrying out his instructions Col. Smith was ably seconded by Lieutenant Colonel Wm. H. Kimball, who, on the 22nd of July, had been ordered south by the governor to aid the settlers in the exposed districts.

Under the vigorous administration of Col. Smith and Lieutenant Col. Kimball, the settlements of the south were soon placed in a condition of reasonable security. In some cases I think their performances were unique. The houses then existing in southern Utah were chiefly of logs, and where isolated they were taken down and brought into the settlements protected by forts. In several instances the houses of whole settlements were taken

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67. The order is published at length in *Deseret News* of July 30th, 1853.

down and hauled to the large settlements. This was the case with what was called the "Shirts' settlement," and the "Johnson settlement," both near Cedar Fort. The settlement of Harmony, south of Cedar, consisting of eight houses, was loaded up bodily and carried to Cedar Fort by a detail of twenty-six teams. By adopting this vigorous defensive policy both life and property were conserved, the settlers' crops secured, and the Indians as effectively defeated as if an aggressive, spectacular war had been urged upon them.

Governor Young took every occasion to let the Indians know that he intended to be their friend. Chief Walker he pitied. That leader of the red men was hemmed in on all sides. His aggressiveness in leadership had aroused enemies on every hand; his past raids into California had made it impossible for him to go there; and on the north, among the Shoshones, he had many enemies, and was now making war upon his best friends.<sup>68</sup> "How many times have I been asked in the past week," said President Young, in a public meeting, [July 31, 1853], "what I intended to do with Walker. I say let him alone severely. I have not made war on the Indians, nor am I calculating to do it. My policy is to give them presents, and be kind to them. Instead of being Walker's enemy, I have sent him a great pile of tobacco to smoke when he is lonely in the mountains. He is now at war with the only friends he has upon this earth, and I want him to have some tobacco to smoke."<sup>69</sup>

68. "Walker is hemmed in; he dare not go into California, again. Dare he go east to the Sankes? No. Dare he go north? No for they would rejoice to kill him. Here he is penned up in a small compass, surrounded by his enemies; and now the Elders of Israel long to eat up (as it were) him and his little band. What are they? They are a set of cursed fools, do you not rather pity them? They dare not move over a certain boundary on any of the four points of the compass for fear of being killed; then they are killing one another, and making war upon this people that could use them up and not be a breakfast spell for them if they felt so disposed. See their condition, and I ask you. Do you not pity them? From all appearance there will not be an Indian left, in a short time, to steal a horse. Are they not fools under these circumstances to make war with their best friends?" (From a speech by Governor Young, in the Tabernacle at Salt Lake City, July 31st, 1853. *Deseret News*, Oct. 15, 1853.)

69. *Deseret News*, Oct. 15th, 1853. The tobacco was sent with Col. Geo. A. Smith's command, with the following message:

GREAT SALT LAKE CITY, July 25, 1853.

Capt. Walker:—I send you some tobacco for you to smoke in the mountains when you get lonesome. You are a fool for fighting your best friends, for we are the best friends, and the only friends that you have in the world. Everybody else would kill you if they could get a chance. If you get hungry send some friendly



Brigham Young's policy towards the Indians has been much discussed, and from time to time made a subject of controversy. I here give his own statement of it, as found in his message to the legislature of December 11th, 1854:

"Peace with the Indians has been preserved during the year, although detached parties of the Utahs have been found unfriendly, which in one instance resulted in their killing two of our citizens. The perpetrators of this crime were brought in by other Indians and delivered up to the United States authorities, before whom they had a fair trial, were found guilty of murder, and executed according to law, the Indians themselves giving testimony against them.<sup>70</sup>

"It has required the greatest forbearance and patience, as well as large amounts of presents on the part of our citizens, to maintain amicable relations with them. In some few instances they have presumed upon the forbearance shown them, and conducted themselves very improperly and abusively to the people. The pacific policy which has, from the beginning, been exercised toward them, has no doubt avoided many collisions which might have resulted in open war.

"Although large quantities of beef, flour, clothing, guns, ammunition, etc., have been given them to conciliate and make them friendly, yet the savage propensities of their natures, their improvident and vile gambling habits of life are such that no present supply, no matter how generous, remains long with them; and their indolence precludes any idea of their replenishing from their own resources. . . . Much has been done by the inhabitants, since their residence among the Indians of the mountains, to ameliorate their condition. They were found to exist in the lowest state of degradation—poor, ignorant, indolent, and savage. In their anger, nothing restrained them, but fear,

Indians down to the settlements and we will give you some beef-cattle and flour. If you are afraid of the tobacco which I send you, you can let some of your prisoners try it first, and then you will know that it is good. When you get good-natured again, I would like to see you. Don't you think you should be ashamed? You know that I have always been your best friend.

BRIGHAM YOUNG."

70. This was a peculiarly atrocious murder committed by Indians in Utah county 35 miles southwest of Salt Lake City. William and Warren Weeks, sons of Bishop Allen Weeks, being the victims. It was evident that the deed was committed by a few reckless savages without the consent or knowledge of the tribe, as nearly all the Indians were then friendly. Brigham Young wrote the father of the murdered young men and sympathized with him in his loss, and "counselling the brethren to be friendly with the Indians, to seek out the guilty ones, and deliver them up to justice, but not to have feelings against those who were not guilty" (See Hist. of Brigham Young *Ms.*, August, 1854, pp. 73-74). The result of this course is stated in the text above.



from the greatest excess of crime. They would sell and gamble away their own children, and steal from and rob other Indians of theirs, either to sell, gamble away, or kill, as their humor seemed to suit them. A horse or gun was deemed an equivalent for killing a man: and every shade of difficulty became a matter of barter for pecuniary consideration. The settlers have invariably given them provisions and clothing, furnished them with guns and ammunition to kill game, and in various ways administered to their relief. In many places grain has been raised for them, and houses built for their chiefs and principle men.

“This policy has had a tendency to correct their vile habits and propensities, and some times induces them to labor for their own support. . . .

*I have uniformly pursued a friendly course of policy towards them, feeling convinced that independent of the question of exercising humanity towards so degraded and ignorant a race of people, it was manifestly more economical and less expensive, to feed and clothe, than to fight them. . . . In many of the southern settlements, already, the Indians have become useful in labor and business, and quite a number of Indian children are found living in families, who have taken them to bring up and educate. So far as my knowledge extends in relation to the subject, such children have had the benefit of common schools; this blessing is secured to them by the operation of law.”<sup>71</sup>*

This policy received hearty endorsement in many quarters. Dr. Bernhisel, Utah's delegate to congress, in a public address, in Salt Lake City June 17, 1854, reported that United States Senator Chase of Ohio said of Brigham Young—“*that no Governor had ever done so well by the Indians since William Penn, as Governor Young.*”<sup>72</sup>

71. The message is published at length in *Deseret Notes* of Dec. 14, 1854.

72. Hist. Brigham Young, Ms. entry for June 17, 1855, p. 67. In marked contrast to this humane and enlightened policy of Governor Young's towards the Indians, may be placed the harsher policy of others, which finds something of illustration in the following incident, recorded in Governor Young's manuscript History:

“Aug. 19th. At Sarpy's point, eight miles east of Laramie, while a company of saints was passing a camp of Indians, about one thousand strong, a lame cow belonging to the company, became frightened and ran into the Indian camp where she was left. Some of them killed and ate her, which circumstance was reported at Fort Laramie. Lieutenant Gratton, with twenty-seven soldiers and an interpreter, repaired to Sarpy's point to arrest the Indian who killed the cow, but he refused to give himself up. The Lieutenant then ordered his men to fire upon the Indians which they did. The Indians then charged and routed the soldiers, who were all killed but one, who was dangerously wounded. The Indians, highly excited, demanded of James Bordeaux, living there, what stores he had, which, to save life, he surrendered to the amount of two thousand dollars. They then went to the post of the American Fur Company and pillaged it for nearly fifty thousand dollars worth of goods.” *And all this for the killing of an old cow!*

NOTE 1: GOVERNOR YOUNG'S LETTER TO SENATOR STEPHEN A. DOUGLAS ON REMOVING THE EASTERN LINE OF UTAH FROM THE SUMMIT ROCKY MOUNTAINS: In the midst of the agitation which arose over the organization of Nebraska and Kansas Territories, in 1854, when it was proposed to remove the east line of Utah from the summit of the Rocky Mountains to the eastern rim of the Great Basin, Governor Young wrote a very interesting letter to his friend, Senator Stephen A. Douglas, of which he gives the following account in his *Ms.*, History:

"April 29th (1854): I wrote to honorable Stephen A. Douglas that it was rumored that James Bridger from Blacks fork of Gree river, had become the oracle to congress in all matters pertaining to Utah. That he had informed Congress (as well as the *Missouri Democrat*) that Utah had dared to assess and collect taxes—that the Mormons must have killed Capt. Gunnison because the Pahvantes had no guns—that the Mormons are an outrageous set, with no redeeming qualities.

"I expressed my astonishment that Bridger should be sought after for *information on any point* when a gentlemen like Delegate Bernhisel was accessible, and forwarded the depositions of two strangers who had voluntarily given the same relative to the uncivilized conversation and conduct of Mr. Bridger.

"As to the organization of the two territories, Kansas and Nebraska, and the removal of the Eastern boundary line of Utah from the summit of the Rocky mountains to the eastern rim of what is called the Great Basin it looked to me like two faces under one hood, or like a card faced on both sides; one side for all Mormon hating, legal voters, with this sentiment in relief, 'Can you not see that the Mormons are no pets of ours; we have curtailed them of nearly half their territory, without the least shadow of reason for so doing, and manifestly to the disadvantage of all settlers between the present and former eastern boundary.' On the other side. 'Oh you dearly beloved Mormons, please observe that you have still quite a scope of mountain, desert and arid plain, and how thankful you should be that you have any portion left you, when the wire workers are so powerful against you.'

"The following paragraphs concluded my letter:

"'No doubt many fancy that they have now succeeded in nearly swallowing us up, please say to all such that I am sanguine that the Mormons are still here in their central position and are laboring diligently and earnestly as heretofore, for the peace, union, prosperity and welfare of ourselves, for our common country, and in fine of all mankind, at an altitude of over four thousand feet above the strata of tumult, turmoil and strife that

are occupying the time and energies of the great majority of the human family. In all frankness, Friend Douglas, I shall feel exceedingly obliged by the organization of the two proposed territories, and with their proposed boundaries, for in Nebraska our population is even now the majority and we had contemplated making several settlements therein in a short time, and thus you see that we stand every chance of having two territories in lieu of one.'

"I also called for an expression of Judge Douglas' views on the Pacific railroad question, and informed him that whatever route it should be constructed upon it would be the very best one for the interest of Utah and precisely where we would rather have it."

No territory was at that time taken from Utah, but subsequently, 1861, a triangular piece on the western slope of the Rocky Mountains was granted to Nebraska, but which finally was included in the territory of Wyoming. (*American Encyclopedia*, Vol. XII, p. 198). *History of Brigham Young Ms.*, 1854, pp. 33-36).

NOTE 2. OPENING CEREMONIES OF LAYING THE FOUNDATION STONES OF THE SALT LAKE TEMPLE, APL. 6TH, 1853: Wednesday, April 6, 1853, could not have dawned a more lovely day, or have been more satisfactory to Saints or Angels. The distant valleys sent forth their inhabitants, this valley swarmed forth its thousands, and a more glorious sight has not been seen for generations than at Great Salt Lake City this day.

The Deseret National flag was unfurled to the breeze. The Nauvoo Brass Band, Captain Balloo's Band, and the Military Band, enlivened the air with their sweetest strains. The Silver Greys made a venerable appearance, and the minute men, true to their duty, were at their posts at an early hour. The police, under the efficient management of Captain Hardy, were at their posts at the time appointed; and the countenances of the Saints were as glad and cheerful as though each had been favored with the visitation of an angel. So opened the general conference of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints in Great Salt Lake City, which was called to order in the tabernacle, by President Young, at ten A. M.

Present:—Of the First Presidency. Brigham Young, Heber C. Kimball, and Willard Richards.

Presiding Patriarch: John Smith.

Of the Quorum of the Twelve: O. Hyde, Parley P. Pratt, John Taylor, W. Woodruff, E. T. Benson, G. A. Smith, A. Lyman, C. C. Rich, L. Snow, E. Snow, and Franklin D. Richards.



Of the presidents of the Seventies: Joseph Young, L. Hancock, Z. Pulsipher, H. Herriman, B. L. Clapp, A. P. Rockwood, and J. M. Grant.

Presidency of the High Priests' Quorum: John Young, R. Cahoon, and G. B. Wallace.

President of the Stake: David Fullmer.

High Council of Zion, Presidency of the Elders' Quorum.

Presiding Bishop: Edward Hunter.

Clerk of Conference: Thomas Bullock.

Reporter: G. D. Watt.

President Young made a few introductory remarks to the Saints; said that in a few years, "we may have a place sufficiently large to accommodate the Saints, although, twenty-three years ago, the Church was organized with only six members."

Choir sung "On mountain tops in latter-days," etc.

Prayer by John Taylor. Choir sung, "Come all ye sons of Zion," etc.

The "order of the day" was next read by the Clerk.

President Young rejoiced on opening the Conference under such favorable auspices.

The procession then formed at the vestry door in the following order—

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|---|---------|
| 1st. Martial music.   | Colors. |
| 2nd. Nauvoo Brass Band.   | "       |
| 3rd. Ballo's Band.  | "       |
| 4th. Captain Pettegrew with relief guards.  | "       |
| 5th. Singers.   |         |
| 6th. First President and Counsellors, and aged Patriarch.   |         |
| 7th. The Twelve Apostles, first Presidency of the Seventies, and President and Counsellors of the Elders Quorum.                  |         |
| 8th. President of the High Priests' Quorum, and Counsellors, in connection with the President of the Stake, and the High Council. |         |
| 9th. Presiding Bishop, with his Council, and the Presidents of the lesser Priesthood, and their Council.                          |         |
| 10th. Architects and workmen selected for the day, with banner, representing "Zion's Workmen."                                    |         |
| 11th. Captain Merrill, with relief guard, in uniform.   |         |

The procession then marched through the line of guards to the southeast corner of the Temple ground, the singers taking their position in the centre, the Nauvoo brass band on the west bank, and the martial band on the mound southwest. Captains Pettegrew, Hardy, and Merrill, with their commands, occupying the front of the bank (which was sixteen feet deep), and moving from corner to corner with the laying of the several stones, pre-



vented an undue rush of the people, which might, by an excavation, have endangered the lives of many, when President Young, Kimball, and Richards, with Patriarch John Smith, proceeded to lay the southeast corner stone, and ascended the top thereof, when the choir sung the following song—

Deep in this holy ground  
These corner stones are laid;  
Rejoicing thousands round,  
O God, implore thine aid,  
That Zion now may prospered be,  
And rear a Temple unto Thee.

How long before thy throne  
Shall holy martyrs bleed?  
How long shall spirits groan,  
And angels mercy plead?  
Full long we've toiled, full long have bled,  
To bring redemption to our dead.

Here let thy name be known,  
Thy blessings manifest,  
That men thy truth may own,  
And in thy courts be blessed,  
All nations feel thy power divine,  
And come and worship at thy shrine.

This was followed by an "Oration" by President Brigham Young, near the close of which he said: "We dedicate the southeast corner stone of this Temple, to the Most High God. May it remain in peace till it has done its work, and until He who has inspired our hearts to fulfill the prophecies of His holy Prophets, that the House of the Lord should be reared in the 'Tops of the Mountains,' shall be satisfied, and say, it is enough." (*Deseret News*, April 16th, 1853).

Similar services were held at each of the other corner stones of the sacred structure.

NOTE 3: EARLY U. S. MAIL SERVICE IN UTAH: In the winter of 1849 the federal government "established" a post office at Salt Lake City and appointed Joseph L. Heywood postmaster, and authorized a bi-monthly mail between Kanessville and Great Salt Lake City. It was a permissive act rather than a mandatory opening of a mail route, however, since the arrangement was made for Almon W. Babbit to carry the mail at his own ex-

pense, he ran it in connection with his "carrying and transportation company" between Kanessville and the West. The entry in Brigham Young's History on this point is as follows:

"This winter the federal government established a Post Office at Great Salt Lake City and appointed Joseph L. Heywood postmaster and also instituted a bi-monthly mail between Kanessville and Great Salt Lake City. Almon W. Babbitt engaged to carry the mail at his own expense and charges for the net proceeds." (Hist. Brigham Young *Ms.*, Feb. entry 1849, p. 25).

The first contract with the United States Postal department for carrying the mail from Missouri river points to Salt Lake City was made in the summer of 1850, by Samuel H. Woodson of Independence, Missouri. The contract called for a monthly mail between Independence and Salt Lake City, and was to run four years. The first mail under this arrangement arrived in Salt Lake City on the 9th of November, 1850. It brought with it a certified copy of the Organic Act of the Territory of Utah. Letters were also received confirming the rumor that Brigham Young had been appointed to take the census of Deseret; also the appointment of Willard Richards as postmaster for Salt Lake City. (History of Brigham Young *Ms.*, entry for November, 1850, p. 117. *Deseret News* for Nov. 30, 1850, p. 164). This may be very properly regarded as the first official installment of the U. S. Postal service in Utah.

In 1851 Woodson sub-contracted the carrying of the mail between Fort Laramie and Salt Lake City, to Mr. Feramorz Little, of Utah. The distance was about five hundred miles, much of it through a mountainous country with no settlements and but one trading post between the fort and Salt Lake City. The Sub-contract went into effect on the 1st of August, 1851. Associated with Mr. Little in the sub-contract were Ephraim K. Hanks and Charles Decker. In connection with carrying the mail the contractors also carried passengers. The service was attended by Great hardship both for men and teams. The first mail from the east under Woodson's contract, for instance, though arriving in Salt Lake City as early as November 9th, was reported to have passed through snow from one to three feet deep for "seventeen days." (*Deseret News* Nov. 30th, 1850). In 1852 Charles Decker, bringing in the mail from Laramie had a narrow escape from death at the hands of hostile Indians, on which occasion he met with Kit Carson, "to whose intercession he ascribed his deliverance" (Bancroft's Utah, p. 501 note). On the same journey he met with the following trying experience chronicled by Brigham Young:

“Bro. Charles Decker arrived from Laramie with the eastern mail. He had to swim every river between this and Laramie. The mail coach and mules were lost at Ham’s Fork, where the mail lay under water from one to seven p. m.; the lead horses were saved by being cut loose. Bro. Decker was in the ice-water with the mail all the time, and then exhausted, had no resource but to wrap himself in robes and blankets, wet as water could make them, till morning, when he found himself in a free perspiration, fully relieved from a fever he had been laboring under most of the time since he left the city.

“Bro. Ephraim K. Hanks proceeded as far as Bear river with the eastern mail. At Weber river the raft on which he and party crossed was sucked under, forcing them to swim for their lives: the mail was carried down the stream and lay in the water upward of two hours. After a great deal of trouble and at the risk of their lives they secured it, but in a bad condition. On reaching Bear river, which was a foaming torrent, extending from mountain to mountain, they found it impossible to proceed.” (Hist. Brigham Young Ms., entry for June 1st, 1852, p. 55.)

These instances of adventure do not exhaust the list of those encountered by these contractors or those in their service, they are set down only as typical of many that occurred. It may be of interest to mention, in passing, that Mr. Samuel H. Woodson, the mail contractor at this time owned part of the tract of land at Independence which was designated as the Temple site of Zion, Independence Missouri—by the Prophet Joseph, in August, 1831 (Burton’s City of the Saints,” p. 4; c. f. Hist. of the Church, Vol. I, Ch. XVI.) Woodson was succeeded in the mail contract by F. M. Graw; and he by Mr. Hiram Kimball, who secured the contract in June, 1857, at \$23,600 a year. (*Id.* p. 4; also Bancroft’s Hist. of Utah, pp. 500, 501).

APRIL, 1913

# AMERICANA

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SIR HUMPHREY GILBERT

# AMERICANA

April, 1913

## The Cavalier in America

BY LYON GARDINER TYLER, A. M., LL.D.,

Lyon Gardiner Tyler, son of John Tyler, tenth President of the United States, and his second wife Julia Gardiner, daughter of David Gardiner and Juliana (MacLachlan) Gardiner of New York, and a descendant of Lyon Gardiner, the first lord of Gardiner's Island, Long Island, New York, was born in Charles City county, Virginia, August, 1853; graduated at the University of Virginia A. B. 1875, A. M., 1876, LL.D., Trinity College, Connecticut, 1895; president of William and Mary College from 1888; member, Virginia State Board of Education; vice-president Virginia Historical Society; member, American Historical Association, American Philosophical Society, Massachusetts Historical Society, etc.; author "The Letters and Times of the Tylers;" "Parties and Patronage of the United States;" "Cradle of the Republic;" "England in America;" "Williamsburg, the Old Colonial Capital;" editor and proprietor Quarterly Historical Magazine, and editor "Narratives of Early Virginia, 1606-1625" (1907).

### I

#### WESTWARD HO!

THE twin sponsors of American colonization were two cavaliers during the days of Queen Elizabeth—Sir Humphrey Gilbert and his half-brother, Sir Walter Raleigh. They conceived the idea, that to destroy the superiority of Spain, England must plant a colony in the New World. Accordingly the former obtained a patent of colonization in 1578, and attempted to establish a settlement in the neighborhood of Newfoundland. The attempt proved futile, and in the effort the noble Gilbert was drowned in the waves of the angry ocean. His last words will ever be kept in precious remembrance: "We are as near heaven by sea as by land." The latter—Sir Walter Raleigh—the most accomplished man of his age and a cavalier in the best sense of the word, renewed the undertaking, and in 1587 established a colony on Roanoke Island, in



Pamlico Sound. Success seemed to go with the enterprise, and Queen Elizabeth gave the name Virginia to all North America.

But a crisis in the history of England arose, and the kingdom, confronted with the Armada and the whole embattled power of Spain, had to fight for her very existence. In the mighty strife, the little group of men, women and children on Roanoke Island were forgotten, and when succor, after three years, at length arrived, the colony had disappeared.

## II

### THE FIRST ENGLISH KINGDOM IN AMERICA

In spite of ill luck, Raleigh predicted that "he would yet live to see Virginia an English nation," and, when in 1605, Spain, humbled and shorn of power, made peace with England, the way was open to a necessary and certain access to the Western World.

Then was formed a company—the Virginia Company of London—which combined the commercial designs of a joint stock corporation with a national and patriotic purpose of adding a fifth kingdom to England. The spirit of Gilbert and Raleigh was fostered in the great leaders of the company—Sir Thomas Smith, Sir Edwin Sandys, Nicholas Ferrar and Henry Wriothesley, Earl of Southampton. The new settlement was planted on Jamestown Island in James River, in the present State of Virginia, and held its own against every hardship, whether of climatic disease or Indian attack. When the civil war between the King and Parliament broke out in England, it became the favored place of refuge for hundreds of cavaliers who had taken part with King Charles.

## III

### JAMESTOWN THE FIRST INVENTION

In estimating the influence of this colony on America and American institutions, the following statement is all that can be given in the brief space here allowed. As the first permanent colony of Great Britain, Jamestown may claim as its product,

not only the present Virginia and Southland, but all the other English colonies in America, and, indeed, all the colonies of the present wide-spreading British Empire. She is the eldest child of England and the mother of the United States. Her successful settlement furnished the inspiration of English colonization everywhere, and she is, therefore, entitled to the credit of all; for it was Lord Bacon who said that, "As in the arts and sciences the first invention is of more consequence than all the improvements afterwards, so in kingdoms or plantations the first foundation or plantation is of more noble dignity than all that followeth."

#### IV

##### JAMESTOWN MOTHER OF NEW ENGLAND

It is interesting to know that Jamestown or Virginia has particular claims besides to being considered the mother of New England. In 1613 when the French had already occupied Maine, and their explorers were coasting along the shores of Massachusetts and Connecticut, it was a Virginia Governor, Sir Thomas Gates, who sent an expedition from Jamestown, dislodged the French from their strongholds, and thus kept the country open till the Pilgrim Fathers came along. At this time these worthy people were enjoying the comforts of Holland and never dreaming of a settlement in America. And when, at last, in 1620, they decided to abandon their home in Holland, the only reason, according to Bradford, the Plymouth historian, that they did not go to Dutch Guiana, was because the Virginia Company of London was able to point them to their colony at Jamestown and offer them land and protection. They finally sailed under a patent obtained for them from the company by the noble Sir Edwin Sandys, and it was only the accident of a storm that caused them to settle outside of the limits of the territory of the London company, though still in Virginia. "The Mayflower Compact," under which they united at Cape Cod, followed pretty nearly the terms of the original London company's patent.

The influence of Jamestown was again felt in 1622, after the arrival of Thomas Weston and his godless crew at Plymouth.

The provisions were "wholly spent," and it was only the opportune arrival of two ships from Jamestown that saved the Plymouth colony from starvation. These ships, Bradford says, divided their provisions with the Pilgrims, and thus enabled them to get along "till corn was ripe." Later, in 1634, Sir John Harvey declared that "Virginia had become the granary of all his Majesty's Northern Colonies."

## V

### THE CRADLE OF ENGLISH INSTITUTIONS

Virginia was the cradle of all the English institutions on the continent of America. There the first English marriage was had; there the first child of English parentage was born; there was the first trial by jury; there met the first law-making assembly; there were the first chain of law courts, the first system of recordation of land grants, deeds and wills, the first written constitution for regulating the internal affairs of an English colony (the ordinance of 1618), the first church, the first blockhouse, the first wharf, the first glass factory, the first iron works, the first silk worms reared, the first tobacco raised, the first peaches grown, the first brick house, the first State house, and the first free school established by English people (that of Benjamin Syms, 1635).

## VI

### REPRESENTATION AND TAXES

In the assertion of the principle that taxation should go hand in hand with representation, Virginia led the way in 1624, and repeatedly afterwards insisted on the indissoluble character of the connection.

## VII

### THE FIRST BLOW FOR POWER

In the French and Indian war, out of which sprang the measures that subsequently provoked American independence, it was Virginia that struck the first blow against the French. The re-

sult of that war was to destroy French rivalry and to open up the northwest territory to English authority and ultimately American authority. The greatest American name of the war was a Virginian, George Washington, who was sprung from cavalier ancestry on all sides.

## VIII

### THE ALARM BELL

Then again it was the cavalier colony of Virginia that rallied the other colonies against the stamp act by the celebrated resolutions of Patrick Henry, May 29, 1765. By these resolutions, which were denounced, at first, on the streets of Boston, as *treason*, Virginia "rang the alarm bell for the continent."

## IX.

### LEADER UNDER THE REVENUE ACT

In the years of the revenue act, which succeeded, through circumstances made the occasion for the first movements in other places, it was always Virginia that by some resolute and determined action of leadership solved the crisis that arose. There were four of these crises. The first was when Massachusetts, by her circular letter in 1768, stirred up Parliament to demand that her patriot leaders be sent to England for trial. This crisis was solved by Virginia inviting all the colonies into the measure of non-importation, which forced Parliament to abandon its position and to repeal all taxes except the duty on tea. Then in 1772, when, because of the affair of the sloop *Gaspée* in Rhode Island, the King imitated Parliament by renewing the policy of transporting Americans to England for trial, Virginia, by recommending a close union of the colonies, through the system of inter-colonial committees, averted the danger a second time, and caused the King and his councillors to desist from their purpose.

Then, in 1774, when the port of Boston was shut up by an act of Parliament, because of the action of a disguised and unauthorized mob in throwing the tea into Boston harbor, Virginia was the first colony to declare her sympathy with Boston, and



the first, as a unit, to call for a Congress, and to that Congress she furnished the first president, Peyton Randolph, and the greatest orators, Patrick Henry and Richard Henry Lee. Finally, when a new crisis was created by the battle of Lexington in Massachusetts, the forward step was once more taken by the cavaliers of the South. While Boston was professing, through her town meeting, her willingness "to wait, most patiently to wait," it was North Carolina, settled by Virginians, that instructed her delegates to concur with the delegates from the other colonies in declaring independence, and it was Virginia that commanded her delegates to propose independence. All the world knows that Thomas Jefferson, whose ancestors on both sides were cavaliers, drew up the "Declaration of American Independence," which has been styled by a well-known New England writer as the "most commanding and the most pathetic utterance in any age of national grievances and of national purposes."

## X

### A CAVALIER THE FATHER OF HIS COUNTRY

During the war that ensued, Virginia contributed what all will allow was the soul of the war—the immortal cavalier, George Washington, whose immense moral personality accomplished more in bringing success than all the money employed, and all the armies placed in the field, and the war had its ending at Yorktown, only a few miles from the original settlement at Jamestown.

## XI

### CIVIL AND RELIGIOUS LIBERTY

The cavalier State of Virginia was the first State in the world to proclaim absolute equality and freedom of religion to the peoples of all faiths—Christians, Jews, Mohammedans, etc. Her Declaration of Rights, by George Mason, and her statute for Religious Freedom, by Thomas Jefferson, stand unique in history. As the headquarters, after the American Revolution, of the great Democratic Republican party, Virginia became the champion of the popular idea against the aristocratic notions of the Federalists, who had their headquarters in New England. Thus

Virginia sowed the seed of civil and religious liberty throughout the United States.

## XII

### FIRST TO FORBID THE SLAVE TRADE

Virginia was the first State in the world to impose penalties for engaging in the slave trade. Her cavalier representatives in the Federal Convention of 1787 bitterly opposed the provision in the Constitution supported by the Puritan delegates from New England, permitting the slave trade for twenty years.

## XIII

### THE CAVALIERS MAKE THE UNION A CONTINENTAL POWER

In the work of making a constitution for the new government and of organizing it, Virginia, as John Fiske says, furnished "four out of the five constructive statesmen engaged"—Washington, Jefferson, Madison and Marshall, every one of them of cavalier stock. The fifth was Alexander Hamilton, a native of the West Indies and a New Yorker by adoption. In the matter of extending our territories it was the cavalier, George Rogers Clark, that conquered the North West Territory, now represented by five great States. And Louisiana, Florida, Texas, California, New Mexico and all the West were added to the Union by Virginian and Southern Presidents, thus trebling the area of the Republic and making it a continental power.

## XIV

### THE RIGHTFUL NAME OF THE REPUBLIC

"United States of America" are merely words of description. They are not a name. The rightful name of the Republic is the historic name (first given by the greatest of English queens and accepted by the Pilgrim Fathers in the "May Flower" compact) VIRGINIA.

## XV

### THE SUMMING UP

In conclusion, the work of the Cavalier may be summed up thus: There can be no doubt that, while in financiering, in industrial

results, and in the promotion of schools and education, he has been, largely owing to circumstances, out-distanced by his Puritan fellow-laborer, his work in the four great fields of colonization, statesmanship, jurisprudence and war, has been supreme. In the extension of territorial power, there never have been any superiors in breadth of view, to Sir Humphrey Gilbert and Sir Walter Raleigh, and their successors, who ruled in the London company or in the colony, and, two centuries later, figured as Presidents of this great Republic (Washington, Jefferson, Madison, Monroe, Harrison, Tyler and Taylor). In the exercise of the art of nation building, who can be named as superiors to Thomas Jefferson, James Madison and James Monroe? In the domain of law, where are there superiors to John Marshall. Bushrod Washington, Philip P. Barbour, St. George Tucker and Spencer Roane? And in war, what names breathe more of majesty and military talent than those of Washington, who led the armies of America to independence, and of Scott and Taylor, who carried the flag of the Union to the halls of the Montezumas, and of Robert E. Lee and George H. Thomas, Virginians both, who in our Civil War represented, on opposing sides, the best virtues of the Cavalier—the former, to such an extent that, by the common consent of the world, he has been placed among the purest men and greatest military characters of all history.

And now again, in the year of our Lord 1913, a native of Virginia has been vested with the control of the presidential office of the United States. Under Woodrow Wilson may the Cavalier spirit,<sup>1</sup> which solved the problems leading to, and growing out of the American Revolution, successfully guide to the solution of the hardly less important problems of the present day!

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1. The term "cavalier," is a generic one, and included all who supported the just prerogatives of the Crown under Queen Elizabeth and the Stuarts. Woodrow Wilson is a Presbyterian, but the Presbyterians in England were always for a limited monarchy; and, though they took up arms against King Charles I., in defence of the liberty of the subject, the great body of the Episcopalians in England had also in Parliament opposed his attacks. After the execution of Charles I., these two religious elements united in opposition to the Independents or Congregationalists, who were the real, distinctive Puritans. By their union, Charles II. was restored to the throne; and in subsequent years the most loyal supporters of the Stuarts were the Scotch Presbyterians.

# Arbor Day and Its Founder

WHO MORTON, NORTHRUP AND PEASLEE WERE AND WHAT THEY  
DID TO INAUGURATE, PROPAGATE AND POPULARIZE THE DAY

BY JOHN HOWARD BROWN

**F**IFTEEN of the States of the United States recognize Arbor Day as a state holiday. In Arizona, Florida, Maryland, New Mexico, Wisconsin and Wyoming the day is set by the Governor; in Texas February 22d; in Nebraska April 22d; in Utah April 15; in Rhode Island second Friday in May; in Montana second Tuesday in May; in Georgia first Friday in December; in Colorado and Maine (school holidays only), third Friday in April; in Oklahoma, the Friday following the second Monday in March; in Arkansas, first Saturday in March.

Probably the credit of originating the phrase "Arbor Day" belongs to Julius Sterling Morton of Nebraska, born in Adams, Jefferson County, N. Y., April 22, 1832; died at Lake Forest, Ill., at the home of his son, Mark Morton, April 27, 1902. He was educated at the University of Michigan, removed with his wife Caroline Frech (Joy) Morton to the territory of Nebraska in 1854 and settled on a quarter section of government land adjoining Nebraska City, the site of old Fort Kearny, 1848, and laid out 1855. He pre-empted the quarter section in 1857 at \$1.25 per acre, after a residence on the land from June 1, 1855, and named his farm "Arbor Lodge." The Nebraska City *News* was established by him and he was twice elected a member of the territorial legislature. He was appointed in 1853 by President Buchanan, secretary of the territory of Nebraska under the organic act, and he filled that office up to May, 1861, serving during part of the time as acting governor of the territory



1858-59. He became a member of the Nebraska state board of agriculture on the organization of the state government and as such in 1872 he originated the phrase "Arbor Day," possibly suggested by the name of his farm which he had named seventeen years before, and instituted the observation of that tree-planting festival in the state of Nebraska, the first state to officially recognize Arbor Day as a holiday and from this seed planted by Secretary Morton its observation in all the states has germinated. He was subsequently the Democratic candidate for governor of the state in 1880, 1882, 1884 and 1892, was United States Secretary of Agriculture 1893-97, and in 1896 he established an independent newspaper and named it the *Conservative* and under his editorship it obtained a large circulation.

Another candidate for the honor was Birdsey Grant Northrup, born in Kent, Conn., July 16, 1817, died in Clinton, Conn., April 27, 1898. He was graduated at Yale, A. B., 1841; B. D., 1845; M. A., 1853; LL. D., Williams, 1872. He was agent of the Massachusetts board of education, 1857-67, and while serving in that capacity he devoted much time to advocating in the schools tree planting and he introduced the observation of Arbor Day in the public schools of Massachusetts and for his interest in tree-planting and his attention to sanitary and aesthetic home surroundings he became known as the "Father of Village Improvement Societies." This was before Secretary Morton claimed to have originated the name, but probably the practice of observing a "tree planting day" in Massachusetts and Connecticut prior to 1872 did not couple with the act the name "Arbor Day." Mr. Northrup was secretary of the Connecticut board of education 1867-83, and he there directed the education of Chinese youth in American colleges and schools. He investigated European school methods, including the schools of forestry and industrial education in 1871 and again in 1877. He was president of the American Institute of Instruction, 1864-66; the National Association of School Superintendents in 1866, and of the National Educational Association in 1873. He influenced David Hand of Guilford, Conn., to give to the American Missionary Society \$1,500,000 for the educa-

tion of the negro population of the United States in 1888. He was a guest of the Japanese government in 1895, and there was presented with a set of china in acknowledgment of his services to Japanese youth while in the United States. He wrote "Education Abroad;" "Forestry in Europe;" Lessons in European School," and numerous educational pamphlets.

Probably the man who did most to awaken interest in Arbor Day throughout the middle western states was John Bradley Peaslee, superintendent of public schools in Cincinnati, Ohio, in 1864-1886; originator and inaugurator of the observation of Author's Day, and of Arbor Day in the public schools of Cincinnati, Ohio; promoter of the interest of forestry and author of valuable directions for the celebration of Author's and Arbor Day, which became universally observed in all the public schools in the United States, was born in Plaistown, New Hampshire, September 3, 1842, and died in Cincinnati, Ohio, the field of his great educational achievements, January 4, 1812.

John Bradley Peaslee's father, Rueben Peaslee, was a son of Joab Peasley. He was educated at Dartmouth College; served as a member of the New Hampshire house of representatives, where he was for years chairman of the committee on banking and a ready speaker in debate. He was a member of the State constitutional convention of 1850 and it was through his earnest appeals that the convention incorporated in the new constitution, article which abolished religious qualifications in the elective franchise and as affecting candidates for public office.

His mother, Harriet Atwood Willets, was born in New York City in 1824, and was educated in the public schools of that city. She was of Quaker parentage, her immigrant ancestor, Richard Willets, a member of the Society of Friends, having settled in the town of Hempstead, on Long Island, New York, on or before 1657.

His grandparents were Joab Peaslee, one of the leading and most wealthy men of Plaistown, New Hampshire, who mar-

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NOTE (1). The fact that this provision of the New Hampshire Constitution of 1850 was rejected by the people, voting on its adoption, does not detract from the work done by Reuben Peaslee in behalf of right, justice and liberty.

ried Elizabeth Eaton, and John Willets, who married Lavina Smith, and lived in Hempstead, Long Island.

His first American ancestor was Joseph Peasley, or Peaslee, as the name was subsequently spelled. According to tradition he was born and lived in the western part of England, adjoining Wales, and near the river Severn. He married, according to the same authority, Mary Johnson, daughter of a farmer of comfortable worldly estate in Wales.

They came to New England about 1635, and settled in Newbury, Massachusetts Bay Colony, before 1642. The town was established May 6, 1635, the first town established in the northern part of Norfolk county. He brought with him besides his wife, two daughters, Jane and Mary, and they had three other children born to them in Haverhill, Elizabeth and Sarah and Jacob, an only son. On March 14, 1645, he received a grant of 200 acres of land in Haverhill, a new town on the Merrimac River, established June 2, 1641, about fifteen miles up the river.

His name appears in the first list of thirty-two landholders of the town of Haverhill, in 1645. He settled in the easterly part of the town near "Reaks Bridge," over the Merrimac River. Here he received grants of land from 1645 to 1656 as divisions of the common land were made by vote of the townsmen. He was one of the commissioners appointed to settle land claims, and served as selectman of the town in 1649, 1650 and 1653. Other lands were apportioned to him that came within the bounds of Salisbury, a new town, and he was made a "townsman" July 17, 1656, when he was granted "twenty acres of upland, bought of Thomas Macy, and ten acres of meadow for which the town agreed to pay six pounds to Thomas Macy." In the division of lands in Salisbury "Newtown" in 1656-57 and 58 Joseph Peasley received liberal shares. He was a farmer, with reputed skill in the practice of medicine, and as a lay preacher in the Salisbury meeting house, where the church records designate him as "a gifted brother." Whittier speaks of him as "the brave confessor." He was a convenanter and began to preach "strange doctrines" before John Fox, the founder of the Society of Friends commenced to proclaim similar doctrines in England. His several qualifications made him a de-

sirable citizen of the new settlement which, however, did not assume the dignity of an established town until May 23, 1666, and in May 15, 1667, "the bounds between Salisbury new town and Haverhill were established" and on May 28, 1668, the General Court granted that Salisbury, new town "may be named Emesbury (Amesbury)."

Soon after his removal to "Newtown" it was found that the inhabitants neglected to attend the meetings for worship in the old town church of Salisbury, established October 7, 1640, and did not contribute to the support of the minister. Instead, they held meetings in private houses, where in the absence of the minister, Joseph Peasley and Thomas Macy officiated. The General Court fined the inhabitants of "Newtown" five shillings for each neglect of duty to attend the meeting house in Salisbury, and an additional fine of five shillings to Joseph Peasley and Thomas Macy if they exhorted the people in the absence of a minister.

This order, however, was not heeded by the inhabitants, or the lay readers, and they continued in their "good work," and additional decrees were issued and fines imposed by the General Court. From this persecution Thomas Macy fled in 1659 to Nantucket, then a port of New York, and the persecution of Joseph Peasley was ended by his death December 3, 1660.

In his will, made November 11, 1660, and proved February 9, 1661, he made Mary Peaslee executrix. In 1661, as his widow, she was granted 108 acres of land in Salisbury, and on her death, their son Joseph was granted letters of administration on her estate, September 27, 1694.

Joseph Peaslee, only son and fifth child of Joseph and Mary (Johnson) Peasley, was born in Haverhill, Massachusetts Bay colony, September 9, 1646. In 1660 he received "children's land" and a "Township" being a tract of land conferring the right to vote and take part in town meetings when of age. He was a physician and farmer, owned saw and grist-mills, was a large land owner by grants, inheritance and purchases, his lands extending beyond the Spicket River (now Salem, New Hampshire), inherited from his father.

In 1677 he took the oath of allegiance and fidelity at Haver-



hill, where he built a brick garrison house, using bricks brought from England, about 1673. The house was located in East Haverhill on the highway (River Road) and in 1913 was one of the historic landmarks of the Merrimac Valley. He was a prominent townsman holding various offices and for many years he maintained an established Meeting of the Society of Friends at the garrison house, thus transferred into a "Quaker Meeting House." He distributed his estate to his heirs by deeds each containing this closing clause: "Saving always and hereby reserving unto myself the free use and Improvement of ye premises During my natural life."

He married on January 2, 1672, Ruth Barnard, daughter of Thomas and Eleanor Barnard of Haverhill. She was born October 16, 1651, and died November 25, 1723. Her children were Mary, Joseph, Ruth, Ebenezer and Sarah Peaslee. He married, as his second wife, Mary (Tucker) Davis, widow of Stephen Davis, and by this marriage had no issue.

Mary Peaslee married Joseph Whittier, son of Thomas Whittier, the immigrant and their son Joseph Whittier (1716-1796) married Sarah Greenleaf; their son, John Whittier, 1760-1830, married Abigail Hussey, and their son, John Greenleaf Whittier, 1807-1892, was the noted poet.

John Bradley Peaslee was prepared for college at the Atkinson and Gilmanton academies, taught schools in Plaistow and Newton, New Hampshire and Groveland, Massachusetts, and was graduated at Dartmouth A. B. in the class of 1863, receiving his master degree in course. He removed to Columbus Ohio, where he was principal of the North grammar school, 1863-64 and a student at law in Cincinnati College, graduating with the degree of LL.B. in 1866. He removed to Cincinnati, where he was a teacher and principal in public and intermediate schools, 1864-74, and superintendent of the Cincinnati public schools in 1874-86. In 1878 he made an exhibit of the Cincinnati public schools at the Paris Exposition and in 1879, he was awarded for such exhibits a diploma, which made him a life member of the University of Turin. In 1874 he inaugurated celebrations to be observed by the school children of Cincinnati on "Arbor Day" and "Author's Day" and held the first

celebration of Author's Day, December 17, 1879, the anniversary of the birthday of John Greenleaf Whittier, and on successive birthdays of Longfellow, Holmes, Emerson, etc., and on April 27, 1882, Memorial Day, the school children planted in Eden Park, Cincinnati, Author's Grove, a plot of six acres, set apart by the commissioner of parks, each tree as planted being marked with the name of the author so commemorated. On October 18, 1889, the American Forestry congress planted an oak tree in Fairmont Park, Philadelphia, near Agricultural Hall, and dedicated it to Dr. Peaslee in "recognition of his distinguished services in promoting the cause of popular forestry and especially in introducing the celebration of Arbor Day by the public schools of Cincinnati, and thereafter of the country." He received the honorary degrees of Ph.D. from Ohio State University in 1869; was a director of the University of Cincinnati; a trustee of the Woodward High School Funds; a member of the Cincinnati Union Board of High Schools; president of the Ohio State Board of Examiners for Teachers; trustee of Miami University, and of Wilberforce University; director of the Ohio Humane Society; life member of the National Council of Education and of the National Education Association; honorary member of the National German-American Teachers' Association and of the Ohio German Teachers' Association; a member of the German Literary Club of Cincinnati; a trustee of the Cincinnati Teachers' Pension Fund; treasurer of the Cincinnati Free German Kindergarten Association; president of the Ohio State Forestry Bureau; member of the Cincinnati Board of Commerce, and in 1890 delegate to the National Board of Trade. He was a comrade of the G. A. R., a companion of Hanselman Commandery Knights Templar; member of the New England Society of the Society of the Cincinnati, of Dartmouth Alumni Association and the Phi Zeta Mu Greek letter society. In 1895 he was the Democratic candidate for lieutenant governor of Ohio on the ticket with James E. Campbell for governor. His published works include: "Graded Selections for Memorizing" (1882); "Trees and Tree Planting with Exercises and Direction for the celebration of Arbor Day" (1884), published by the Ohio State Forestry Association and by the government of the United

States; "Moral and Literary Training in Public Schools" (1881), an address before the National Education Association, Atlanta, Georgia, and "Thoughts and Experiences in and out of School" (1900), which work should be read and owned by every high school teacher in America, an inspiration to good work and guide and helper over rough ways in the pedagogue journey.

He married April 25, 1878, Lou, daughter of Honorable Joseph F. Wright. Her great-grandfather, General John S. Gans, a soldier in the war of 1812, was one of the thirty-three settlers of Cincinnati, Ohio. She was an organizer, and for years a director of the English Free Kindergarten Association, became deeply interested in humane work and was a patron of literature, art and music. She died in Cincinnati, Ohio, July 18, 1894.







Congregational Church, East Marshfield

# Historic New England Towns Revisited, or Back on My Native Heath

## CHAPTER X (Continued)

BY ANDREW M. SHERMAN

**I** WISH to say that at Whitman we got the best shave of our lives. After being shaved with a good razor, a folded towel, wet with water as hot as we could bear, was applied several times to our faces, and at each application held a few moments; and when we vacated the barber's chair, so completely was the irritation caused by the razor allayed, that we should not have known such an instrument had come in contact with our faces. I have since wondered why more barbers do not use the towels and hot water after shaving their patrons.

After a lunch at Whitman we took a trolley from there to Bridgewater. Just as we were passing out of the business portion of this fine old town, a gentleman, wearing the Grand Army of the Republic button, entered the car we had taken; and, drawn, as usual by the "little bronze button," I beckoned to the Comrade to take a seat beside me, which he did. Lack of space forbids that I give our conversation complete; suffice to say, I not only soon ascertained the regiment and company in which he served in the War for the Union, but the department in which he served, which proved to be the same department in which I, with my nine months regiment served during the summer of 1863. Having remarked that I was captured by the Confederates at Brashear City, Louisiana, on the 23d of June, of the year mentioned, he remarked: "I, too, was captured there at the same time." And then we recalled some of the incidents of our march, as paroled prisoners of war, of about one hundred miles to reach the Union lines at Algiers, opposite New Orleans.

“Do you remember the bridge we crossed on the march?” he inquired; of which, of course, I had a most vivid recollection. Of one thing, however, I had not previously been aware, and that was that from the single timber of about twelve inches in width, on which the eighteen hundred Union prisoners were required to cross that burned and partially destroyed bridge, down to the water of the bayou below, the distance was about thirty feet; hence a misstep might have been followed by serious results.

But we were then young and hopeful and our term of service was nearly expired, and our faces were pointed homeward, and if the distance down to the water had been a hundred feet we should have crossed the bridge with the same light-hearted abandon as characterized our single file march over it on that scorching hot July day fifty years ago.

A delightful ride through a beautiful country brought us back to old Bridgewater, where we spent a few days with our friends to whom we had bidden adieu as we started on our cross country auto run to old Plymouth a few days previously.

At the close of what may be my last visit to the scenes of my early boyhood, we bade our friends good bye; took train to Fall River; took steamer from there to New York, and from the latter place took train to Morristown and Lynbrook, which, thanks to a kind providence, we both reached in safety.

And now, my readers, I bid you adieu, in the hope that I have written something that will increase your fondness for the country which has given us birth and your affection for the brave men, and no less brave women, who crossed the turbulent ocean many, many years ago, and laid the broad foundations of the glorious republic under whose starry banner we are now privileged to live.

“Hold to our ancient heritage,  
But let the free thought of the age,  
Its strength and beauty add  
To the stern faith the fathers had.”

## APPENDIX

## ORIGINAL PROPRIETORS OF LAND IN OLD BRIDGEWATER, MASS.:

The original proprietors of this large tract of land purchased of the Indians were as follows: William Bradford, William Merrick, John Bradford, Abraham Pierce, John Rogers, George Partridge, John Starr, Mr. William Collier, Christopher Wadsworth, Edward Hall, Nicholas Robbins, Thomas Hayward, Mr. Ralph Partridge, Nathaniel Willis, John Willis, Thomas Bonney, Mr. Miles Standish, Love Brewster, John Paybody, William Paybody, Francis Sprague, William Bassett, John Washburn, John Washburn, Jr., John Ames, Thomas Gannett, William Brett, Edmund Hunt, William Clarke, William Ford, Mr. Constant Southworth, John Cary, Edmund Weston, Samuel Tompkins, Edmund Chandler, Moses Simmons, John Irish, Philip Delano, Arthur Harris, Mr. John Alden, John Fobes, Samuel Nash, Abraham Sampson, George Soule, Experience Mitchell, Henry Howland, Henry Sampson, John Brown, John Haward, Francis West, William Tubbs, James Lendall, Samuel Eaton and Solomon Leonard.

To the fifty-four original proprietors above given two more were subsequently added, namely: the Rev. James Keith and Deacon Samuel Edson, the latter of whom came from Salem to engage in the business of miller in the new settlement where he erected the first grist mill in old Bridgewater.

## INDIAN DEED OF OLD BRIDGEWATER GIVEN BY OUSAMEQUIN:

“Witness these presents, that I, Ousamequin, Sachem of the country of Poconocket, have given, granted, enfeofed, and sold unto Miles Standish of Duxbury, Samuel Nash and Constant Southworth of Duxbury aforesaid, in behalf of all the townsmen of Duxbury aforesaid, a tract of land usually called Satucket, extending in the length and breadth thereof as followeth, that is to say, from the wear at Satucet seven miles due east, and from the said wear seven miles due west, and from the said



wear seven miles due north, and from the said wear seven miles due south; the which tract the said Ousamequin hath given, granted, enfeofed, and sold unto the said Miles Standish, Samuel Nash, and Constant Southworth in the behalf of all the townsmen of Duxbury as aforesaid, with all the immunities, privileges, and profits whatsoever belonging to the said tract of land, with all the singular all woods, underwoods, lands, meadows, rivers, brooks, rivulets, &c., to have and to hold to the said Miles Standish, Samuel Nash, and Constant Southworth in behalf of all the townsmen of the town of Duxbury, to them and their heirs forever. In witness whereof I, the said Ousamequin, have hereunto set my hand this 23d of March, 1649.

“In consideration of the aforesaid bargain and sale, we the said Miles Standish, Samuel Nash, and Constant Southworth do bind ourselves to pay unto the said Ousamequin for and in consideration of the said tract of land as followeth:—

- 7 Coats, a yard and a half in a coat
- 9 Hatchets,
- 8 Hoes,
- 20 Knives,
- 4 Moose Skins,

Miles Standish  
 Samuel Nash  
 Constant Southworth.

Ousamequin (his mark).

Witness the mark of Ousamequin.

John Bradford  
 Wm. Otway (alias) Parker

REBECCA, THE DRUMMER—A TRUE STORY OF THE  
WAR OF 1812. BY CHARLES BARNARD

As it appeared in the July, 1897, issue of *St. Nicholas*

“It was about nine o’clock in the morning when the ship first appeared. At once there was the greatest excitement in the village. It was a British war-ship. What would she do? Would she tack about in the bay to pick up stray coasters as prizes, or would she land soldiers to burn the town? In either case there would be trouble enough.

“Those were sad days, those old war-times in 1812. The sight of a British warship in Boston Bay was not pleasant. We were poor then, and had no monitors to go out and sink the enemy or drive him off. Our navy was small, and, although we afterwards had the victory and sent the troublesome ships away, never to return, at that time they often came near enough, and the good people in the little village of Scituate Harbor were in great distress over the strange ship that had appeared at the mouth of the harbor.

“It was a fishing place in those days, and the harbor was full of smacks and boats of all kinds. The soldiers could easily enter the harbor and burn up everything, and no one could prevent them. There were men enough to make a good fight, but they were poorly armed, and had nothing but fowling-pieces and shot-guns, while the soldiers had muskets and cannon.

“The tide was down during the morning, so that there was no danger for a few hours; and all the people went out on the cliffs and beaches to watch the ship and see what would happen next.

“On the end of the low, sandy spit that makes one side of the harbor, stood the little white tower known as Scituate Light. In the house behind the light lived the keeper’s family, consisting of himself, wife, and several boys and girls. At the time the ship appeared, the keeper was away, and there was no one at home save Mrs. Bates, the eldest daughter, Rebecca, about fourteen years old, and a young girl named Sarah Winsor, who was visiting Rebecca.

“Rebecca had been the first to discover the ship, while she was

up in the light-house tower polishing the reflector. She at once descended the steep stairs and sent off the boys to the village to give the alarm.

“For an hour or two, the ship tacked and stood off to sea, then tacked again, and made for the shore. Men, women and children watched her with anxious interest. Then the tide turned and began to flow into the harbor. The boats aground on the flats floated, and those in deep water swung round at their moorings. Now the soldiers would probably land. If the people meant to save anything it was time to be stirring. Boats were hastily put out from the wharf, and such clothing, nets and other valuables as could be handled were brought ashore, loaded into hay carts, and carried away.

“It was of no use to resist. The soldiers, of course, were well armed, and if the people made a stand among the houses, that would not prevent the enemy from destroying the shipping.

“As the tide spread out over the sandy flats it filled the harbor so that, instead of a small channel, it became a wide and beautiful bay. The day was fine, and there was a gentle breeze rippling the water and making it sparkle in the sun. What a splendid day for fishing or sailing! Not much use to think of either while that war-ship crossed and recrossed before the harbor mouth.

“About two o’clock the tide reached high water mark, and, to the dismay of the people, the ship let go her anchor, swung her yards round, and lay quiet about half-a-mile from the first cliff. They were going to land to burn the town. With their spy-glasses the people could see the boats lowered to take the soldiers ashore.

“Ah! then there was confusion and uproar. Every horse in the village was put into some kind of team, and the women and children were hurried off to the woods behind the town. The men would stay and offer as brave a resistance as possible. Their guns were light and poor, but they could use the old fish-houses as a fort, and perhaps make a brave fight of it. If worse came to worse, they could at least retreat and take to the shelter of the woods.

“It was a splendid sight. Five large boats, manned by sail-



Settler's Monument at Green Harbor, Marshfield, Mass.





ors, and filled with soldiers with gay red coats. How their guns glittered in the sun! The oars all moved together in regular order, and the officers in their fine uniforms stood up to direct the expedition. It was a courageous company come with a war-ship and cannon to fight helpless fishermen.

"So Rebecca Bates and Sarah Winsor thought, as they sat up in the light-house tower looking down on the procession of boats as it went past the point and entered the harbor.

"Oh! If I only were a man!" cried Rebecca.

"What would you do? See what a lot of them; and look at their guns!"

"I don't care. I'd fight. I'd use father's old shot gun—anything. Think of uncle's new boat and the sloop!"

"Yes; and all the boats."

"It's too bad; isn't it?"

"Yes; and to think that we must sit here and see it all and not lift a finger to help."

"Do you think there will be a fight?"

"I don't know. Uncle and father are in the village, and they will do all they can."

"See how still it is in town. There's not a man to be seen."

"Oh! they are hiding till the soldiers get nearer. Then we'll hear the shots and the drum."

"The drum! How can they? It's here. Father brought it home to mend it last night."

"Did he? Oh! then lets—"

"See, the first boat has reached the sloop. Oh! oh! They are going to burn her."

"Isn't it mean?"

"It's too bad!—too—"

"Where is the drum?"

"It's in the kitchen."

"I've a great mind to go down and beat it."

"What good would that do?"

"Scare 'em."

"They'd see it was only two girls, and they would laugh and go on burning just the same."

"No. We could hide behind the sand hills and bushes. Come, let's—"

"Oh, look! look! The sloop's afire!"

"Come, I can't stay and see any more. The cowardly Britishers to burn the boats! Why don't they go up to the town and fight like—"

"Come, let's get the drum. It'll do no harm; and perhaps—"

"Well, let's. There's the fife, too; we might take that with us."

"Yes, and we'll—"

"No time for further talk. Down the steep stairs of the tower rushed these two young patriots, bent on doing what they could for their country. They burst into the kitchen like a whirlwind, with rosy cheeks and flowing hair. Mrs. Bates sat sorrowfully gazing out of the window at the scene of destruction going on in the harbor, and praying for her country and that the dreadful war might soon be over. She could not help. Son and husband were shouldering their poor old guns in the town, and there was nothing to do but to watch and wait and pray.

"Not so the two girls. They meant to do something, and, in a fever of excitement, they got the drum and took the cracked fife from the bureau drawer. Mrs. Bates, intent on the scene outside, did not heed them, and they slipped out by the back door, unnoticed.

"They must be careful, or the soldiers would see them. They went round back of the house to the north and towards the outside beach, and then turned and plowed through the deep sand just above high-water mark. They must keep out of sight of the boats, and of the ship, also. Luckily, she was anchored to the south of the light; and as the beach curved to the west, they soon left her out of sight. Then they took to the water side, and, with the drum between them, ran as fast as they could towards the mainland. Presently they reached the low heaps of sand that showed where the spit joined the fields and woods.

"Panting and excited, they tightened up the drum and tried the fife softly.

"You take the fife, Sarah, and I'll drum."

"All right; but we mustn't stand still. We must march along the shore towards the light."

"Won't they see us?"

"No; we'll walk next the water on the outside beach."

"Oh, yes; and they'll think it's soldiers going down to the Point to head 'em off."

"Just so. Come, begin! One, two,—one, two!"

"Drum! drum!! drum!!!

"Squeak! squeak!! squeak!!!

"For'ard—march!"

"Ha! ha!"

"The fife stopped.

"Don't laugh. You'll spoil everything, and I can't pucker my lips."

"Drum! drum!! drum!!!

"Squeak! squeak!! squeak!!!

"The men in the town heard it and were amazed beyond measure. Had the soldiers arrived from Boston? What did it mean? Who were coming?

"Louder and louder on the breeze came the roll of a sturdy drum and the sound of a brave fife. The soldiers in the boats heard the noise and paused in their work of destruction. The officers ordered everybody into the boats in the greatest haste. The people were rising! They were coming down the Point with cannons, to head them off! They would all be captured, and perhaps hung by the dreadful Americans!

"How the drum rolled! the fife changed its tune. It played 'Yankee Doodle,'—that horrid tune! Hark! The men were cheering in the town; there were thousands of them in the woods along the shore!

"In grim silence marched the two girls,—plodding over the sharp stones, splashing through the puddles,—Rebecca beating the old drum with might and main, Sarah blowing the fife with shrill determination.

"How the Britishers scrambled into their boats! One of the brave officers was nearly left behind on the burning sloop. Another fell overboard and wet his good clothes, in his haste to escape from the American army marching down the beach—a



thousand strong! How the sailors pulled! No fancy rowing now, but desperate haste to get out of the place and escape to the ship.

"How the people yelled and cheered on the shore! Fifty men or more jumped into boats to prepare for the chase. Ringing shots began to crack over the water.

"Louder and louder rolled the terrible drum. Sharp and clear rang out the cruel fife.

"Nearly exhausted, half dead with fatigue, the girls toiled on, —tearful, laughing, ready to drop on the wet sand, and still beating and blowing with fiery courage.

"The boats swept swiftly out of the harbor on the outgoing tide. The fishermen came up with the burning boats. Part stopped to put out the fires, and the rest pursued the flying enemy with such shots as they could get at them. In the midst of it all, the sun went down.

"The red-coats did not return a shot. They expected every minute to see a thousand men open on them at short range from the beach, and they reserved their powder.

"Out of the harbor they went in confusion and dismay. The ship weighed anchor and ran out her big guns, but did not fire a shot. Darkness fell down on the scene as the boats reached the ship. Then she sent a round shot towards the light. It fell short and threw a great fountain of white water into the air.

"The girls saw it, and dropping their drum and fife, sat down on the beach and laughed till they cried.

"That night the ship sailed away. The great American army of two had arrived, and she thought it wise to retreat in time!

"Rebecca is still living, old and feeble in body, but brave in spirit and strong in patriotism. She told this story herself to the writer, and it is true."

While in Marshfield Hills, Mass., a few years since, it was my pleasure to be entertained in the family of Albert Bates who is a descendant of Rebecca Bates, who, with Sarah Winsor, frightened the British out of Scituate Harbor during the War of 1812; and, in the daughter and only child of Mr. and Mrs. Bates (whose Christian name, I regret saying, I am unable at this mo-

ment to recall), I could discern qualities of character similar to those exhibited by her ancestor, Rebecca Bates—*Author*.

## THE MAYFLOWER COMPACT

On the 11th day of November, 1620 (old style), there was drawn on the lid of a chest on board the Mayflower, at "Cape Codd," and signed by forty-one of the principal men of the first band of Pilgrims, a platform of government known as the Compact, and which gave to these people the claim of being the 'Signers' of this great and free United States of America.

### THE COMPACT

"The following is the full text of the compact:—

"In Ye Name Of God, Amen.

"We whose names are underwritten, the loyal subjects of our dread sovereigne Lord, King James, by ye grace of God, of Great Britaine, France and Ireland, King, defender of ye faith, etc., having undertaken for ye glory of God and advancement of ye Christian faith, and honour of our King and countrie, a voyage to plant ye first Colonie in the Northerne part of Virginia, doe by thise presents solemnly, and mutually, in ye presence of God, and of one another, covenant and combine ourselves together into a civil body politik for our better ordering and preservation and furtherance of ye end aforesaid and by vertue hereof to enacte, constitute and frame such just and equal lawes, ordinances, acts, constitutions and offices from time to time, as shall be thought most meete and convenient for ye generall good of ye Colonie, unto which we promise all due submission and obedience. In witness wherof we have hereunder subscribed our names at Cape Codd ye 11 of November, in ye year of ye raigne of our sovereigne Lord, King James of England, France and Ireland, ye eighteenth, and Scotland ye fiftiefourth, Ano Dom. 1620.

1. John Carver
2. William Bradford
3. Edward Winslow
4. William Brewster
5. Isaac Allerton
6. Myles Standish
7. John Alden
8. Samuel Fuller
9. Christopher Martin
10. William Mullins
11. William White
12. Richard Warren
13. John Howland
14. Stephen Hopkins
15. Edward Tilley
16. John Tilley
17. Francis Cooke
18. Thomas Rogers
19. Thomas Tinker
20. John Rigdale
21. Edward Fuller
22. John Turner
23. Francis Eaton
24. James Chilton
25. John Crackston
26. John Billington
27. Moses Fletcher
28. John Goodman
29. Degory Priest
30. Thomas Williams
31. Gilbert Winslow
32. Edward Margeson
33. Peter Brown
34. Richard Britteridge
35. George Soule
36. Richard Clarke
37. Richard Gardiner
38. John Allerton

39. Thomas English

40. Edward Dotey

41. Edward Lister.

Governor Bradford's List Of The Mayflower Passengers:—

“The names of those which came over first, in ye year 1620, and were (by the blessing of God) the first beginners, and (in a sort) the foundation, of all the plantations, and Colonies, in New England. (And their families):—

“Mr. John Carver. Kathrine his wife. Desire Minter; & 2 men-servants John Howland Roger Wilder. William Latham, a boy, & a maid servant, & a child yt was put to him called, Jasper More. Mr. William Brewster, Mary his wife, with 2 sons, whose names were Love & Wrasling. and a boy was put to him called Richard More; and another of his brothers the rest of his children were left behind & came over afterwards.

“Mr. Edward Winslow Elizabeth his wife, & 2 men servants, caled Georg Soule, and Elias Story; also a little girle was put to him caled Ellen, the sister of Richard More.

“Mr William Bradford, and Dorathy his wife, having but one child, a sone left behind, who came afterward.

“Mr Isaack Allerton, and Mary. his wife; with 3. children Bartholmen Remember, & Mary. and a servant boy, John Hooke.

“Mr Samuell fuller; and a servant, caled William Butten. His wife was behind & a child, which came afterwards.

“John Crakston and his sone John Crakston

“Captin Myles Standish and Rose, his wife

“Mr Christopher Martin, and his wife; and 2. servants, Salamon prower, and John Langemore.

“Mr William Mullines, and his wife; and. 2. children Joseph & priscila; and servant Robart Carter.

“Mr William White, and Susana his wife; and one sone caled resolved, and one borne a shipbord caled peregrine; &. 2. servants, named William Holbeck, & Edward Thomson.

“Mr Steven Hopkins, & Elizabeth his wife; and. 2. children, caled Giles, and Constanta a daughter, both by a former wife. And. 2. more by this wife, caled Damaris, & Oceanus, the last was borne at sea. And. 2. servants, called Edward Doty, and Edward Litster.



“Mr Richard Warren, but his wife and children were left behind and came afterwards.

“John Billinton, and Elen his wife: and. 2. sones John, and Francis.

“Edward Tillie, and Ann his wife; and. 2. childeren that were their cossens; Henery Samson, and Humility Coper.

“John Tillie, and his wife; and Eelizabeth their doughter.

“Francis Cooke, and his sone John; But his wife & other children came afterwards.

“Thomas Rogers, and Joseph his sone; his other children came afterwards.

“John Rigdale; and Alice his wife.

“James Chilton, and his wife, and Mary their doughter; they had another doughter yt was married came afterward.

“Edward fuller, and his wife; and Samuell their sonne.

“John Turner, and. 2. sones; he had a doughter came some years after to Salem, where she is now living.

“Francis Eaton, and Sarah his wife, and Samuell their sone, a yong child.

“Mayses fletcher, John Goodman, Thomas Williams, Digerie Priest, Edmond Margeson, Peter Browne, Richard Britterige, Richard Clarks, Richard Gardenar, Gilbert Winslow.

“John Alden was hired for a cooper, at South Hampton wher the ship victuled; and being a hopefull yong man was much desired, but left to his owne liking to go, or stay when he came here, but he stayed, and maryed here.

“John Allerton, and Thomas Enlish were both hired, the later to goe Mr of a shalop here, and ye other was reputed as one of ye company, but was to go back (being a seaman) for the help of others behind. But they both dyed here, before the shipe returned. Ther were allso other. 2. seamen hired to stay a year here in the country, William Trevore; and one Ely. But when their time was out they both returned.”

List Of Mayflower Passengers In More Convenient Form For Reading:—

John Carver and Kathrine his wife

Desire Minter

John Howland



Settler's Monument at Green Harbor, Marshfield, Mass.



Roger Wilder  
 William Latham  
 Jasper More  
 William Brewster and Mary his wife  
 Love “  
 Wrasling “  
 Richard More  
 Edward Winslow and Elizabeth his wife  
 Georg Soule  
 Elias Story  
 Ellen More  
 William Bradford and Dorathy his wife  
 Isaack Allerton and Mary his wife  
 Bartholmen”  
 Remember Allerton  
 Mary “  
 John Hooke  
 Samuell fuller  
 William Butten  
 John Crakson  
 John “ sone  
 Myles Standish and Rose his wife  
 Christpher Martin and his wife  
 Salamon prower  
 John Langemore  
 William Mullines and wife  
 Joseph “  
 priscila “  
 William Holbeck  
 Edward Thomson  
 Steven Hopkins and Elizabeth his wife  
 Giles “  
 Constanta “  
 Oceanus “  
 Daramis “  
 Edward Litster  
 Richard Warren  
 John Billinton and Elen his wife



John       “       sone  
 Francis   “       “  
 Edward Tillie and Ann his wife  
 Henery Samson  
 Humillity Coper  
 John Tillie and wife  
 Eelizabeth Tillie  
 Francis Cooke  
 John       “  
 Thomas Rogers  
 Joseph     “  
 Thomas Tinker and wife  
 and a Sone  
 John Rigdale and Alice his wife  
 James Chilton and wife  
 Mary       “  
 Edward fuller and his wife  
 Samuel     “  
 John Turner and 2 sones  
 Francis Eaton and Sarah his wife  
 Samuel     “  
 Mayses fletcher  
 John Goodman  
 Thomas Williams  
 Digerie Preist  
 Edmond Margeson  
 Peter Browne  
 Richard Britterige  
 Richard Clarke  
 Richard Gardenar  
 Gilbert Winslow  
 John Alden  
 John Allerton  
 Thomas Enlish  
 William Trevore  
 ——— Ely

(The actual number arriving was 102)

## DISCOVERY OF WILLIAM BRADFORD'S HISTORY OF THE PLYMOUTH PLANTATION

“The most of our knowledge of the Mayflower’s passengers is derived from the ‘History of Plymouth Plantation,’ written by William Bradford, the second governor of the colony. When the British army retreated from Boston, in 1776, this history, then in manuscript, was, it is supposed, carried away from the tower of the Old South Church. After it had been in manuscript more than two hundred years, it was discovered in the Fulham Library, England. Through the efforts of Mr. Charles Deane, acting for the Massachusetts Historical Society, ‘an exact copy’ was made, and, in the following year (1856), was published by the Society. The list of the Mayflower’s passengers given by Bradford, including hired men and servants distinct from the ship’s crew, numbers 104; but this includes one that died at sea, one born at sea (Peregrine White, the first child of English parents born in New England), who was born on board, but after the vessel arrived. According then, to Bradford’s list, the Mayflower arrived in Cape Cod harbor with 102 passengers.”

## EXTRACTS FROM “BRADFORD’S HISTORY OF PLYMOUTH PLANTATION, 1606-1646”

“Being thus arrived at Cap-Cod the 11 of November, and necessite calling them to looke out a place for habitation, (as well as the masters and marines importunities) they having brought a large shalop with them out of England, stowed in quarters in the ship, they now gott her out and sett their carpenters to worke to trime her up; but being much brused and shattered in the shipe with foule weather, they saw she would be longe in mending. Whereupon a few of them tendered themselves to goe by land and discovere those nearest places, whilst the shalop was in mending; and the rather because as they wente into that harbor ther seemed to be an opening some 2 or 3 leagues of, which the master judged to be a river. I was convinced ther might be some danger in the attempte, yet seeing them resolute,

they were permitted too, being 16 of them well armed under the conduct of Captain Standish, having such instructions given them as was thought meete. They sett forth the 15. of Novebr: and when they had marched aboute the space of a mile by the sea side, the espied 5 or 6 persons with a dogg coming towards them, who were salvages; but they fled from them and ranne up into the woods, and the English followed them, partly to see if they could speake with them, and partly to discover if ther might not be more lying in ambush. But the Indians seeing them selves thus followed, they againe forsooke the woods, and rane away on the sands as hard as they could, so as they could not come near them, but followed them by the tracte of their feet sundrie miles and saw that they had come the same way. So, night coming on, they made their randevous and set out their sentinels, and rested in quiete that night, and next morning followed their tracte till they had headed a great creak, and so left the sands, and turned an other way into the woods. But they still followed them by guess, hoping to find their dwellings; but they soone lost them and them selves, falling into such thickets as were ready to tear their cloaths and armore in peeces, but were most distressed for wante of drinke. But at length they found water and refreshed them selves, being the first New England water they drunke of, and was now in thir thirste a pleasante unto them as wine or bear had been in for-time.

“Afterwards they directed their course to come to the other shore, for they knew it was a necke of land they were to cross over, and so at length gott to the sea-side, and marched to this supposed river, and by the way found a pond of clear fresh water, and shortly after a good quantity of clear ground wher the Indians had formerly set corne, and some of their graves. And proceeding further they saw new-stubble wher corne had been set the same year, also they found wher latly a house had been, wher some planks and a great kete was remaining, and heaps of sand newly padled with their hands, which they, digging up, found in them diverce faire Indian baskets filled with corne, and some in eares, faire and good, of diverce collours, which seemed to them a very goodly sight, (having never seen any such before) This was near the place of that supposed river they came

to seeke; into which they wente and found it to open it selfe into armes with a high cliffe of sand in the enterance, but more like to be crikes of salte water than any fresh, for ought we saw; and that ther was good harborige for their shalop; leaving it further to be discovered by their shalope when she was ready. So their time limeted them being expired they returned to the ship, least they should be in fear of their saftie; and tooke with them parte of the corne, and buried up the rest, and so like the men from Eshcoll carried with them of the fruits of the land, and showed their breethren; of which, and of their returne, they were marvelously glad, and their harts encouraged.

“After this, the shalope being ready, they set out againe for better discovery of this place, and the Mr. of the ship desired to goe him selfe, so ther went some 30. men, but found it to be no harbor for ships but only for boats; ther was allso found 2. of their houses covered with matts, and sundrie of their implements in them, but the people were runne away and could not be seen; also ther was found more of their corne, and of their beans of various collours. The corne and beans they brought away, purposing to give them full satisfaction when they should meete them (as about some 6 months afterward they did, to their good contente).

“And here is to be noted a speciall providence of God, and a great mercie to this poore people, that hear they gott seed to plant them corne the next year, or els they might have starved, for they had none, nor any liklyhood to get any till the season had beene past (as the sequell did manyfest) Neither is it lickly they had had this, if the first visage had not been made, for the ground was now all covered with snow, and had frozen.

“But the Lord is never wanting unto his in their greatest need.”

The following extract, from the same book as that from which the above extract is taken, contains facts of interest to those who wish to learn more as to the difficulties encountered by the Pilgrim Fathers in the early years of the Plymouth Colony:

“The Early Influx Of Corrupting Influences Into The Plantation

But it may be demanded how came it to pass that so many



wicked persons and profane people should so quickly come over into this land, and mixe them selves amongst them? seeing it was religious men that began the work, and they came for religions sake. I confess this may be marvelled at, at least in time to come, when the reasons thereof should not be knowne; and more because here was so many hardships and wants mett withall. I shall therefore indeavor to give some answer hereunto.

“And first, according to that in the gospel, it is ever to be remembered that wher the Lord begins to sow good seed, ther the envious man will endeavore to sow tares. 2. Men being to come over into a wilderness, in which much labour and servise was to be done aboutt building and planting, etc., such as wanted help in that respecte, when they could not have such as they would, were glad to take such as they could; and so, many untoward servants, sundry of them proved, that were thus brought over, both men and women kind; who, when their times were expired, became families them selves, which gave increase hereunto. 3. An other and a maine reason hearof was, that men, finding so many godly disposed persons willing to come into these parts, some begane to make a trade of it, to transeport passengers and their goods, and hired ships to that end; and then, to make up their freight and advance their profite, cared not who the persons were, so they had money to pay them. And by this means the cuntrie became pestered with many unworthy persons, who, being come over, crept into one place or other. 4. Againe, the Lords blessing usually following his people, as well in outward as spirituall things (though afflictions be mixed with all,) doe make many to adhear to the people of God, as many followed Christ, for the loaves sake, John 6.26. and a mixed multitude came into the wilderness with the people of God out of Egipte of old, Exod. 12.38; allso ther were sent by their friends some under hope that they would be made better; others that they might be eased of such burthens, and they kept from shame at home that would necessarily follow their dissolute courses. And thus, by one means or other, it is a question wether the greater part be not growne the worsen.”

The following list of books, recommended to those who wish

to acquaint themselves with the early history of New England, is taken from "A Guide To Massachusetts Local History:"

The Mayflower and her log. Boston, 1901. Azel Ames.

The Story of the Pilgrim Fathers, 1606-1623, A. D.; as told by themselves, their friends, and their enemies. London, 1897. Edward Arber.

An Historical memoir of the Colony of New Plymouth. Boston, 1830. Francis Baylies.

The Pilgrim republic. An historical review of the colony of New Plymouth. Boston, 1888. J. A. Goodwin.

The Pilgrims in their three homes; England, Holland, America. Boston, 1898. W. E. Griffis.

A relation or journall of the beginning and proceedings of the English plantation settled at Plimoth. London, 1622.

Mourt's Relation, journal of a plantation settled at Plimoth. (Samuel Purchas, Purchas his pilgrimes, 1613-1614).

The Pilgrim fathers; or The Journal of the Pilgrims at Plymouth, New England in 1620. G. B. Cheever, Glasgow (1849).

An account of the Pilgrim celebration 1853. Boston, 1853.

Chronicles of the Pilgrim fathers of the colony of Plymouth, from 1602-1625. Boston, 1841. Alexander Young.

Collections concerning the early history of the founders of New Plymouth, the first colonists of New England. London, 1849. Joseph Hunter.

The Pilgrim fathers of New England, a History. New York (1867). W. C. Martyn.

Extracts from the records of the first Church at Plymouth. (Hazard, Ebenezer. Historical coll. 1792). Nathaniel Morton.

New England's Memoriallor, a brief relation of the most memorable and remarkable passages of the providence of God, manifested to the planters of New England in America; with special reference to the first colony thereof called New Plymouth. Cambridge, 1669. (Many later editions).

The Pilgrim Shore. Boston, 1900. E. H. Garret.

Plymouth (in his "Historic pilgrimages in New England"), 1898. E. M. Bacon.

Plymouth Rock. Discourse delivered in Plymouth, Aug. 15, 1855. W. R. Cushman, Boston, 1855.

History of the town of Plymouth, with a sketch of the origin and growth of Separation. Phila., Pa., 1855.

Old houses in Plymouth, Pen and ink sketches. Plymouth, 1893. H. C. Dunham.

History of the town of Plymouth from its first settlement in 1620, to the present time; with a concise history of the aborigines of New England and their wars with the English. Boston, 1835.

Plymouth, the Pilgrim town (L. P. Powell. "Historic Towns of New Engl. 1898). Ellen Watson.

[THE END]

# History of the Mormon Church

BY BRIGHAM H. ROBERTS, Assistant Historian of the Church

## CHAPTER LXXXIII

MISCELLANEOUS EVENTS IN CHURCH AND STATE DURING THE YEARS  
1851-7—"WALLED CITIES"—OFFICIAL ANNOUNCEMENT OF  
THE PLURAL MARRIAGE DOCTRINE—MISSIONARY ACTIVITIES.

ONE of the effects of the Indian war of 1853 was to make of Utah a land of "walled cities," or of forts. The settlements of those days were either entirely walled in, or some portion of them, that was called "the fort." Even Salt Lake City was at least partly walled in; not perhaps so much from any necessity for it, as for the effect of its example in inducing other settlements that were in danger zones to "wall up," or "fort up."

The bishops of the ecclesiastical wards of Salt Lake City met with the city council on the 23rd of August, 1853, and reported all their wards as being "unanimous for walling in the whole of the city, with a good ditch upon the outside of the wall." It was decided to build it of mud to be taken from the proposed ditch, mixed with straw, or hay, and gravel, and laid up in courses, each as deep as the consistency of the mud would allow, and when dried to be repeated until the wall was finished. It was decided to make the wall six feet thick at the bottom, to be carried up with an equal slope on each face to six feet high, where it would be two and a half feet thick; thence to be carried up at that thickness six feet higher, and rounded at the top. The wall though never completed entirely round the city, was about



six miles in extent.<sup>1</sup> The walls of other settlements were similar in construction.

In addition to this city wall building, it was designed to inclose by a stone wall the site of the University, on the east bench, one mile square;<sup>2</sup> and in May, 1852, Brigham Young reports that 135 rods of stone wall had been erected at a cost of \$8,255.<sup>3</sup>

To the same wall-building period belongs the erection of the wall around Temple Square, the only fragment of the wall-building period, that now (1913) survives the ravages of time, an expanding city, and long-since wrought changes from frontier conditions. The Temple Square wall was begun on the 3rd of August, 1852, and completed about two years later.<sup>4</sup> It is ten feet high. The foundation and coping are of dressed, red sandstone. The main body of the wall and pillasters, of which there are thirty on each side, are of adobies, plastered with hard cement. The Temple Square wall begun more than sixty years ago is still a unique feature of Salt Lake City.

Another thing resulting from this Indian war was the strengthening of the settlements at some distance from Salt Lake City. At the October conference of 1853, Elders Geo. A. Smith, Erastus Snow, and Franklin D. Richards, of the council of the Twelve were called to select fifty families and go with them to strengthen the settlements in the far south—in Iron county; also fifty families to strengthen Fillmore; Wilford Woodruff and Ezra T. Benson, of the same council, were called to take fifty families and strengthen the settlements in Tooele county; Lyman Stevens and Reuben W. Allred, fifty families for each of the settlements in Sanpete. Lorenzo Snow of the council of the Twelve to take fifty families to Boxelder county; Joseph L. Heywood, fifty families to Nephi, in Juab county; Orson

1. The committee appointed to designate the line of the wall was made up of Albert Carrington, Parley P. Pratt and Franklin D. Richards. The description of the wall is from Hist. of Brigham Young, *Ms.* entry for August, 1853, p. 99-100. Also *Mill. Star*, Vol. XV, p. 738. Burton calls it "a Romulian wall of puddle mud, clay and pebbles, six miles . . . in length," and the dimensions as above, "City of the Saints," 1862, p. 197. See also *Liverpool Route*, p. 110.

2. "The site selected for the buildings and grounds all lie east of the city and cover a mile square." *Liverpool Route* (1884), p. 110.

3. "This wall when finished was designed to enclose the university grounds situated on the bench east of Great Salt Lake City." Hist. of Brigham Young *Ms.* entry for May, 1852, p. 50.

4. Eighth General Epistle of the Presidency, *Mill. Star* Vol. XV, pp. 113-117.

Hyde to raise a company to make a permanent settlement on Green River, near Fort Bridger.<sup>5</sup>

It will be seen from the above that a number of the leading men recently prominent in foreign mission fields, were now called upon to lead in strengthening the home colonies; and a new and unconscious aristocracy arose in the colonies of the Latter-day Saints in those days—the *aristocracy of service*.<sup>6</sup>

It is time now to turn from these secular matters to developments of another sort and more especially affecting the Church. In 1852 came the public and official announcement of the doctrine and practice of plural marriage. It was made at a special conference of the Church held at Salt Lake City on the 28th and 29th of August. The conference was not called specifically to make that announcement, so far as appears from the minutes of the proceedings. Indeed the explanation is made in the minutes that the conference was called a month earlier than usual in order to make it a more convenient season for the Elders who were to leave Salt Lake valley for their missions to the world, one hundred and eight being designated by the conference to go to various nations. Then in the forenoon of the second day, Elder Orson Pratt, in opening his remarks stated that quite unexpectedly he had been called upon to address the people that forenoon, and still more unexpectedly to address them upon the subject that evidently had been announced —“namely, a plurality of wives.”<sup>7</sup> He then proceeds with a lengthy discourse upon the subject of this feature of the marriage system of the New Dispensation, already discussed in a previous chapter of this His-

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5. Minutes of the October, 1853, conference, *Mill. Star*, Vol. XVI, p. 44.

6. Elsewhere representing the service of such men as those above alluded to I have said: “Never have a people been more blessed with unselfish leaders than the Latter-day Saints. Men blessed with divine insight and power have given their services, practically without remuneration, for the welfare of their people. They have labored in season and out of season for them. They have given not only a teaching service, tending to make the truth clear, but they have given freely of their business ability, executive and judicial abilities. Men of statesman-like quality of mind have devoted their lives to their people, and practically without earthly reward, and many of them, the most of them, in fact, have died poor in this world’s goods, but rich in the consciousness of service for fellowmen well performed. I write these words from the midst of a people, who, when they read them will think of hundreds of men who have lived and wrought out life’s service among them, in the very spirit here described.” Defense of the Faith and the Saints, Vol. II, p. 227.

7. *Deseret News—Extra*—for September 14, 1852.

tory.<sup>8</sup> "We shall endeavor to set forth before this enlightened assembly," said the speaker, "some of the causes why the Almighty has revealed such a doctrine, and why it is considered a part and portion of our religious faith. And I believe they will not under our present form of government (I mean the government of the United States), try us for treason for believing and practising our religious notions and ideas. I think, if I am not mistaken, that the constitution gives the privilege to all the inhabitants of this country, of the free exercise of their religious notions, and the freedom of their faith, and the practice of it. Then, if it can be proven to a demonstration that the Latter-day Saints have actually embraced, as a part and portion of their religion, the doctrine of a plurality of wives, it is constitutional. And should there ever be laws enacted by this government to restrict them from the free exercise of this part of their religion, such laws must be unconstitutional."

This paragraph was preceded by a denial of the supposition that the doctrine was accepted by the Saints "to gratify the carnal lusts and feelings of man." "That," said the speaker, "is not the object of the doctrine." The discourse is devoted to the central thought that marriage is ordained of God for the legal perpetuation of the race, that men might, in the way ordained of God, fulfill the divine injunction "to be fruitful and multiply and replenish the earth, and subdue it;" and the chief justification urged for establishing the doctrine of a plurality of wives was that, under the restrictions and limitations under which the principle was to be practiced, it would give the opportunity to righteous men and women to have "a numerous and faithful posterity to be raised up and taught in the principles of righteousness and truth."

In the afternoon President Brigham Young gave an account of the preservation of a copy of the revelation originally given to Joseph Smith—already given in these chapters<sup>9</sup>—and predicted the ultimate vindication of the truth of the principle involved.<sup>10</sup>

It was time this action was taken. The Church owed it to

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8. *Ante*, Ch. XL., *Americana*, March, 1911.

9. *Ante*, Ch. XL, this History.

10. The proceedings are given at length in the *Deseret News—Extra*—14th September, 1852.



frankness with the world to make the official proclamation; for many were in doubt in respect of knowing what course to pursue. It had been a matter of wide knowledge within the Church for some time that such a principle was believed in and practiced by many of the leading elders; and yet none to whom this knowledge had come in an official way, felt at liberty to make proclamation of the doctrine, neither was it their prerogative to do so; and in the absence of an official announcement it had become a profound source of embarrassment. Justice to the women involved in the system, moreover, no less than candor with the world, also required this official proclamation; for their standing must have become equivocal had it been much longer delayed.

As to the effect this proclamation had upon the work in general men will differ in their opinions. That at the first it gave the opponents of the work great advantage, may not be doubted; for from every foreign mission came reports of increased opposition resulting in many cases in mob violence. Indeed the reports of the "run-a-way officers"—"Broochus, Day and Brandebury," and their charge of the practice of plural marriage in Utah, now confirmed by the official proclamation of the doctrine and the practice of it, became the chief weapon in the hands of the opponents of the New Dispensation. From the islands of the sea; from Denmark, Sweden and Norway; from distant India as well as from England and the United States came reports of opposition and of increased persecutions ostensibly justified because of the Church's announced belief in the doctrine and practice of plural marriage.<sup>11</sup> The great number that were excommunicated from the Church in 1852-1853 is generally referred to as indicating the effect of the official proclamation of this doctrine to the world. This, however, is not fairly presented by the opponents of the Church. An appeal is generally made to the statistics of the Church in the British Isles in proof of the disastrous effects of the announcement.

"The statistical reports of the mission in the British Islands

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11. See reports from the missions in Ms. History of Brigham Young, for the years 1853-54-55, *passim*; also *Deseret News*, for the same years, the *Millennial Star* ditto, *passim*.



—June 30th, 1853—show that the enormous number of *seventeen hundred and seventy-six persons were ex-communicated there during the first six months of the preaching of polygamy.*

\* \* \* The entire Church then numbered, men, women, and children over eight years of age, 30,690. There were forty ‘seventies,’ and eight ‘high priests,’ from Utah, in Britain at that time, carrying with them a powerful personal influence to help the Saints to tide over the introduction of this doctrine. These Utah missionaries were aided by a native priesthood of 2,578 elders; 1,845 priests; 1,416 teachers; 834 deacons; and yet no less than 1,776 recusants were ex-communicated. That tells its own tale.

That all these persons withdrew from the fellowship of the Mormon Church on account of polygamy would be an unfair inference. Still, doubtless polygamy was the great contributing cause of apostacy.”

Had Mr. Stenhouse consulted the statistical report which ended the 31st of December, 1852, the six months previous to the period he appeals to, and which could not possibly have been affected by the proclamation, because knowledge could not have reached England in time to produce any effect on the statistics of that period, he would have found that the excommunications were reported to be 2,164; that the church membership was practically the same; and that to teach the truth and guard the church from evil the ministry from Utah

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12. “The Rocky Mountain Saints, p. 202. The figures by Stenhouse are quite correct. See *Mill. Star*, Vol. XV, p. 510. The italics of the text are Mr. Stenhouse’s. Mr. Linn follows Stenhouse saying: “With the Mormon Church in England, however, the publication of the new doctrine proved a bombshell, as is shown by the fact that 2,164 excommunications were reported in the British Isles to the semi-annual conference of December 31st, 1852, and 1,776 to the conference of the following June.” (Linn’s “Story of the Mormons,” p. 287). News of the official promulgation of the doctrine of plural marriage could not have reached England, however, until the latter part of December; therefore, it could have produced no effect upon the number of excommunications for the six months ending December 31st, 1852. Mr. Linn’s use of figures disclosing his anxiety to prove that the announcement of the plurality doctrine was a veritable “bombshell in England,” would prove that in the six months preceding the proclamation the excommunications were greater by 388 than in the six months after its proclamation. The editor of the *Star*, however, complains of some inaccuracy in the reports for the six months ending Dec. 31st, 1852, in connection with the excommunications, deaths, and emigration, without being able to tell on which item the error falls; and that error may account for the unprecedented number of excommunications reported for the six months preceding the proclamation of the doctrine of plural marriage. (See editorial comment in *Mill. Star*, Vol. XV, pp. 73, 74). In any event the excommunications in that period could not have been effected by a proclamation which in that period had not come to the knowledge of the Church in the British Isles.

and the native priesthood were practically as strong in the one period as in the other.<sup>13</sup> Six months still further back,—the statistical report ending June 1st, 1852—would establish the same thing, only that the excommunications for the period—the church membership and the guarding priesthood being practically the same—were even greater than in the six months noted by Stenhouse, namely, 1,795, as against 1,776. Taking the period six months later than the one cited by Stenhouse, and when the bad effects from the proclamation of the plural marriage doctrine, if any, would have been more pronounced than in the first six months following it, and the excommunications were fewer than in the first period of six months; *viz*, for the six months ending December 31st, 1853, 1,413, as against 1,776 noted by Stenhouse, the total membership of the church in the British Isles and the guarding priesthood being not widely different.<sup>14</sup>

It is evident, then, that there was no disastrous effects from the proclamation of the plurality doctrine so far as any material increase in the number of excommunications shows. The membership of the church through the period considered before and after the proclamation of the doctrine remained practically constant, the variations in total membership, baptisms, and emigration fluctuating in about the same manner before as after the proclamation.<sup>15</sup>

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13. That the reader may make the comparison the exact figures are given. There were 17 seventies 10 high priests; Elders 2,572 (all may not have been native elders; in this number and that given by Stenhouse there may have been some Utah brethren); 1,913 priests; 1,446 teachers; 856 deacons. *Mill. Star*, Vol. XV, p. 78.

14. The total membership in the Stenhouse period was 30,690; in the report six months later it was 30,827. While the "guarding priesthood" was only slightly increased; in the latter period being 49 seventies, 13 high priests; 2,678 elders; 1,849 elders; 1,406 teachers, and 815 deacons. (*Mill. Star*, Vol. XVI, p. 78).

15. The church membership for the half year ending June 1st, 1852—a period preceding by nearly a year any effect that could come from the proclamation of plural marriage was 32,340; the number baptized in that period was 3,265; the number emigrated, 496. (*Mill. Star*, Vol. XIV, p. 318). The membership for the half year ending December 31st, 1852, was 32,339; the number baptized, 3,400; emigrated, 85 (*Mill. Star*, Vol. —, p. 78). The report for the half year ending June 30th, 1853, gives the membership at 30,690; the baptisms at 2,601, the emigration at 1,722; (*Mill. Star*, Vol. XV, p. 570). (See note 11, respecting these figures). For the half year ending December 31st, 1853, the memberships are represented at 30,827; baptized, 1,976; emigrated, 78 (*Mill. Star*, Vol. XVI, p. 78). For the half year ending June 30, 1854, the membership is given at 29,797; baptized 2,213; emigrated 1,380 (*Mill. Star*, Vol. XVI, p. 470). The increase in the number emigrated over the six months previous, 1,302, accounts for the falling off in the total membership in this last period.

It may be said by way of accounting for the very numerous excommunications during the period considered, that it was a time marked for the severity of discipline. Neither evil nor the appearance of it was tolerated; and the procedure as to excommunications was often summary and attended with little formality. Only the proper exercise of a little more of the Christian virtues of patience and charity would doubtless have materially reduced the number expelled from the church in these years; but those were the days of fiery zeal, and impatience against those who did not attain, by a single bound, to the realization of Christian ideals of the New Dispensation.

The proclamation respecting the plural marriage principle may be said to have inspired the church with renewed determination and larger effort at propaganda. Orson Pratt was sent to Washington to publish a periodical in advocacy and defense of the faith including the plurality proclaimed doctrine. This periodical Elder Pratt called "*The Seer*," "in commemoration of Joseph Smith, the Seer of the last days," he explained in the *Prospectus*, issued December 21st, 1852. The first number of the *Seer* came from the press in January 1853, and continued through one year and a half, frankly and boldly setting forth the doctrine of the Church on the subject of marriage and all related

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16. *The Seer*: This periodical was a sixteen page octavo monthly and was to be devoted to original matter "elucidating the doctrines of the Church of Jesus Christ of Later-day Saints, as revealed in both ancient and modern revelations. \* \* \* The doctrine of celestial marriage, or marriage for all eternity as believed in and practiced by the Saints in Utah Territory will be clearly explained. The views of the Saints in regard to the ancient patriarchal order of matrimony or plurality of wives, as developed in a revelation given through Joseph Smith, the seer, will be fully published." [It was in the very first number]; the celestial origin and pre-existence of spirits, etc. "It is hoped the President elect," continued the publishers, in the *Prospectus*, "the Hon. members of congress, the heads of the various departments of the national government, the high minded governors and legislative assemblies of the several states and territories, the ministers of every religious denomination, and all the inhabitants of the great Republic will patronize this periodical." As early as April, 1855, President Brigham Young wrote the editor of the *Millennial Star*, who was republishing *The Seer* in England, not to republish any more numbers of it; that while it was admitted that there were many beautifully written articles in it, there were also many items of error and doctrines; and for this reason the Saints were cautioned against accepting *The Seer*. (*Mill. Star*, Vol. XVII, p. 298). Ten years later the matter was considered in counsel and *The Seer* with some other writings of Elder Pratt, namely an article on "*The First Great Cause*" (see Pratt's Works, Liverpool edition, 1851); and an article on "*The Holy Spirit*" (*Mill. Star*, Vol. XII, No. 20), with these the First Presidency and Twelve could not agree, and they were condemned, Elder Pratt acquiescing in the action of his brethren. (See *Deseret News*, Aug. 23rd, 1865).



doctrines.<sup>16</sup> Elder Pratt also took a hall in Washington—"Temperance Hall"—and delivered about twenty lectures "upon subjects pertaining to the Kingdom of God." "So few attended," however, "that he was obliged to close for want of hearers."<sup>17</sup>

Elder John Taylor, in less than a year after Elder Pratt's departure for Washington, was sent to New York on a similar mission to that of Elder Pratt's.<sup>18</sup> He published "*The Mormon*." It was a handsome, royal, twenty-eight columned weekly. It had a very striking and significant heading, filling up at least one-fourth of the first page. It represented an immense American eagle with out-stretched wings poised protectingly above a beehive, and two American flags. Above the eagle was an all seeing eye surrounded by a blaze of glory, and the words: "Let there be light; and there was light."

The Mormon office was situated on the corner of Nassau and Ann streets, with the offices of the New York *Herald* on one side, and those of the *Tribune* on the other. Elder Taylor was thus in the very heart of Gotham's newspaper world. Selecting such a stand is evidence enough that he did not intend to assume a shrinking or apologetic attitude.

During the more than two years and a half that "The Mormon," was continued in existence it was a most fearless advocate and defender of the faith, including the plurality doctrine.<sup>19</sup> In an early number of *The Mormon*, its editor said:

"We have said before, and say now, that we defy all the editors and writers in the United States to prove that Mormonism is less moral, scriptural, philosophical; or that there is less patriotism in Utah than in any other part of the United States. We call for proof; bring on your reasons, gentlemen, if you have

17. Hist. Brigham Young, *Ms.* entry for March, 1853, p. 36. The chronicle adds that "Elder Pratt had never enjoyed more liberty of speech than in delivering these lectures. The spirit rested upon him mightily, but the hearts of the people were sealed against the truth, and he marveled exceedingly at this unbelief and hardness of heart." "Many of the Saints in the States," however, "from whom the light of truth had well nigh departed were again reviving and inquiring how they might get to the valley" Id.

18. Elder Taylor was called at a special conference held at Salt Lake City, June 27th and 28th, 1854. Elders N. H. Felt, Alexander Robbins, Peter Clinton, Martin H. Peck, and Able Lamb were his associates.

19. The first number of *The Mormon* issued from the press on the 17th of February, 1855. The last on the 19th of September, 1857. For an extended review of *The Mormon*, see "The Life of John Taylor" (Roberts), 1892, Ch. XXVIII.



any; we shrink not from the investigation, and dare you to the encounter.”

Stirred by this bold challenge the *New York Mirror* denounced Mormonism as “an immoral excrescence,” that was “allowed to spring up and over-top the Constitution itself.” “Why,” enquired the editor, a Mr. Fuller—“Why are there no public meetings convened in the Tabernacle to denounce Mormonism?” To this Elder Taylor in *The Mormon* replied: “We are ready to meet Mr. Fuller in the Tabernacle on this question at any time. We court investigation and have nothing to hide.” Mr. Fuller did not accept the challenge. The *New York Herald* was bitter in its attacks upon Mormonism and the Saints in Utah. It proposed that a meeting be called in Tammany Hall and that the ministers of the several churches should expose the absurdities and wickedness of the Mormon system. Elder Taylor promptly announced his willingness to meet those ministers in such a gathering, and defend both the character of the Saints and their doctrine. The meeting was not called. The ministers of the several churches were not fighting Mormonism that way. The *New York Sun* was in the field against Mormonism and behind none of the contemporaries in the bitterness of its attacks. So bitter indeed was the press generally that the *Woman’s Advocate* deplored the lack of charity manifested in the discussion of the Utah question. In 1855, through a combination of extreme drought and a plague of grasshoppers the people of Utah were threatened with famine. The press of the east hinted that if the famine came that might be the solution of the Utah question. It was at this point that the *Woman’s Advocate* spoke out against the lack of Christian charity.<sup>20</sup> In the midst of these hard con-

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20. It seems almost incredible that such should be the attitude of the eastern press, but in proof that it was its attitude, I quote from the *Advocate’s* article, as copied in full into *The Mormon* of Sept. 22, 1855. After giving at length the reports of the prospective famine in Utah, the *Advocate* then said: “We need not be surprised if we learn next spring that thousands have perished miserably of starvation. In view of this alarming condition of many thousands of our countrymen and countrywomen, we might reasonably expect to witness some manifestation of sympathy in a portion, at least, of the numerous newspapers which publish the accounts of the damage the crops are sustaining. But not one word is spoken anywhere of regret or sympathy; on the contrary there are frequent manifestations of satisfaction that the problem of Mormonism and its destiny is likely to be settled by the grasshoppers. What little comment we have noticed here and there has a tone of delighted chuckle that chills the blood. *There is a*

ditions "*The Mormon*" with such boldness and an ability that could but command respect, maintained the cause of the Church of the Latter-day Saints and the political rights of the people of Utah to local self-government.

Another paper was established at St. Louis, edited by Elder Erastus Snow, the *St. Louis Luminary*. This was a twenty column folio sheet, weekly, and was designed to do the same work in the western states that "*The Seer*" and "*the Mormon*" were doing in the East, viz, advocate and defend the faith, and maintain the rights of the Latter-day Saints both in Utah and throughout the country. The *Luminary*, however, only continued in existence a little more than a year,<sup>21</sup> its prosperity being interrupted by the migration of more than two thousand of the Saints from the western states to Utah, which migration was directed by the editor of the *Luminary* from where it rendezvoused at Mormon Grove, near Atchison, Kansas.

Somewhat later, yet belonging to this same period of Latter-day saint history, *The Western Standard* was founded early in 1856, at San Francisco, California, by Elder George Q. Cannon, then a young man who had attracted attention by a very successful mission among the natives of the Hawaiian Islands, and into whose language he had translated the Book of Mormon.<sup>22</sup> *The*

*spirit of murder in it*, a suppressed shout of triumph of the persecutor over his victim, that is suppressed only because the triumph is not yet sure." For the N. Y. *Sun's* comment on the *Advocate's* article and *The Mormon's* reply, see note I end of chapter.

21. The first number of the *Luminary* issued from the press November 22, 1854, and the last on Dec. 15, 1855. Though less dashing in spirit than *The Mormon*, it was, never-the-less, an ably edited periodical.

22. Elder Cannon was the son of Captain George Cannon and Ann Quayle Cannon, natives of Peel, Isle of Man. The Cannon, or Cannan family—the name is spelled both ways in the records—came originally from the borders of England and Scotland, and is supposed to have removed to the Isle of Man on account of political troubles in which they became involved. In the latter place the family estate has been in the possession of representatives of the family—as it is now—for more than three hundred years, and is called *Coolshallah*. George Q. Cannon was born at Liverpool, England, Jan. 11th, 1827. His parents were converts to the Mormon faith under the missionary labors of John Taylor in 1840; and George Q. a few months after the baptism of his parents also became a member of the Church. The family removed to Nauvoo in 1843, where young Cannon entered the printing and publishing office of John Taylor, his uncle by marriage. George Q. Cannon came to Utah with the family of John Taylor in the fall of 1847. Two years later he went to California in company with Elder Charles C. Rich, and the next year was called with nine others on a mission to the Sandwich Islands. On returning from that mission he was next appointed to labor in California, where he founded the *Western Standard* as detailed in the text above. Good biographical sketches of George Q. Cannon will be found in the Latter-day Saints Biographical Encyclopedia (Jensen), and in Whitney's Hist. of Utah, Vol. IV.

*Western Standard* was a twenty-four column, royal folio weekly, which continued its existence a little more than a year and a half, its publication being brought to a close by the out break of the "Utah War," of 1857.<sup>23</sup> The *Standard* was ably edited by Elder Cannon, who possessed a very pleasing literary style, wide knowledge, and a sound understanding. The standard marked a distinct advance in Mormon periodical literature.

Three of these four periodicals—*The Mormon*, the *Luminary* and the *Western Standard*, were similar in form and general character, all weeklies and all published in advocacy and defense of the faith of the new dispensation. All reproduced from the *Deseret News*, published at Salt Lake City, the messages to the legislature, official proclamations, and correspondence of Governor Young; also many of his public discourses, delivered in his capacity of President of the Church of the Latter-day Saints, as also the discourses of other prominent elders of the Church. In these matters there was great frankness. Much that was said in the warmth of enthusiasm, and under irritation produced by a felt sense of injustice exercised towards the Saints, and the lively recollections of injuries received in the past, and threatened evils for the future—much, even too much, is likely to be the verdict of history—of this class of matter was reproduced in the Mormon periodicals at New York, St. Louis and San Francisco; and even in the *Millennial Star* and *Journal of Discourse*, published in Liverpool, England, during this period. A perusal of these periodicals will effectually refute the notion, so generally prevalent, that one kind of Mormonism is preached

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23. The first number bears the date of Feb. 23rd, 1856; the last number Sept. 18th, 1857. A book of more than 500 octavo pages was made up from the editorials of the *Standard*—so well were they thought of—in order to preserve them in more available and permanent form than was possible in the periodical in which they first appeared.

24. *The Journal of Discourses* was published in England, beginning in 1854. The *Journal* appeared as a sixteen page, semi-monthly periodical. At the end of each year these numbers were bound, making an annual volume that ran through many years, and constitutes a library of Mormon practical instructions, ethics, religion, philosophy, and history as voiced by the Presidency of the Church, members of the Apostle's quorum, and other prominent elders of the Church. While these discourses are not held by the Church to be final authority on the subjects of which they respectively treat, they are, nevertheless, regarded as profitable for doctrine, for reproof, for correction, for instruction in righteousness, and, in the main, are sound both in doctrine and ethics.



in Utah and another in the world.<sup>25</sup> A more prudent policy, perfectly justifiable, too, would have declined to reproduce some ill-natured, and some ill-advised utterances that represented a passing vexation, a moment of over-zeal, an excited, temporary enthusiasm, rather than the real and settled principles, or the habitual attitude of mind of the Latter-day Saint Church leaders, respecting many of the subjects discussed at the time and under the conditions referred to above.

The impetus given to missionary work and the founding of foreign missions in the memorable activities of 1849-50 was continued in the period now under consideration.

*Hawaiian Island Mission:* In 1850-51, a mission in the Hawaiian Islands was established which has been continuous and one of the most successful missions of the Church, many thousands of its native population having accepted and been faithful to the New Dispensation of the gospel. The mission that first went to the Islands numbered ten in all.<sup>26</sup> They were sent to these Islands under the authority of Elder Charles C. Rich of the council of the Twelve Apostles,—then presiding in California.<sup>27</sup> Five of the mission, including the president, Elder Hiram Clark, soon became discouraged and left the Islands; the other five remained, and preached to the natives with great success. The first branch of the Church was organized in 1851 at Kula upon the Island of Maui by Elder George Q. Cannon, who also translated the Book of Mormon into the Hawaiian language which subsequently was published in San Francisco, in 1855.

In 1851 a second group of elders, three in number, Philip B. Lewis, Francis A. Hammond and John S. Woodbury. The first two were accompanied by their wives, and sister Woodbury shortly afterwards also joined her husband. Elder Lewis was appointed to the presidency of the mission.

There was some opposition to the work of the elders by rep-

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25. For confirmation of such charges being made and a refutation of them see "*Defense of the Faith and the Saints*" (Roberts), 1912, article No. II, "Review of Address to the World," by Ministerial Association, Salt Lake City; and No. III, "Roberts' Answer to Ministerial Association Review," pp. 255-363.

26. Their names were Hiram Clark, Thomas Whittle, H. W. Bigler, Thomas Morris, John Dixon, William Farrer, James Howkins, Hiram Blackwell, George Q. Cannon and Thomas Keeler. See Report of the Church Historian on Missions in Utah Pioneers, p. 28. Also "My First Mission," by Geo. Q. Cannon, p. 11.

27. See Cannon's "My First Mission," p. 19.



representatives of other churches, and this for a time checked the progress of the work, more especially as the natives were not prepared then to endure opposition and persecution for religious convictions. "The Missionaries,"—that is of other churches—wrote Elder F. A. Hammon, some time after his arrival on the Islands, "succeeded in putting a stop to our labors, but the government gave their full consent to our laboring here, and the U. S. Consul took an active part in getting granted to us the same rights as the other denominations, since which time the work has been increasing rapidly and we now number about six hundred members upon all the islands, four hundred and fifty of them upon this island (i. e. Maui): we baptized about two hundred and fifty since Christmas, and the work is still going a-head."<sup>28</sup>

From that time on the mission among the natives has been quite uniformly successful.

*A Mission to South America—Chile:* In February 1851 Elder Parley P. Pratt was called and set apart by the Presidency of the Church "to a mission to open the door and proclaim the gospel in the Pacific Islands, in Lower California, and in South America."<sup>29</sup> In this capacity he arrived on the Pacific coast in March. It was under his appointment and authority that the second group of elders were sent to the Hawaiian Islands carrying with them from the apostle a letter of introduction to his majesty King Kamahamaha, at the time the reigning monarch of those Islands. Elder Pratt also wrote Elder Addison Pratt in charge of the work in the Society Islands announcing his own presidency over all the islands and coasts of the Pacific, and urged Elder Addison Pratt to send elders to the Friendly Islands and to other groups as rapidly as circumstances would permit; also announcing his own intention of sending elders to New Zealand, and Van Dieman's Land; and also announced his intention to visit Chile in South America.<sup>30</sup> Elder Pratt afterwards went to Chile, accompanied by his wife and Elder Rufus Allen. The mission took up their residence in Valparaiso, where they remained

28. The letter is dated March 1st, 1852, *Deseret News*, July 24th, 1852.

29. Hist. Brigham Young Ms., entry for January, 1851, p. 8.

30. These several official acts are recorded in Elder Pratt's Autobiography, Ch. XLVIII.

several months; and resided about one month forty miles in the interior. But owing to a revolution then in progress in Chile the restriction of the laws as to religious freedom, but little could be accomplished and the mission returned to California in May, 1852.

*Australia and New Zealand:* In his capacity of president of the Pacific Coast and the Islands of the Pacific Mission, Elder Pratt sent Elders John Murdock and Charles W. Wandell to Australia. This mission landed at Sidney on the 31st of October, 1851.<sup>31</sup> By January 1852 they organized a branch of the Church in Sydney and published a periodical called *Zion's Watchman*. The branch at Sidney was organized on the 4th of January 1852, with thirteen members;<sup>32</sup> and these by March following were increased to thirty-six.<sup>33</sup> Of the 108 missionaries called at the special conference of the church held at Salt Lake City in August, 1852, nine were sent to Australia,<sup>34</sup> and some of these extended the mission work of the Church to New Zealand and Tasmania, then called Van Dieman's Land, and continued the publication of *Zion's Watchman*. The Australian and New Zeland Mission has been continuous since that time, and especially fruitful of converts among the natives of New Zealand.

Of the other missions founded, or of the effort to found them in this period, the church historian, George A. Smith, records the following, and all of the missions here mentioned were appointed from the special conference at Salt Lake City, held in August, 1852, the conference at which the doctrine of plural marriage was officially announced.

*"Prussia.*—In January, 1853, Elders Orson Spencer and Jacob Houtz arrived in Berlin, Prussia, but found that it was im-

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31. Hist. of Brigham Young Ms., 1851, p. 67 and 42. This was not the first mission sent to Australia. Eleven years before Elder William Barrett was sent by Apostolic authority—by Geo. A. Smith of the council of the Twelve—from England, to preach the gospel in that land. "And was enabled to sow the good seed," remarks the Church Historian, "which afterwards bore fruit." (Answers to Questions, p. 33).

32. Hist. of Brigham Young Ms. Entry for Feb., 1852, pp. 17, 18.

33. Historian's Report in Utah Pioneer Celebration, 1880, p. 26.

34. Their names were: Augustus Farnham, William Hyde, Burr Frost, John Hyde, Josiah W. Fleming, Paul Smith, James Graham, John S. Eldredge, and Absalom P. Dowdle.

possible to preach or publish the truth of the Latter-day work in consequence of religious intoleration. These elders wrote to the King's Ministers of Public Worship for permission to preach but were immediately summoned before the police court and catechised as to the object of their mission. They were ordered to leave the kingdom next morning, under penalty of transportation."

"*Gibraltar*.—Elders Edward Stevenson and N. T. Porter arrived in Gibraltar in March, 1853, and were immediately summoned to appear before the police and establish their right to remain on the "Rock." Elder Porter was required to leave, but Elder Stevenson having been born there maintained his right to remain, but the Governor forbade his preaching "Mormonism." He, however, remained over a year and baptized several, amidst threats, prohibitions and constant opposition. He also endeavored to open up the work in Spain, but was not permitted by the authorities."

"*Hindustan*.—Elders Nathaniel V. Jones, Robert Skelton, Samuel A. Woolley, William Fotheringham, Richard Ballantyne, Truman Leonard, Amos Milton Musser, Robert Owen and William F. Carter arrived in Calcutta and held a conference there April 29th, 1853. The Hindustanee missionaries extended their labors throughout India, as the way opened; but finding the Hindustanees destitute of honesty and integrity, insomuch that when converted and baptized they would for a few *pice* join any other religion,<sup>35</sup> and finding the Europeans so aristo-

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35. In illustration of this statement I give an excerpt from a letter of N. V. Jones, detailing his experience at Kishneghur, in the province of Bengal. After delivering tracts in the city printed partly in Bengalis, and part in English—for there was an English military and missionary station there, and having preached to the natives, the latter were anxious to learn what offers the brethren had to make to induce them to join the Church, and this was answered:

"We told them positively that they could not be hired to serve in the Kingdom of God. When they became convinced of this latter statement, they turned away with apparent sorrow, for they were evidently disappointed in the object of their search. They said: 'How can you expect us to leave our religion and go to another, if we are not paid for it.' They appeared to feel as though we had asked them to do something without remunerating them for it. They considered it purely a matter of *pice* and *rupees*, and kept constantly bantering us and making offers, expecting that we would make one in return; but when they found we were not going to, they came around us in a very crouching and supplicatory manner, with the palms of their hands together in front of their faces, and their bodies half bent, saying, '*Ek bat bolo sahib*,' (one word say, master). That is, say what you will give, say something. One stepped up and said, 'I am getting eight rupees per month, and if you will give me ten, I will go with you.' Another got onto his knees on the ground, and besought me in the most supplicating manner, catching me at the same time around both feet, rubbing his face on my shoes, until I actually saw the tears standing in his eyes, desiring in the most humiliating terms, that I would advance him something on his pay. I was finally obliged to resist them stoutly, to keep them from laying hold of my person, thinking that if I submitted to this, they had gained their object." (Letter No. 4, N. V. Jones, *Deseret News*, Vol. V, 1856, p. 364).

cratic that they were hardly approachable, they left the country, after having traveled to all the principal [British army] stations in India, where frequently they were ordered out of the cantonments and had to sleep in the open air, exposed to that sickly climate, to poisonous reptiles and to wild beasts. Elder William Willes, from England, had traveled up the Ganges, and visited Simla, and Elder Hugh Findlay, from the British mission, labored in Bombay and the adjacent country."<sup>36</sup>

I interrupt this series of quotations from the Church Historians compilation of *data* respecting the founding of these missions, to say that there is nothing more heroic in our church annals than the labors and suffering of these brethren of the mission to India. In the main they journeyed to the British army cantonments, and sought a hearing among the English officers, soldiers and camp followers. This method of procedure in fulfilling their mission took them to many parts of the interior of the great land of the east, but as their message was but indifferently received by the English at the British garrisons, they turned to the natives into whose country they had penetrated, but with little success, except in the coast towns, and even here the work among the natives could not apparently be established on any permanent basis because of the instability of the native character. Finally in 1855 the mission in India, for the time being, was closed by President Brigham Young calling upon the Elders sent to that land to return home, bringing with them as many of their converts as had means for the journey, and who could be induced to come.<sup>37</sup> Nathaniel V. Jones was the President of this mission from the time of his arrival in March 1853, to the closing up of the mission, and conducted its affairs in a very honorable and dignified manner.<sup>38</sup>

36. It will be remembered that missions in several parts of India were opened by Elders sent there by Lorenzo Snow—one of the Twelve apostles—from Europe in 1850-51. (See Chapter LXXVII). Joseph Richards should be named as among the first missionaries in India as well as Elders Willis and Findlay.

37. See *Mill. Star*, Vol. XVII, p. 651. Also the following extract from the General Epistle of the First Presidency of Oct. 29, 1855: "The East India missionaries have returned or are on their way hither [i. e., to Salt Lake City], having faithfully preached the gospel from two to five years, in that benighted country with but little apparent success." *Deseret News*, Oct. 31, 1855.

38. N. V. Jones, President of the Mission in India, is one of the most satisfactory characters in Mormon history. He was a member of the Mormon Battalion, first sergeant of Company D, and made the heroic march from Missouri to the Pacific coast. He was also a member of General Kearney's escort when that



The Church Historian's compilation of missionary *data* is now continued:

*“China.*—Elders Hosea Stout, Chapman Duncan and James Lewis reached Hong Kong, China, April 27th, 1853, but owing to the revolution spreading through that country, they were unable to go elsewhere [i. e. in that country]. The inhabitants told them that they had not time to “talka” religion. The way soon opened for them to return to San Francisco, which they did in August.

*“Siam.*—The missionaries sent, in the Fall of 1852, to Siam, finding it impossible to ship thither from San Francisco, accompanied the Hindustanee missionaries to Calcutta, where, in consequence of the war in Burmah, they learned that the overland route to Siam was interrupted, whereupon Elders Chauncey W. West and Franklin Dewey concluded to go to Ceylon, and Elders Elam Luddington and Levi Savage to Siam, by way of Burmah.

*“Ceylon.*—The Ceylon missionaries encountered much opposition, partly caused by the circulation of a large number of tracts from Europe containing misrepresentations. \* \* \* At Galle the newspapers advised the people not to receive ‘Mormon’ missionaries into their houses, lest they should become partakers of their evil deeds, which counsel was implicitly obeyed. The missionaries had an introduction to a gentleman living at Columbo, seventy miles distant, and proceeded thither, \* \* \* On their return they passed through thirty-seven towns, and witnessed the immoral practices and social degradation of the inhabitants. They visited high and low, priests and people, but they would neither open their doors for preaching, nor feed the missionaries.

Elder Savage remained in Burmah nearly two years, without being able to establish a branch. Elder Luddington proceeded to Bankok, Siam, where he was stoned and rejected.

*“South Africa.*—In 1853, Elders Jesse Haven, William Walker and Leonard I. Smith arrived at the Cape of Good Hope.

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officer returned to the east, after the conquest of California, with Col. Fremont under arrest. He became one of the early settlers of Utah, and active in all movements that made for the advancement of the commonwealth. In the Territorial militia he rose to the rank of colonel. He made an exhaustive study of the iron resources of Utah and will be recorded in Utah history as one of the pioneers in the manufacture of iron. In addition to his mission to India he also filled one in England; and for a number of years was Bishop of the 15th Ward in Salt Lake City, where he died on the 15th of February, 1863, and was buried with processional honors. (See *Deseret News* for Feb. 18th, 1863; also *Id.* for Feb. 22, 1913). Bishop Jones was born at Rochester, New York, Oct. 13, 1822; and therefore was but forty years of age at his death. A family of six sons and four daughters survived him.

The first three meetings held in Cape Town were broken up by rioters. Elders Smith and Walker went into the country, where they obtained a foothold and commenced to baptize. Elder Haven remained and preached amid much opposition, and raised up a branch of the Church. Elder Walker proceeded to Fort Beaufort and baptized several. Elder Smith labored around Fort Elizabeth and organized a small conference.

*“West Indies.*—Elders Aaron F. Farr, Darwin Richardson, Jesse Turpin and A. B. Lambson landed at Jamaica, in the West Indies, January 10th, 1853. They called upon the American consul, Mr. Harrison, who advised them to hire a hall and announce public preaching, as the laws extended toleration to all sects, which they accordingly did; but a mob numbering one hundred and fifty persons gathered around the building, and threatened to tear it down were these ‘polygamists,’ as they termed the elders, permitted to preach therein. Unless the Elders could give security for the price of the hall the landlord objected to their holding meetings. The Elders informed him that they were not there to force their principles upon the people—to quell mobs, nor to protect property, but to preach the Gospel of Jesus Christ to those who were willing to hear it. The Elders got away from the island safely, though while they remained they had to run the gauntlet, and two of them were shot by a negro.

*“British Guiana.*—Elder James Brown and Elijah Thomas, missionaries to British Guiana, shipped from San Diego, California, to Panama, thence to Chagres and Aspinwall. From the latter port, unable to ship for British Guiana, they embarked for Jamaica. After conferring with the West India missionaries, they concluded to embark with them for Barbados, being still unable to ship for the point of their destination. After paying their passage they were not allowed to proceed thither; the prejudice was so great against the elders that the harbor agent or naval officers would not allow them to be shipped to any English island. As the only alternative they proceeded to New York with the West India missionaries, where they all landed in February, 1853, and labored in the United State, except Elder Darwin Richardson, who went to England and labored there.

*Malta Mission:*<sup>40</sup> *The “Floating Branch;” “The Expeditionary Force Branch:”* In 1853, Elder James F. Bell was sent from England to Malta, where several were baptized. Upon the breaking out of the Crimean war, the interest in the work was broken off, still a few of the soldiers in the British regiments

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40. It will be remembered that the work upon this island was begun under the direction of Elder Lorenzo Snow; and a branch of the Church was organized in June, 1852; see this History, Ch. LXXVII.

that landed there obeyed the gospel. There originated from this mission three branches of the Church, viz., one in Florianna, Malta, a second, called the "Floating Branch," in the Mediterranean, which consisted of sailors belonging to Her Majesty's ships the *Bellerophon*, *Trafalgar*, *Vengeance* and *Britannia*; a third, the "Expeditionary Force Branch" in the Crimea; the latter consisted of brethren belonging to the 30th, 41st, 93rd and 95th British regiments. A few of the members of these branches lost their lives in the Crimean War."<sup>41</sup>

Thus did the Church of the Latter-day Saints in these years seek to fulfill the initial obligation given to that Church in the very opening of the new dispensation, namely, to preach the gospel of the Kingdom to every nation and kindred and tongue and people.<sup>42</sup> And if the numerical and financial strength of the Church be taken into account, or rather its weakness in these respects be taken into account, and if the circumstance of the location of the Saints in an undeveloped and comparatively isolated country in the mountain interior of America be also considered, the splendor of this missionary spirit, and the wonder of the journies of these missionaries to such distant lands, and their achievements in the face of all the hardships and hindrances to be endured and overcome—if all this be considered, it will render these missionary enterprises the most wonderful manifestations of Christian zeal and enthusiasm—the largest and most earnest service undertaken, within the same space of time, for God and man, since the days of the apostles of the early Christian Church.

Moreover, the record of these missionary movements should

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41. The foregoing condensed reports of missionary movements are taken from Geo. A. Smith's "Answers to Questions," 1869, pp. 30-36. The information is compiled from the reports from these missions, the correspondence of the Elders recorded in Hist. of Brigham Young, "Ms., for the years 1852-1855, *passim*. For account of the Expeditionary Force Branch"—which at one time was in Turkey—and the "Floating Branch"—both unique in the way of branches. See Hist. Brigham Young, Ms. entry for August, 1854.

42. "And I saw another angel fly in the midst of heaven having the everlasting gospel to preach unto them that dwell on the earth, and to every nation and kindred, and tongue and people, saying with a loud voice, Fear God and give glory to him; for the hour of his judgment is come: and worship him that made heaven and earth and the sea and the fountains of Waters." (Rev. XIV, 6, 7). By the restoration of the gospel through the ministration of angels in the New Dispensation is this prophecy of scripture fulfilled. And unto the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints is this commission of preaching the gospel anew given. Compare the above passage from Revelations with the Doctrine and Covenants, Sec. 133.



correct a false impression respecting the missionary work of the Church of the Latter-day Saints. It is quite commonly supposed that the only missionary work done by said Church is that of proselyting from Christian sects; that it attempts no original conversions from so-called heathen peoples. The enumeration of its missionary labors among the natives of India, Siam, Burmah, Ceylon, China, the West Indies; also, and with more success, among the American Indians, the Hawaiians, and New Zealanders, in the early years, here considered; and later in Tahiti and Samoa, as also in other groups of the Pacific, and in Japan—all this should be successful refutation of this false charge.<sup>44</sup>

NOTE 1: BITTERNESS OF THE NEW YORK PRESS ON THE "UTAH QUESTION": To the suggestion of the *Woman's Advocate* that there was a lack of charity in the discussion of Mormon affairs, and an ill concealed rejoicing in the prospect of a solution of the Utah question by the calamity of famine, the *New York Sun* replied:

"As to the alleged want of sympathy it is enough to say that there has yet been no appeal for help from Utah. If an appeal were made in the name of humanity, the degrading and disgusting doctrines of Brigham Young, and others of the priesthood, promulgated as articles of faith, would not hinder the American people from responding to it."

To which Elder Taylor with some warmth answered:

"The *Sun* says there has been no appeal from Utah for help. An appeal for help indeed! They have called for their own, but their rights have been continually withheld, though your statesmen owned their cause was just. And shall they now ask charity for those that robbed and despoiled them of their goods and murdered their best men? We have been robbed of millions and driven from our own firesides into the cold, wintry blasts of the desert, to starve by your charitable institutions, and shall we now crave your paltry sixpences? Talk to us with your hypocritical cant about charity! Pshaw! it's nauseating to every one not eaten up with your corrupt humbuggery and pharisaical egotism. You forget you were talking to Americans, born upon the soil of freedom, suckled in liberty, who have inhaled it from their fathers' lips—sons of fathers who fought for rights which you, in your bigotry and self-conceit, would fain wrench from

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44. For statistics on the present status of these missions, see Note 2, end of chapter.



them. Intolerance has thrice driven them from their homes, but the wild burst of liberty of '76. now reverberates through the mountain passes of Utah, bidding defiance to mobocracy and its leaders; and hurling mock charity and pretended patriotism back to the fount of corruption from which it issues. The Mormons neither need your sympathy nor your cankered gold. Your malicious slanders only excite contempt for those base enough to utter them. Your contemptible falsehoods fail to ruffle a feather in our caps. \* \* \* The God of Jacob in whom the Mormons trust—He who brought up Israel out of Egypt—He it is who sustained the Mormons in their tedious journeyings over the barren deserts and wild mountain passes of this continent. In the dark hour of trial, amid all their distresses, without friends or home—God upheld and sustained them; He sustains them still, and will cause them to shine forth with the bright radiance of eternal truth over the wide world, long after their malicious slanderers shall have sunk to oblivion in the filth of their own corruptions.”—(*The Mormon*, Oct. 6th, 1855).

This boldness in rejoinder to all opponents reminds one of the tone of Tertullian's defense of the early Christians. Of him it is said: “His was not the tone of a supplicant pleading for toleration. *He demanded justice.*” So with Elder Taylor and *The Mormon*.

NOTE 2: SUCCESS OF THE GOSPEL OF THE NEW DISPENSATION AMONG NON-CHRISTIAN RACES: *In the Hawaiian Islands*, according to a report filed in the Presiding Bishop's office at Salt Lake City, 31st of December, 1912, there were 9 conferences in those Islands, 73 permanent branches, with a membership of 8,689; divided into officer's and members as follows—nearly all natives of the Islands:

Elders .....	332
Priests .....	118
Teachers .....	152
Deacons .....	211
Members—baptized .....	5,689
Children under eight years of age.....	2,187
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Total .....	8,689

Sunday schools and associations for the improvement of the young are organized, also a central industrial and manual training school is maintained by the church at Laie.

*In New Zealand*, according to the same report—the statistics represent results chiefly among the natives—there are 17 con-

ferences; 105 permanent branches, with a membership of 5,837, divided into officers and members as follows:

Elders—traveling Missionaries from America....	41
Elders—native New Zealanders.....	215
Priests—natives .....	172
Teachers—natives .....	141
Deacons—natives .....	269
Members baptized .....	3,646
Children under eight years, therefore not baptized,	1,394

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Total .....5,878

*Tahiti*, according to the same report, 12 permanent branches; 1,312 members, divided as follows:

Elders—traveling missionaries from America....	11
Elders—native .....	68
Priests—native .....	30
Teachers—native .....	17
Deacons—native .....	30
Members—baptized .....	831
Children—under eight years of age.....	325

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Total .....1,312

*Samoa*, same report: 5 conferences, 25 permanent branches, membership 2,057, divided as follows:

Elders—traveling missionaries from America ....	37
Elders—native .....	24
Priests—native .....	27
Teachers—native .....	13
Deacons—native .....	57
Members—baptized .....	1,514
Children under eight years of age.....	422

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Total .....2,094

## CHAPTER LXXXIV

### MISCELLANEOUS EVENTS 1851-7—CALAMITOUS INCIDENTS: THE SALUDA AFFAIR—THE HAND CART EMIGRATION

At a public meeting in his own house, at a time when the refugee Saints, sick and poverty stricken from the Missouri expulsion, were bivouacing on the Mississippi at the place which afterwards became Nauvoo, Joseph Smith spoke and in the course of his remarks “explained the uselessness of preaching to the

world about "great judgments," and urged rather that the "simple gospel be preached to the world." He also explained "that it is a false idea that the saints will escape all judgments, whilst the wicked suffer; for all flesh is subject to suffering and 'the righteous shall hardly escape.' " "Still many of the Saints shall escape," he continued, "for the just shall live by faith. Yet many of the righteous shall fall a prey to disease, to pestilence, etc., by reason of the weakness of the flesh, and yet be saved in the kingdom of God. So that it is an unhallowed principle to say that such and such have transgressed because they have been preyed upon by disease or death, for all flesh is subject to death; and the Savior has said, 'judge not that ye be not judged.' "

The Saints, then, the Church of Christ itself, in the light of this doctrine laid down by the Prophet, may not hope to escape misfortune, sickness, accidents, death; what I here call calamitous events; and in this chapter I propose to group together a number of such events occurring in the period of the Church history now being considered.

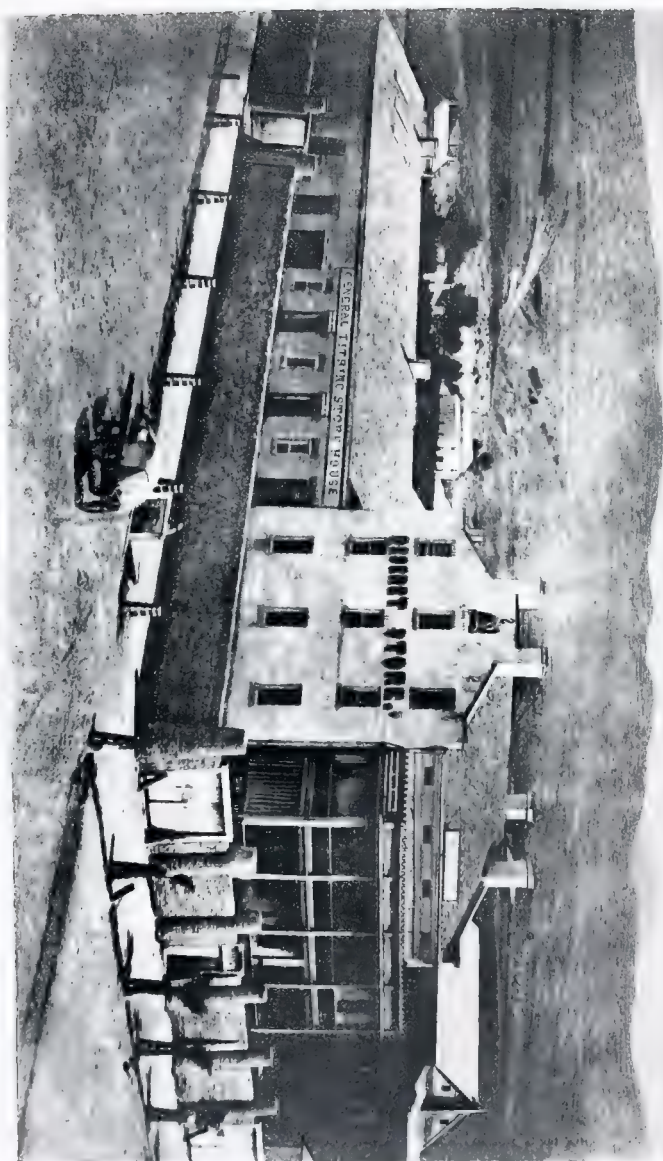
The first of these events is a disaster in a coal mine at Cymback, near Merthyr Tydfil, Wales, in May, 1852, occasioned by a fire damp explosion, in which sixty-nine men were killed, nineteen of whom were members of the Church of the Latter-day Saints.<sup>2</sup>

Another disaster of the same year was the blowing up of the steamboat, *Saluda*, on the Missouri river near the town of Lexington, in the state of Missouri. The *Saluda* had about one hundred and seventy-five passengers on board, ninety of whom were Latter-day Saints under the leadership of Elder Eli B. Kelsey enroute for Utah. The *Saluda* left St. Louis on the 30th of March, 1852; and as she drew near to Lexington she met a mass of floating ice, which detained her at the Lexington wharf for several days. After the ice floe was past and the steamer was getting up steam to round a point above Lexington, the engineers al-

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1. Documentary Hist. of the Church, Vol. IV, p. 11.

2. "President Philips" (i. e., President of the Cymback branch), says President Young, "counseled the disorganization of the Church at that place previous to the explosion." (Hist. Brigham Young, *Ms.*, entry for 21st May, 1852, p. 40). Implying that had such counsel been followed the Saints might have escaped the calamity.







lowed the boilers to get dry and red-hot, and as the engines started the pumps forced the cold water into the boilers, and the explosion occurred which burst the boilers to atoms, and the boat sank within ten minutes. The exact number of the killed and wounded is not definitely known, but is given by the *Lexington Express*,—extra—of April 13th, as “about one hundred.” Only twenty-six bodies of the killed were recovered.

Elder Kelsey, in charge of the company, and ten other leading brethren had left the boat some distance below Lexington in order to purchase cattle for the journey across the plains, and hence escaped the disaster. The people of Lexington, notwithstanding that town was in the region of Missouri where the Saints suffered the bitterest persecutions but a few years before—1838—exerted themselves most nobly for the relief of the wounded; and they also gathered up for interment as many of the dead as could be recovered. Within a few hours they subscribed \$1,000 for the relief of the destitute; and many among the wealthiest of the citizens opened their houses to receive the wounded, and themselves became their nurses. The steam boat *Isabel*, also enroute up the river, witnessed the explosion, and halted to render assistance. Captain Miller of the *Isabel* generously offered free passage with free provisions, etc., to Council Bluffs, to the survivors; and quite a number availed themselves of the generous offer, and in three hours after the explosion had resumed their journey. Captain F. T. Belt of the *Saluda* was among those who were killed.<sup>3</sup>

The emigration of the saints from England and some parts of continental Europe in 1854, suffered greatly from cholera on the journey up the Mississippi river, and at their encampment on the Missouri preparatory to starting upon the overland journey across the plains. They were detained upon the frontiers longer than usual, and the banks and bayous and river bottoms of the Missouri, where encampment was made, generated deadly Miasmata. The Scandinavian contingent of the emigration suffered most, losing one hundred and fifty out of a company of seven

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3. See Extra of the *Lexington Express*, April 13, 1852, published at length in *Mill. Star*, Vol. XIV, pp. 220-222, where a list of the killed and wounded will be found. Also editorials of the *Star*, *Id.* pp. 217 and 282-3. *Ms. Hist. of Brigham Young*, entry for 21st May, 1852, p. 49.

hundred. The sickness which was general with all companies, and all classes of emigrants along the Missouri that season, began to abate as the camps moved away from the river. The amount of sickness while traveling up the Mississippi in this season's emigration led to changing the port of entry for the Latter-day Saint emigration from New Orleans to Boston, and New York.<sup>4</sup> It has already been noted in these pages that as far back as 1851 the Presidency of the Church was convinced of the necessity of obtaining a different route of travel for the Saints than the one *via* New Orleans and the Mississippi river; and instructed the president of the British mission to investigate the feasibility of a route *via* the Isthmus of Panama, or Tehautepec, thence up the Pacific coast to San Diego; that if practical the emigration might by the new route avoid "three thousand miles of inland navigation through a most sickly climate and country." At that time a change of route was decided to be not feasible.<sup>5</sup>

Another disaster to be recorded within the period here considered is one connected with the "hand-cart emigration." So far as I can discover this method of emigrating the Saints was first suggested by the Presidency of the Church in their sixth General Epistle, addressed "To the Saints scattered throughout the earth," and bearing date of September 22nd, 1851.<sup>6</sup> In that epistle great emphasis was laid upon the subject of the saints "gathering to Zion," as may be judged by the following excerpt:

"O ye Saints in the United States, will you listen to the voice of 'the good Shepherd'? Will you gather? Will you be obedient to the heavenly commandments? Many of you have been looking for, and expecting too much; you have been expecting the time would come when you could journey across the mountains in

4. *Mill. Star*, quoting *St. Louis Lummary*, Vol. XVII, pp. 218-19. Even as early as the 2nd of August of 1854 this change was determined upon. Under the entry in his journal History of that date, Brigham Young writes: "I wrote Elder F. D. Richards to discontinue shipping the Saints *via* New Orleans and ship them *via* Philadelphia, Boston or New York; or if he shipped any more to New Orleans to do so in time that they might get off the rivers before warm weather and the sickly season set in. Hist. of Brigham Young *Ms.*, 1854, p. 71.

5. See this History, Ch. LXXXVII, note 9, also *Mill. Star*, Vol. XIV, p. 24.

6. Hist. of Brigham Young *Ms.*, entry for September, 1851, pp. 72 to 98. Same also published without date, *Mill. Star*, Vol. XIV, pp. 17-25.

your fine carriages, your good wagons, and have all the comforts of life that heart could wish; but your expectations are vain, and if you wait for those things you will never come, \* \* \* and your faith and hope will depart from you. How long shall it be said in truth 'the children of this world are wiser in their generation than the children of light.' Some of the children of the world have crossed the mountains and plains, from Missouri to California, with a pack on their back to worship their God-Gold! Some have performed the same journey with a wheel-barrow, some have accomplished the same with a pack on a cow. Some of the Saints, now in our midst, came hither with wagons or carts made of wood, without a particle of iron, hooping their wheels with hickory, or raw hide, or ropes, and had as good and safe a journey as any in the camps, with their well wrought iron wagons; and can you not do the same? Yes, if you have the same desire, the same faith. Families might start from the Missouri river, with cows, hand-carts, wheel-barrow, with little flour, and no unnecessaries, and come to this place quicker, and with less fatigue, than by following the heavy trains, with their cumbrous herds, which they are often obliged to drive miles to feed. Do you not like this method of traveling? Do you think salvation costs too much? If so, it is not worth having. Sisters, fifty and sixty years old, have driven ox teams to this valley, and are alive and well yet; true they could have come easier by walking alone, than by driving a team, but by driving the oxen, they helped others here; and cannot you come the easier way? There is grain and provision enough in the valleys for you to come to; and you need not bring more than enough to sustain you one hundred days, to ensure you a supply for the future."

It must have been expected by the brethren at Salt Lake City that many would act upon this suggestion and start in the spring following the publication of the Epistle with hand-carts as suggested; for Heber C. Kimball in the April conference following pleaded in behalf of those who were coming by that means of migration over the plains whereupon "ninety-three persons volunteered to go out with their teams to carry provisions and render those on the road assistance."

"I followed upon the same subject," remarks President

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7. *Mill. Star*, Vol. XIV, p. 23. Those who were to come by teams were counseled to bring with them nails, glass, paints, oils, wire, osage orange, and other choice seeds, and such articles as are most needed in a new country, to exchange for bread; and start earlier than usual, "even as soon as teams can possibly be supported on the prairie so as to avoid the spring rains, and be here to assist in harvest." *Id.*



Young, "when those who had volunteered to go, voted to donate their services."<sup>8</sup> As no such emigration started from the states that year, of course this volunteered help was not needed. Indeed the suggestion of making the overland journey across the plains was not acted upon until the year 1856. The necessary definite instructions on this method of emigrating was given in the General Epistle of the First Presidency of October 1855,<sup>9</sup> and the following season as heartily responded to by the Saints in Europe.

The emigration that year was unusually large, amounting in all to 4,326 souls; of whom 2,012 were emigrated by the means provided by the Perpetual Emigration Fund Company.<sup>10</sup> The route of the emigration in the main was *via* Boston to Iowa City, in the state of Iowa, that being the most westerly railway terminus at the time along the proposed line of travel. Here the hand cart companies were fitted out for the journey across the plains. The first two companies led by Edmund Ellsworth and the second by Daniel D. McArthur left on the 9th and 11th of June respectively. These companies as reported on their arrival in Salt Lake City

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8. Hist. Brigham Young ms. entry for April, 1852, pp. 33-34. Also *Mill. Star*, minutes of the Conference, Vol. XIV, p. 355.

9. "In regard to the foreign immigration another year," said the epistle, "let them pursue the northern route from Boston, New York, or Philadelphia, and land at Iowa City or the then terminus of the railroad; there let them be provided with hand carts on which to draw their provisions and clothing, then walk and draw them, thereby saving the immense expense every year for teams and outfit for crossing the plains.

"We are sanguine that such a train will out-travel any ox train that can be started. They should have a few good cows to furnish milk, and a few beef cattle to drive and butcher as they may need. In this way the expense, risk, loss and perplexity of teams will be obviated, and the saints will more effectually escape the scenes of distress, anguish and death which have often laid so many of our brethren and sisters in the dust.

"We propose sending men of faith and experience, with suitable instructions, to some proper outfitting point to carry into effect the above suggestions; let the saints, therefore, who intend to immigrate the ensuing year, understand that they are expected to walk and draw their luggage across the plains, and that they will be assisted by the Fund in no other way." (General Epistle of the First Presidency, *Deseret News*, October 31st, 1855).

10. See *Mill. Star*, Vol. XVIII, p. 377, where the names of the eight ships and the number of Saints going with each are recorded. The unusual number emigrated by the perpetual emigration fund, that is to say, means for their emigration was advanced by the company, represented an effort on the part of the Church leaders in Utah to bring "to Zion" the worthy though poor Saints who had long desired to gather to the body of the Church, but had not been able to lay up sufficient means. "I will here repeat my wish and counsel to you," wrote President Young to Franklin D. Richards, President of the European Mission at the time, "that in your elections of the Saints who shall be aided by the Fund, those

numbered—Ellsworth's: souls, 266; hand carts, 52; McArthur's: souls, 220; hand carts, 44; eight teams were divided between these two companies.<sup>10½</sup> A third and smaller company, chiefly composed of Welsh converts left Iowa City on the 23rd of June.

These three companies made the journey to Salt Lake City without serious adventure, or loss, though of course their traveling was attended by the toil and fatigue incident to such a method of migration.

The first two companies entered Salt Lake Valley together on the 26th of September. When Governor Young learned of their arrival in the mountains east of Salt Lake City, he took a military escort attended by bands of music and met them at the foot of Little Mountain in Emigration Canon and escorted them into the city, where they were cheered and made welcome by the populace that turned out *en masse* to receive them. They encamped on Pioneer Square, but in a few days had found homes among their kindred and friends in the community.<sup>11</sup> Bunker's company arrived six days later, 2nd of October, also without serious adventure or loss.

If the curtain could be hung down upon this hand cart emigration incident of the year 1856, with the arrival of these three companies in Salt Lake Valley, and their dispersion among the people, that method of traveling over the plains might pass without very serious objections, beyond a protest against the hardship of excessive toil involved in it. The successful accomplishment of the journey by these companies demonstrated that such a method of migration was possible rather than feasible. And

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who have proven themselves by long continuance in the Church shall be helped first, whether they can raise any means of their own or not; let those be brought, so long as you can act within the means of the company, if they have not a sixpence in the world, but be wary of assisting any of those who come into the Church now, during these troublous times for Britain, whose chief aim and intention may be to get to America." Letter bears date of Dec. 30, 1855. *Mill. Star*, Vol XVII, pp. 814, 815. This arrangement which was carried out would naturally and did bring into the emigration of that year many of the aged, the sickly, the feeble, and many with large families of children.

10½. *Historian's Office Journal*, entry for Friday, Sept. 26th, 1856, p. 121.

11. Commenting on the successful journey of 1,300 miles made by these two companies, the *Deseret News* said: "This journey has been performed with less than the average amount of mortality attending ox trains; and all, though somewhat fatigued, stepped out with alacrity to the last, and appeared buoyant and cheerful. They had often traveled 25 and 30 miles in a day, and would have come through in a much shorter time, had they not been obliged to wait upon the slow motion of the oxen attached to the few wagons containing the tents and groceries."

what remains to be set down involves the whole adventure in a tragedy, making one of the saddest pages in Latter-day Saint history.

There were two other hand cart companies fitted out at Iowa City that fateful year of 1856, led respectively by James G. Willie and Edward Martin, and numbering in all above nine hundred souls.<sup>12</sup> Their respective journeys are here but rapidly sketched.

The emigrants who made up Willie's company arrived at Iowa City on the 26th of June, and here met their first disappointment—the tents and handcarts, the one to afford them shelter, the other the means of conveying their food and bedding on the journey across the plains, were not, as yet, provided; and in waiting for the manufacture of these necessary things the company was detained until the 15th of July. The journey through Iowa to "Old Winter Quarters," by this time known under the name of Florence, Nebraska, was accomplished in twenty-six days, since they arrived at Florence on the 11th of August and remained there until the 16th. The chief hardship of this stage of the journey was the mid-summer heat, the dust, and when heavy rains converted this to mud, the heavy roads. The part of Iowa through which their route passed was then fairly well settled, and from the people of that state they received varied treatment. Some times they were met with good natured badinage, at other times with threats of personal violence. At one point they were overtaken by a sheriff's posse with a search warrant issued by a justice of the peace, authorizing the posse to search to the very bottom of the few wagons for young women, alleged to be tied down in them with ropes.<sup>13</sup> Of course the search revealed no such conditions as were alleged. At Des Moines an act of kindness varied the treatment. A Mr. Charles

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12. Elder Franklin D. Richards returning from his European mission, and passing these companies on the plains, reported their numbers as follows: In Edward Martin's company, which Richards and party overtook about 40 miles west of Loupe Fork, on the 7th of September—in that company there were 576 souls; 146 hand carts; 7 wagons; 6 mules and horses; 50 cows and beef cattle; "he had the greater proportion of the feeble emigrants." In Willie's company there were 404 souls; 87 hand carts; 6 yoke of oxen; 32 cows and five mules. F. D. Richards and Daniel Spencer's Report to President Brigham Young, *Deseret News* of Oct. 22, 1856, the Report is without date.

13. Willie's Report of his Hand Cart company, Hist. of Brigham Young, *Ms.* entry for November, 1856, p. 972.

Good presented Captain Willie with "fifteen pairs of children's boots."<sup>14</sup> There were some few desertions from the company in this first stage of the journey, eight in all—who were persuaded to the step by inducements held out by the people of Iowa—"for the leeks and onions"—is captain Willie's manner of phrasing it.<sup>15</sup>

At Florence the question of continuing the journey through to Utah, or going into winter quarters on the Elkhorn, at Wood-river, or some other eligible location in Nebraska, was debated; but it was finally determined to continue the journey, the majority of the leaders in charge, among whom were Geo. D. Grant, Wm. H. Kimball, advance agents of the emigration that season, and Elders Willie—captain of the company of handcart emigrants,—Atwood, Savage, Woodward, and John Vancott all favored it, except Savage, and the views of the majority of these leaders were accepted by vote at a mass meeting of the emigrants, anxious to get to Zion, ignorant of the difficulties and dangers to be encountered, and willing to trust the judgement of these leaders.<sup>16</sup>

Levi Savage was returning from a more than two years mission in Siam and Ceylon, where he had most earnestly sought under trying circumstances to present the message of the New Dispensation. His action in the above named discussion deserves special mention. To the over-zeal, not to say fanaticism, of his brethren, Elder Savage opposed common sense, and his knowledge of the country, both of which persuaded him that a

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14. *Ibid.*

15. *Ibid.* See also "Chislett's Narrative," given *in extenso* in Stenhouse's "Rocky Mountain Saints." Stenhouse features this hand cart incident in the History of the Latter-day Saints, and even attempts to sensationalize it, Chapter XXXIII. Whitney quotes Chislett in part, History of Utah, Vol. 1, Ch. XXVII.

16. Chislett's Narrative. Moreover it had been represented to these Saints in the hand cart companies, and, indeed, to all the Saints in Europe, that a special providence would attend this method of migration, and hence they would be apt to discredit any warning that might be given concerning dangers that might overwhelm them. "Know ye not," wrote Elder John Jacques, assistant editor of the *whelm* them. (*Mill. Star*, Vol. XVIII, p. 370). Religious enthusiasts imbued with these ideas of blessing and favor, would, of course, vote to continue the journey "to Zion."

President Young had promised to send teams to meet this emigration, and of that promise it is proper to say that the President was not advised of the coming of the belated hand cart companies. Writing to Orson Pratt,—then presiding over the European mission,—under date of Oct. 30th, 1856, and referring to the emigration, he said:



mixed company of aged people, women, and little children, even though it had some strong men in it, could not cross the mountains so late in the season without much suffering, sickness, and death. He advised going into winter quarters; but when overruled, according to Chislett's Narrative, he said: "What I have said I know to be true; but seeing you are to go forward, I will go with you; will help you, all I can; will work with you, will rest with you, will suffer with you, and if necessary, will die with you. May God in his mercy bless and preserve us." He lived up to his promise—"no man" says the narrative "worked harder than he to alleviate the suffering which he had foreseen, when he had to endure it."

The company left Florence on the 19th of August, and began the journey across the plains in earnest. The Cheyenne Indians were bad that season, and the emigrants heard of occasional attacks upon emigrant teams, among them of the attack upon Almon W. Babbitt's train, and later of the killing of Mr. Babbitt himself. From the Omaha Indians the hand cart company received some kindness, and were able to buy some buffalo meat of them. By the 5th of September the company had made 265 miles west of Florence, but at this point they had the misfortune to lose thirty head of cattle, which they spent two days in

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"We have just received an express from Captain Willie's company of hand carts; they are supposed to be now about Green river, as the express left them on Sunday morning, the 26th instant, near the South Pass. We have no late tidings from brothers Martin, Hodgetts, Hunt, and William Walker. This [Captain Willie's] company had a pretty severe time in a storm which lasted two days, and then cleared up cold; the relief sent them was timely, but none too soon. We sent, however, just as soon as we learned that they were coming, which was not until brothers Franklin, Spencer, and others arrived on the evening of the fourth instant [i. e., October]." (Hist. Brigham Young *Ms.*, entry for Oct. 30, 1856, p. 856). Franklin D. Richards, however, in his and Daniel Spencer's Report to President Young, say they met "Patriarch John Smith and two other brethren," on the 24th of September, near Willow Springs; "who had come out with flour for the companies." "On the 27th," continues the report, "fifteen miles from Pacific Springs, we nooned with Brother Wm. Smith, and two other brethren from Farmington, with two wagons and flour for the companies. We counseled them to cache their flour and go on to meet Brother Willie and his company, which they agreed to do. On the 28th, three miles east of Big Sandy, we camped with Brother Talgot, who had flour for the companies. We gave him the same counsel, to go on with his teams to help Brother Willie." (*Deseret News*, of Oct. 22nd, 1856). No mention is made of these supplies and teams meeting the hand cart companies. These supply teams may have been sent out to meet the independent belated wagon companies that were expected, since no more hand cart companies were expected by the Church leaders at Salt Lake; but they seem not to have persevered in reaching these, or to have been a factor in the relief forces at all.

searching for, but they were not found; and the journey was resumed with their few teams very much weakened. On the 12th of September they were overtaken by a company of returning missionaries in three carriages and some wagons. The company included Elders F. D. Richards, Daniel Spencer, and C. H. Wheelock, late presidency of the European mission.

On the 17th of September, while yet on the Platte they had their first frost, "a very severe one." On the 30th they arrived at Fort Laramie—still five hundred miles from Salt Lake City.

On the 1st of October the journey was resumed. Occasionally they met eastward bound parties, among these were Parley P. Pratt and a company of missionaries, bound for the Eastern States. That was to be this eminent apostle's last mission, since he fell a victim to assassination in Arkansas about seven months late.

At the very start the hand cart company had been put upon rations, one pound of flour per day per man, a little less for women, and still less, of course, for children was allowed; and these scant rations from time to time had to be reduced until they were barely sufficient for subsistence. The last reduction left them at 10½ oz. for men; 9 oz. for women; 6 oz. for children, and 3 oz. for infants.<sup>17</sup>

On the Sweetwater river they encountered extremely cold weather and severe snow storms; but while disheartened by this circumstance they were cheered by the coming to them of two messengers from the west, driving a light wagon, and bringing the news that a supply train was on its way to meet them, and they could expect to meet it in a day or two; and then the young men drove on to take the same cheering word to Martin's company, and to the wagon trains still further eastward.<sup>18</sup>

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17. Willie's Narrative. History Brigham Young, *Ms.* entry for November, 1856, p. 979.

18. The two young men were Joseph A. Young and Stephen Taylor; the former a son of President Brigham Young's and one of the returning missionaries of that year, who had passed these hand cart companies earlier in the season. Immediately on the arrival of this missionary company in Salt Lake City, conditions were reported to President Young who instantly took steps to send out supply trains to relieve these companies, of which the two young men, above referred to, were the advanced couriers. "More welcome messengers never came from the courts of glory," says Chislett's Narrative, "than these two young men were to us." After delivering their message and giving Willie's company such encouragement as they could, they passed on eastward with the same glad news to Martin's

After the departure of these welcome messengers, however, the snow storms accompanied by fierce winds were renewed, until from sheer exhaustion the company sought such shelter in hollows and willow thickets as could be found and awaited the coming of the relief trains. Dysentery broke out in the camp, aggravated by eating the fresh meat that was obtained from killing a few of the broken down oxen. Deaths had been frequent the past few days from exhaustion and cold. Fifteen died in one of the terrible days immediately preceding the encampment above referred to, which was made at "Willow Creek" on the Sweetwater, and many were frost bitten. The storm that was proving so fatal to the hand cart company had also overtaken the relief train, and hindered its progress. Not knowing the absolute destitution of the emigrants, and that they were perishing only a few miles distant, the relief train had gone into encampment, awaiting the arrival of the hand cart company or the passing of the storm. Meantime Captain Willie with a single companion, started westward in search of the relief train. He found it; whereupon all possible haste was made to reach the sufferers. It was the evening of the third day after his departure that Captain Willie returned at the head of fourteen well loaded wagons. Their arrival came none too soon, if the camp was to be saved from utter destruction: for the ravages of hunger, dysentery, and exhaustion were threatening the extinction of the helpless emigrants.<sup>19</sup> Eight of

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and to the wagon companies. The former with one of the wagon companies (Hodgett's) they found at Red Buttes, on the Platte; and ten miles further east the other wagon company (Hunt's), all were in need of the encouragement their message gave. (See Report of Joseph A. Young, *Deseret News* of Nov. 19th, 1856).

19. Chislett's account of the meeting of the hand cart company and the relief train deserves perpetuation: "On the evening of the third day after Captain Willie's departure, just as the sun was sinking beautifully behind the distant hills, on an eminence, immediately west of our camp, several covered wagons, each drawn by four horses, were seen coming towards us. The news ran through the camp like wildfire, and all who were able to leave their beds turned out en masse to see them. A few minutes brought them sufficiently near to reveal our faithful captain slightly in advance of the train. Shouts of joy rent the air; strong men wept until tears ran freely down their furrowed and sunburnt cheeks, and little children partook of the joy which some of them hardly understood, and fairly danced around with gladness. Restraint was set aside in the general rejoicing, and as the brethren entered our camp the sisters fell upon them and deluged them with kisses. The brethren were so overcome that they could not for some time utter a word, but in choking silence repressed all demonstration of those emotions that evidently mastered them. Soon, however, feeling was somewhat abated, and such

the relief wagons passed on to the camps still further eastward, and six remained with Captain Willie's company.

Fortunately, after reaching the South Pass, and descending into the Green river valley, the weather moderated, more supply wagons were met, some passing on to take the needed relief to the companies still in the rear, and others turning back with Willie's company to give such increased aid and comfort as was still required; and so abundant was the help in the last stages of the journey that most of the toil-exhausted, hunger-weakened emigrants could be taken into the wagons.

This company arrived in Salt Lake City on the 9th of November, and soon received every evidence that they had come among warm-hearted friends. "On our arrival," says Willie's Narrative, the bishops of the different wards took every person who was not provided with a home to comfortable quarters. Some had their hands and feet badly frozen but every thing which could be done to alleviate their suffering was done, and no want was left unadministered to. Hundreds of the citizens flocked around the wagons on our way through the city, cordially welcoming their brethren and sisters to their mountain home. \* \* \* The total number of deaths in this party from Liverpool, was seventy-seven \* \* \* we had also three births and three marriages on the trip."<sup>20</sup> Nearly all the deaths in the camp occurred after leaving Fort Laramie.

Edward Martin's hand-cart company, known as the fifth and last of this fateful year, duplicated the experiences of Willie's company, but was attended with even more disastrous results since it was a larger company, and had a larger proportion of women and children and of the aged and feeble, and also had a later start and was detained longer by the mountain storms.

The emigrants that made up Martin's company and the two

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a shaking of hands, such words of welcome, and such invocation of God's blessing have seldom been witnessed. \* \* \* Among the brethren who came to our succour were elders W. H. Kimball and Geo. D. Grant. They had remained but a few days in the valley before starting back to meet us. May God ever bless them for their generous, unselfish kindness, and their manly fortitude! They felt that they had, in a great measure, contributed to our sad position; but how nobly, how faithfully, how bravely they worked to bring us safely to the valley—to the Zion of our hopes!" Mr. Chislett had left the Church when he wrote that passage.

<sup>20</sup>. Willie's Narrative. Hist. of Brigham Young, *Ms.* entry for November, 1856. pp. 966 to 983.



independent wagon companies of that season, under John A. Hunt and Benjamin Hodgetts, respectively, arrived at Iowa City in the early part of July, but were detained—waiting for their tents and hand carts to be made—until nearly the last of the month. One of the chief contributing causes to the hand-cart disaster was the frailness of these carts, and the unfitness of the material put into them. They were hurriedly made of unseasoned timber, and so much was sacrificed to lightness that the necessary strength and durability was impossible. The result was that in Martin's company, as also in the companies that preceded it, the breaking down of hand carts—which began a few days after the start was made—and the necessary halting to repair them contribute much to the delay of the journey.<sup>21</sup>

The start from Iowa City did not begin until the 28th of July. At first there were two companies organized; one under Martin, the other under the leadership of Jesse Haven, returning missionary elder from South Africa. The two companies numbered nearly six hundred souls. The arrangement to travel in two companies continued until the companies arrived at Florence, Nebraska, which was on the 22nd of August. Here, as in the case of Willie's company,—which was but four days departed—the question of venturing upon the journey so late in the season was debated. "Unfortunately," remarks Jacques, "it was determined to finish the journey the same season."

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21. Both Chislett's and Jacques' account agree in this. John Jacques was a member of Martin's company, and wrote a series of letters to the Salt Lake *Herald* in 1878 and 1879, describing somewhat in detail the events of the journey. The letters are seven in number, beginning in the Sunday impression of December the 1st, 1878, and appearing in each Sunday impression until Jan. 19, 1879. Elder Jacques had been a very earnest advocate of this hand cart method of travelling over the plains, and had sharply reproved some who doubted the feasibility of the plan. (See a communication of his to the *Mill. Star*, of which he was then the assistant editor, Vol. XVIII, No. 24). "Many of the carts had wooden axles and leather boxes," he writes in his description of them. "Some of the axles broke in a few days, and mechanics were busy in camp at nights repairing the accidents of the days." Chislett's account of the carts is that they had to be made at Iowa City while the emigrants were waiting for them. "They were made in a hurry, some of them of very insufficiently seasoned timber, and strength was sacrificed to weight, until the production was a fragile structure, with nothing to recommend it but lightness. They were generally made of two parallel hickory or oak sticks, about five feet long, and two by one and a half inches thick. These were connected by one cross-piece at one end to serve as a handle, and three or four similar pieces nearly a foot apart, commencing at the other end, to serve as the bed of the cart, under the centre of which was fastened a wooden axletree, without iron skeins." The wheels were devoid of iron, except that in some of them there was a very light iron tire. The whole weight of a cart was about sixty pounds.

Matters were somewhat readjusted at Florence. The two companies were united into one; Edward Martin was continued as captain assisted by Daniel Tyler. Both of them had made the journey with the Mormon battalion from the Missouri river to the Pacific coast; both of them at first as corporals, and afterwards as 2nd and 3rd sargents, respectively, in company "C."<sup>22</sup>

The start was made from Florence on the 25th of August. It was the 8th of October when they reached Fort Laramie. Here they remained one day and some were able to exchange and sell watches and other personal effects they could spare for food which they were allowed to purchase from the military stores, at reasonable prices.<sup>23</sup> Soon after leaving Laramie, however, it was found necessary to reduce the daily ration. "The pound of flour was reduced to three-fourths of a pound, then to half, and subsequently yet lower. On the 19th at Red Buttes they met the first severe snow storm, accompanied by a piercing north wind; that day they had forded the Platte. Two days before, in order to lighten the loads on the carts they had sacrificed much bedding, the need of which they now sorely felt.

On the 28th Joseph A. Young and two companions, with the news of coming supply trains, met them, an event which brought forth "the cheers and tears and smiles and laughter of the emigrants." Two days later they met the promised supplies on the Sweetwater near Devil's Gate. This assured relief, but much of suffering had yet to be endured. From a foot to a foot and a half of snow was on the ground and the cold was intense. The question was discussed as to whether the company should go into such winter quarters as could be provided or push on to Salt Lake. The latter course was determined upon. The freight that could not be taken along was left at this point with three men from the valley, and seventeen from among the emigrants to guard it. Only a small allowance of food could be left them, and because of this the men suffered terribly, and nearly perished of hunger by the time spring opened and relief arrived from Salt Lake Valley.

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22. Tyler afterwards became the chief historian of the battalion, his work being published in 1881.

23. "Biscuit at 15½ cents, bacon at 15 cents, rice at 17 cents per pound," Jacques.

Shortly after leaving Devil's Gate enough wagons were met to carry most of the baggage of Martin's company and some of the people, but the crossing and recrossing of the Sweetwater was a trying ordeal. There were so many who were helpless, or nearly so, that it was difficult to decide who should be taken into the wagons and who should be compelled to walk. "There was considerable crying of women and children," remarks Elder Jacques, "and perhaps of a few of the men, whom the wagons could not accommodate with a ride." "One of the relief party remarked," continues our authority, "that in all the mobbings and drivings of the Mormons he had seen nothing like it." C. H. Wheelock (who, it will be remembered, was one of the presidency of the British mission when this enterprise was undertaken, and who was now returned with the relief party to assist these emigrants) could scarcely refrain from shedding tears, and he declared that he would willingly give his own life if that would save the lives of the emigrants."

The men with one group of relief wagons, not yet met by the emigrants concluded from their long delay in appearing that the rear companies of the emigration had perished in the snow, and were for turning back to Salt Lake; but Ephraim K. Hanks, commonly known as "Eph Hanks," who was connected with the mail carrying service, was determined to ascertain the fate of the emigrants, and accordingly mounted one team horse, and leading another, rode on alone. He met the emigrants while yet on the Sweetwater. He had killed a buffalo—two of them, in fact—and cutting the meat into strips, packed it on the horse he was leading; and this with other buffalo he killed after joining the company, materially added to the meat supply.<sup>25</sup>

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24. These were Daniel W. Jones, Thomas M. Alexander and Ben Hampton, (Jacques).

25. For Hank's narrative see *The Contributor*, Vol. XLV, pp. 202-205, c. f. Jacques' account of the incident. Exteriorly Hanks was a rough mountaineer, but at heart a gentle and sympathetic nature, and a man of great faith in God withal; and many are the traditions of the effectiveness of his administrations among the sick, and especially among the exhausted and frost-bitten emigrants of these hand cart companies. Captain Burton of the English army, who visited Utah in 1860, met him and has left a pen-picture of him that is worthy of reproduction. Hanks had been represented to the English captain as a noted Mormon desperado, this was his preconception of him, but this is his description: "The 'vile villain,' as he has been called by anti-Mormon writers, \* \* \* was a middle-sized, light-haired, good-looking man, with regular features, a pleasant and humorous countenance, and the manly manner of his early sailor life, touched with the



By the time South Pass was reached enough relief teams had arrived to allow of some passing on to help the wagon trains still further back, and at the same time admit of all the emigrants riding in the wagons. The journey now was more rapid. By the 21st of November Green river was reached. On the 28th the company camped on the Weber. Meantime other parties had been at work keeping the road open over the mountain passes east of Salt Lake City. By this time the relief wagons numbered one hundred and four, and the emigrants were welcomed by throngs of people into Salt Lake City, where they arrived on Sunday, the 30th of November.<sup>26</sup>

Every relief that shelter, and food, and clothing, and kindness, and devoted attention could bring to these belated emigrants was accorded them. The usual Sunday morning services were in progress at the Old Tabernacle when president Young learned of the approach of Martin's company to the city. In dismissing the congregation that the people might meet the emigrants and care for them, he said:

"When those persons arrive I do not want to see them put into houses by themselves. I want to have them distributed in this city among the families that have good, comfortable houses; and I wish the sisters now before me, and all who know how and can, to nurse and wait upon the new comers, and prudently administer medicine and food to them. \* \* \* The afternoon meeting will be omitted, for I wish the sisters to go home and prepare to give those who have just arrived a mouthful of something to eat, and to wash them, and nurse them up. \* \* \* Prayer is good, but when (as on this occasion) baked potatoes, and pudding, and milk are needed, prayer will not supply their place. Give every duty its proper time and place. \* \* \* I want you to understand that I desire this people to nurse them up; we want you to receive them as your own children, and to have

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rough cordiality of the mountaineer. 'Frank as a bear-hunter' is a proverb in these lands. He had \* \* \* like most men (Anglo-Americans) of desperate courage and fiery, excitable temper, a clear, pale blue eye, verging upon gray, and looking as if it wanted nothing better than to light up, together with a cool and quiet glance that seemed to shun neither friend nor foe." "The City of the Saints," p. 191-2.

26. It must not be supposed, however, that it was a joyful meeting. It was too solemn for that. Jacques' description is true to the nature of the circumstances, and pathetic: "The meeting of the emigrants with relatives, acquaintances, and friends was not very joyous. Indeed, it was very solemn and oppressive. Some were so affected that they could scarcely speak, but would look at each other until the sympathetic tears would force their unforbidden way." (*Salt Lake Herald* of Dec. 22nd, 1878).



the same feelings for them. \* \* \* Now that the most of them are here, we will continue our labors of love until they are able to take care of themselves, and we will receive the blessing. You need not be distrustful about that, for the Lord will bless this people."

It was in this spirit that the emigrants were received and waited upon by the people, President Young and his family doing their full share. During his remarks above referred to President Young had said:

"I have sent word to Bishop Hunter that I will take in all that others will not take. \* \* \* I am willing to take my proportion."<sup>27</sup>

The exact number of those who perished in this company is not of record in our official annals; and it is difficult to fix upon any approximate number with certainty. Joseph A. Young coming in from the farthestmost companies reported at a meeting in Salt Lake City, on Sunday, the 16th of November, that on meeting Martin's company at Red Buttes on the Platte, 56 deaths were reported up to that time;<sup>28</sup> That, however, was on the 28th of October, and there was yet before the company more than a month of exposure, and toil, and suffering, in the midst of fierce mountain storms. Chislett declares of this company that of the six hundred at starting they "lost over one-fourth of their number by death." "The storm which overtook us while making the sixteen mile drive on the Sweetwater," he writes, "reached them at North Platte. There they settled down to await help or die, being unable to go any farther. Their camp ground became a veritable graveyard before they left." One fourth of 600, would of course be 150. Jacques says that exaggerated ideas have been entertained with reference to the number of deaths. His own estimate is that about one in six of the "entire number that left Liverpool in the ship *Horizon*" died. As that number is listed at 856, Jacques' estimate of those who perished would be 142, or about the same number as given by Chislett. Jacques, also says that others "who claim to know" put the number of deaths in Martin's company "at about 100; or about one-eighth

27. Hist. of Brigham Young *Ms.*, entry for November 30th. 1856, pp. 1099-1103.

28. See Report of Young's remarks in *Deseret News* of Nov. 19, 1856.





of the entire number that left Liverpool in the ship *Horizon*.”<sup>29</sup> All things considered the estimate of Chislett and Jacques,—putting their estimate at 145—is perhaps not far from the facts. And these added to Willie’s seventy-seven deaths, brings the total of deaths to 222. The number who were frost bitten was also large, and some were crippled for life.

The wagon companies were also helped in the last stages of the journey. The people of Fort Supply, near Bridger, led by Isaac Bullock, as well as relief teams sent from Salt Lake City rendering them valuable assistance by providing them with fresh teams and supplies of food. All belated emigrants were reported as safely arrived in Salt Lake Valley shortly after the middle of December.

The one redeeming feature of this unfortunate incident in Latter-day Saints history was the heroic efforts of the people in Salt Lake Valley to save these unfortunate companies of emigrants. Especially is this true of the people in Salt Lake City and county; of Davis county; and latterly of Tooele county. These, because of their accessibility, bore chiefly the burden of the relief work; and there are men whose names deserve a permanent place in history for the activity and heroism then displayed in seeking to save from misery and death large numbers of their fallen men. Among these are—

*Joseph A. Young, Wm. H. Kimball, George D. Grant, Cyrus H. Wheelock, Ephraim K. Hanks, Stephen Taylor, Able Garr, Daniel W. Jones, Thomas Alexander, Ben Hampton, Robert T. Burton, Charles Decker, G. G. Webb, Hosea Stout, James Ferguson, Isaac Bullock, and Joseph Simmons.*

Others were, of course, equally worthy to be remembered; their risks and services were equally as great as these whose names are here set down; but it happens with nearly all expeditions and enterprises of men that the few only can be specifically

29. (Jacques in Salt Lake *Herald*, Dec. 22nd, 1878).

30. That the numbers that perished and that were crippled by reason of being frozen in these hand cart companies were greatly exaggerated by the *press* at the time, may be seen in the following from the *Oregon Statesman* of June 15, 1857: “Of the 2,500 persons who started from the frontier, only about 200 frost-bitten starving, and emaciated beings lived to tell the tale of their sufferings. The remaining 2,300 perished on the way of hunger, cold, and fatigue.”



remembered in the annals of events. It is reserved to the "Lamb's Book of Life" to perfectly record the names of all who render service to humanity, and these, here unnamed, rank and file of the relief parties, who in that trying and adventurous enterprise of rescuing the storm-bound and starving hand cart companies of 1856, can be confident of being registered, and on the page with their names written these words:

*"Come ye blessed of my Father, inherit the kingdom prepared for you from the foundation of the world; for I was hungered, and ye gave me meat; I was thirsty, and ye gave me drink; I was a stranger, and ye took me in; naked, and ye clothed me; I was sick and ye visited me. \* \* \* Verily I say unto you, inasmuch as ye have done it unto one of the least of these, my brethren, ye have done it unto me."*<sup>31</sup>

Nor is this appreciation to be confined to those who braved the storms to carry the relief to the place where it was needed; but it is to be extended also to those who supplied the teams and the food, who by prudent counsels and prompt action conceived the relief plans and prepared the outfits for starting, and who by the consecration and sacrifice of their means made possible the rescue of their brethren from what would otherwise have been inevitable and miserable destruction.<sup>32</sup>

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31. Matt. XXV. Of this service, remembrance of which I would perpetuate, President Brigham Young said: "This is what I can say truly, with the rest of your counselors and directors, that no man or woman, that we have any knowledge of in the Church, has refused to do as requested with regard to this immigration; they have run by day and night. Our messengers have been traveling from here to the Platte, and back and forth between Bridger, Green river, and the Sweetwater; and scores of men have been riding by day and night, without having enjoyed an undisturbed night's rest, during the last two months, only occasionally snatching a little when sitting by the camp fire. They have been riding by day and night hurrying to and fro and laboring with their might, and have not refused to do what we have required of them. This is to their praise. Works have been most noble when they were needed. We put works to our faith, and in this case we realize that our faith alone would have been perfectly dead and useless; would have been of no avail, in saving our brethren that were in the snow; but by putting works with faith we have been already blessed in rescuing many, and bringing them to where we can now do them more good." (Hist. of Brigham Young, *Ms.*, from speech in Old Tabernacle. Salt Lake City, Nov. 30th, 1856, pp. 1103-4).

32. Of course, among the foremost of these were Brigham Young and others of the general authorities of the Church then in Utah. O. F. Whitney in his History of Utah writes:

"Many besides those who went to the rescue of these companies would gladly have gone had it been their privilege. None were more anxious in this respect, for none felt more keenly for the sufferings of the unfortunate emigrants, than President Franklin D. Richards, under whose administration in the British Isles the hand cart project had been inaugurated. He had arrived home only three days

Hand cart emigration did not become a very general method of crossing the plains. Doubtless to show the saints in Europe that the brethren in Utah did not shrink from the toilsome method of travel that had been suggested to them, a company of missionary elders numbering 74 men, with 25 hand carts, left Salt Lake City on the 23rd of April, 1857, for the Missouri frontiers, enroute for various parts of Europe and the states to preach the gospel.<sup>33</sup> The journey from Salt Lake City to Florence, Nebraska, was made in 48 days. The company traveled without teams or even pack animals, carrying all their provisions and bedding upon their hand carts. This journey, however, cannot be considered as parallel with the one performed by the several companies of west-ward bound Saints of the previous season. The east-bound company of men had no women and children to encumber their movements and to tax their strength by carrying them when crossing the streams, or in helping them over other difficult places; and besides their journey,

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before the relief parties set out. He desired to accompany them and made all preparations to that end, but was called to assist President Jedediah M. Grant and other elders who were just then arduously engaged in carrying on what is known in Mormon history as 'The Reformation.' Had it not been for this, Apostle Richards would have returned to meet the hand carts, and it is not saying too much, to those who know the man and his great sorrow at the disaster which befell his brethren and sisters on the plains, that could his own life have averted the terrible calamity which overtook them, it would willingly have been given." (History of Utah, Vol. I, pp. 564-5). Near the close of his circumstantial account of the suffering endured by Martin's hand cart company, John Jacques very briefly and temperately discusses the question of "blame" for the disasters that overtook it; and the matter is put so fairly that I quote it here at length: "The question may be asked, whom do I blame for the misadventure herein related. I blame nobody. I am not anxious to blame anybody. I am not writing for the purpose of blaming anybody, but to fill up a blank page of history with matters of much interest. I may say that notwithstanding the serious misfortune of this company, I have no doubt but that those who had to do with the management meant well and tried to do the best they could under the circumstances." (Jacques in the Salt Lake Herald, Jan. 19, 1879).

33. Following is the description of the departure of this hand cart company of missionaries from Temple square, published at the time:

"All things being ready, at a quarter before 10 a. m., the company started off in regular order, with as much apparent cheerfulness and unconcern as though they were going to return in the evening, whereas many of them will be gone for years, and all will probably have to pass through trials, and endure hardships, of which the pulling of their hand carts across the plains will be among the least.

"The company consisted of 74 men, with some twenty-five hand carts, and was made up of individuals of nearly every imaginable occupation and pursuit of life. Farmers, mechanics, tradesmen, merchants, and clerks—some Americans, some English, Scotch, Irish, Welsh, Danes, Swedes, Norwegians, Germans, and of other nations, were to be seen in the company which made it an unusually interesting sight. To see such a variety of men, some of them young, some in the prime, and some past the meridian of life, leave their vocations at a moment's notice, and go

instead of increasing in difficulties of road, and dangers of approaching winter, as in the case of the west bound companies,<sup>34</sup> it grew daily easier, and less dangerous as they approached the Missouri river. It, was, however, the best expression that could be given that the elders who went among the people to preach the gospel were willing to endure the same toilsome method of travel as had been suggested to the Saints, and such an expression, on the part of those who gave it, was worthy of all acceptance and praise.

Two small companies of hand cart emigrants crossed the plains in 1857, led respectively by Israel Evans and Christian Christiansen. They arrived in Salt Lake City on the 12th and 13th of September.<sup>35</sup> In 1858 Latter-day Saint emigration both from Europe and the states was nearly suspended, and there were no hand cart companies that year. In 1859 there was one company, led by George Rowley, numbering 235 souls, with 60 hand carts, and six wagons. In 1860 there were two hand cart companies. The first was led by Daniel Robinson, numbering 233 souls; 43 hand carts; 6 wagons. This company arrived in Salt Lake on the 27th of August, and President Young took the precaution to send out teams to meet it with 2,500 lbs. of flour and 50 lbs. of bacon. The second company of hand cart emigrants was led by Oscar O. Stoddard, and numbered 126 souls, 22 hand carts. This was the last company to come by that method of travel.

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forth in that way to proclaim the gospel of salvation to the nations that have long been wandering in the darkness, bespeaks a devotion to the principles of eternal truth not often seen." (*Deseret News* of April 29, 1857).

34. It doubtless will aid in appreciation of the difficulties and even the dangers of the hand cart expedition westward if the matter of roughness of mountain roads and altitudes be considered. These are discussed by Jacques as follows: "To give a better idea of the nature of the latter one-half of the journey I may say that the altitude of Salt Lake is about 4,2000; \* \* \* and that of Fort Laramie 100 feet lower. It may also be recollected that the whole of the winter part of this journey was performed at a much greater altitude, beginning at about 5,000 feet at North Platte camp, where the relief express found the company [i. e., Martin's], and never sinking so low again until in emigration canon near this (Salt Lake) City; but rising at Devil's Gate it was 6,000 feet; near the three crossings of Sweetwater to 7,000 feet; by the South Pass a little higher. From Green river to Bridger about 6,700 feet; on Bear river to about 6,800 feet; in Echo canon, about 6,000; on the Big Mountain, about 7,245, with different ridges and summits which were passed over varying from over 7,000 to nearly 8,000 feet (*Salt Lake Herald*, Jan. 5, 1879).

35. *Deseret News*, Sept. 16, 1857.

## Historic Views and Reviews

ANOTHER ALDEN KIN—WALTER J. ALDEN DIRECT LINEAL DESCENDANT OF LONGFELLOW'S HERO

THE claim of Judd F. Redfield, Chicago, that he was the only direct living descendant of John Alden and Priscilla Mullins, made famous in Longfellow's poem, "The Courtship of Miles Standish," has brought out the fact that Milwaukee can boast of a man who claims still closer relationship. This is Walter J. Alden, manager of the Milwaukee Athletic Club.

Mr. Alden is the last grandson in the eighth generation. He was born in Lewiston, Me., in 1855. He entered the hotel business, coming to Milwaukee last June to take the position of manager of the athletic club.

The original log house built by John Alden at Duxbury, Mass., still stands. Mr. Alden has visited this historic landmark many times.



### A VALUABLE REFERENCE INDEX

The Annual Magazine Subject-Index and Dramatic Index for 1912, 600 pages, strongly bound in library buckram, \$7.00 special net, delivery extra. Published by The Boston Book Co., Boston, U. S. A.

This valuable work indexes over one hundred and forty periodicals, *not elsewhere indexed*, thus giving sources of thousands of articles on all subjects.

It continues the indexing of many periodicals formerly in the Annual Library Index only. (The Library Index has no periodical index since 1910.)



It covers very fully such subjects as history, travel and exploration, mountaineering, forestry, fine arts, architecture, outdoor life, city planning, etc.

It is the only index covering the English popular monthlies formerly in Poole's Index.

The *Dramatic Index* for 1912, the most complete index to the theatre and its players (in America and Great Britain) ever compiled. It is a portrait index to the stage, a reference book giving full names and dates of players, an encyclopædia of information concerning authorship of dramas, and their production. An index to everything theatrical which has appeared in the periodicals and books of the year.

An appendix to Part II gives an author and title list of all play-texts and an author list of all books about the theatre and its players published in 1912. These lists are nowhere else to be found in handy form.

Even small libraries are expected nowadays to be able to tell where desired information can be found. The *Magazine Subject Index*, covering a large and not-elsewhere-indexed field, should be available for reference, even though the library subscribes to but a few of the periodicals indexed; and the *Dramatic Index* not only covers very fully all the popular magazines, but is also a reference book in itself.



#### INTERESTING REVOLUTIONARY ITEMS

One of the minor items in the Edward N. Crane sale last week was an interesting Revolutionary play bill, for which George D. Smith paid \$50. It is a one-page folio and reads in part as follows:

Theatre Royal—To the Public: While the most liberal contributions are bestowed in almost every part of Great Britain in behalf of Misfortune and Distress, the Manager of the Theatre Royal of Edinburgh hopes his conduct will be approved of by the humane and benevolent Public if he presumes it his duty to render the Theatre subservient to the laudible purpose of the following meritorious and laudible charity. Therefore for the

benefit of the Fund for the relief of his Majesty's sick and wounded troops and the widows and children of the slain in America, on Thursday the 7th of March (1776) will be presented the "Tragedy of Cato."

An interesting memento of one of the earliest private libraries brought to New England was knocked down for only \$30. It was the younger John Winthrop's copy of the Bodleian Library Catalogue of 1620, with Winthrop's signature, dated 1631, the year in which he arrived in New England. The journal of John Winthrop, the elder, speaks of his son, the younger John, as possessing at that time in Boston a library of more than 1,000 volumes. Some of these books are still preserved, and bear testimony to the learning and deep intellectual tastes of their original owner. Half a century ago this particular volume was owned by Prof. Charles Anthon of Columbia, and during recent years it was in the library of Wilberforce Eames of the New York Public Library.



#### UTAH'S WONDERS AND NAVAJOS

Cliff dwellings more than 1,000 years old and buildings of even greater age have been discovered in Utah, according to D. B. Miller, assistant supervisor of the general land office, who has been at the head of a surveying party in that state for the last ten months.

"The cliff dwellings we found in Utah undoubtedly are many hundreds of years old," said Mr. Miller. "They were doubtless built by the Montezuma Indians. These Indians also built on the same lands, and many interesting structures were found beneath the surface of these lands. In Utah are three natural bridges that are more wonderful than the natural bridge of Virginia. All are wider and two considerably higher than the Virginia bridge. One of these bridges has a span of more than 200 feet, and the arch is more than 100 feet from the ground. It seems almost to have been made by man. White persons rarely have visited these wonders of nature.

ASKS \$2,000 FOR RARE POE—COLLECTOR FINDS EARLY COPY OF  
“AL AARAAF” IN WASHINGTON

Washington, March 31.—A first edition copy of “Al Aaraaf,” by Edgar Allan Poe, printed at Poe’s own expense in Baltimore in 1829, has been offered for sale here at \$2,000. The last copy of this edition of “Al Aaraaf” sold at auction brought \$2,700.

According to the story told here, the volume belongs to a Washington woman in needy circumstances who had no idea of its value.

The presence of the volume in her house was accidentally discovered by a book collector, who was asked to go there to look over some other old books of which she wanted to dispose. As he was leaving, he caught sight of a dingy old volume sticking out from beneath a piece of furniture, which it was holding in place. On examining it he found it to be one of the rare copies of “Al Aaraaf.”

When the collector told the woman that the book was rare, she asked if he would give \$5 for it, and when he said that the volume was very much more valuable, she suggested \$75. The collector said that he could not recall the value at which copies of this edition were held, and declined to take advantage of the woman’s ignorance. After ascertaining that a recent copy had been sold for \$2,700, he has offered the volume for \$2,000.—*New York Times*.

TRACE OF FRENCH EXPLORER FOUND—METAL PLATE BURIED 170  
YEARS AGO DUG UP ON THE BLUFFS OF THE CHEYENNE RIVER

Pierre, S. D., Saturday, Feb. 22, 1913.—A metal plate buried more than 170 years ago by Chevalier de la Vendrie, of France, to mark his explorations in this country and proclaim the sovereignty of his king over the territory visited has just been found on the bluffs of the Cheyenne River near here.

It was in 1741 that Chevalier de la Vendrie started on an exploration for France in the New World, coming into the West by way of the great lakes.

On leaving France Louis XV. gave him a number of leaden or zinc plates to be buried at the various points he visited. These were graven with the coat of arms of France and bore a Latin inscription.

It was known that De la Vendrie went west as far as the Rocky Mountains and came back to the Missouri River at some point not far from the present site of this city, but the exact spot was unknown. At the point where he reached the Missouri River his journal shows that he went to the top of a hill and buried, one of the plates.

A few years ago Bishop O'Gorman, of the Catholic Church, in an address here mentioned the fact of the visit of De la Vendrie, and said that at some time the plate he had buried on the hills along the Missouri River would be found.

Another plate, according to the Chevalier, was buried on the bluffs of the Cheyenne River about sixty miles from the point where he reached the Missouri River.

Yesterday, at Fort Pierre, while playing near the school building, Hattie Foster, a little girl, picked up a piece of metal and gave it to a boy to clean off.

The plate was about eight inches square and deeply graven on one side were the coat of arms of France, and the inscription "Anno XXXI, Regni Rudovici, pro Rege, Illustrissimo Domino, et Dominio Marchione Beauharnais, MDCCXLI. (1741), Pietrus Caultier de la Vendrie posuit." On the reverse side scratched with a sharp instrument was "Le 30 al Mars 1743."

The plate appears to be genuine, and is in the State Historical Society. Claims are being made to it by the girl who found it, the boy who cleaned it off, and the owner of the ground on which it was found, but the state has possession now and will probably retain it.—*Herald*.



WASHINGTON LETTER SOLD—LONG DOCUMENT OF 1789 BOUGHT  
BY ENGLISH COLLECTOR FOR \$1,250.

London, Feb. 19, 1913—A letter written by George Washington at Mount Vernon on Feb. 5, 1789, referring to the election of the representatives to the first United States Congress, was sold



at auction here to-day for \$1,250. It was purchased by an English private collector.

The letter is regarded as one of the most interesting ever written by Washington, and is said never to have been published. About two months after Washington wrote it he was elected the first President of the United States. Washington's reference in the letter to the first attack of madness suffered by George III, has created much interest in England. The King first showed signs of derangement on Oct. 22, 1788. He soon recovered, but his mind dwelt continually on the loss of the American colonies, and at the end of the year he suffered another attack.

The letter is in part as follows:

"All the political manoeuvres which were calculated to impede, if not to prevent the operation of the new Government, are now brought to a close until the meeting of the new Congress, and, although the issue of all the elections are not yet known, they are sufficiently displayed to authorize a belief that the opposers of the Government have been defeated in almost every instance. Although the elections in this State are over, it will be some time (from the extent of it) before the Representatives to Congress can be finally announced. From conjecture, however, it is supposed the majority will be Federalists—some are so sanguine as to believe that seven out of the ten will be so—but this, as I have already said, is altogether conjecture—and vague conjecture—for much pains has been taken—and no art left unessayd to poison the mind and alarm the fears of the people into opposition.

"Be the cause of the British King's insanity what it may, his situation (if alive) merits commiseration. Better, perhaps, would it have been for his nation, though not for ours (under present prospect) if this event had happened at the time. Dr. Franklin, you say, supposes his Majesty's constitution was first tinged with the malady under which he is now laboring."

MAY, 1913

# AMERICANA

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*Standish Standish.*

# AMERICANA

May, 1913

## Standish Hall

THE BIRTHPLACE OF CAPTAIN MYLES STANDISH, THE PILGRIM, AND THE PRESENT HOME OF HENRY NOAILLES WIDDRINGTON STANDISH, OWNER OF THE STANDISH ESTATES IN LANCASHIRE, ENGLAND; WITH A DESCRIPTION OF THE HISTORIC PLACE AND AN ACCOUNT OF THE INTERESTING FAMILY WHICH MADE THE HALL ITS HOME FOR SUCCESSIVE GENERATIONS, AND THE FAMILY BECOMING HISTORICALLY KNOWN AS:

### THE STANDISHES OF STANDISH

BY EDWARD TINKMAN GIBSON, M. D.,

*Late Captain and Surgeon in the United States Army*

Edward Tinkham Gibson, the author of the Standishes of Standish, is the son of Dr. Samuel and Sarah E. (Tinkham) Gibson, grandson of David Pixley and Harriet G. (Drake) Tinkham, great grandson of Col. David and Lydia (Patterson) Pixley, and great great-grandson of Sarah Standish, the daughter of Moses Standish, great granddaughter of Alexander and Sarah (Alden) Standish. Alexander Standish was the eldest son of Captain Myles Standish, the Pilgrim, and his wife, Sarah Alden, the daughter of John Alden, the Pilgrim, the youngest Signer of the Mayflower Compact and its last survivor, and his wife, Priscilla Mullins, the most interesting subjects of Longfellow's poem, "The Courtship of Myles Standish." Captain Gibson's mother, born 1777, died 1848, married as her second husband, April 7, 1795, James Pumpelly (1775-1845) of Owego, and their son, George James Pumpelly, (1808-1875) married Susan Isabella, daughter of Charles and Frances (Avery) Pumpelly, and their son, Josiah Collins Pumpelly, A. M., LL.B., is associate editor of the AMERICANA.

**H**ENRY NOAILLES WIDDRINGTON STANDISH, the present owner of the estate, known as Standish Hall, and direct descendant of Myles Standish, was born in Standish Hall, November 2, 1847, the eldest son of Lionel C. H. Standish and Sabine de Noailles, daughter of le Duc de Foix, France. He married in 1870, Helene de Perusse, daughter of le Compte des Cars, France, and it was at their

chateau at Rambouillet, France, that Captain Edward Tinkham Gibson was entertained in the summer of 1896, and from where he carried directions to the care-keeper at Standish Hall to show all points in and about the historic estate. Her name appears in "*Who's Who 1910*," an Annual Biographical Dictionary published in London, England by Adam and Charles Black, and now in its sixty-second year. He is a very rich man—his income from his Standish Estate (on which there are eleven coal mines) being officially quoted as over five hundred thousand dollars per annum. He is half English and half French; his mother being Angelique Sabin de Noailles, daughter of the Duke of Noailles, one of the very great families of France, and great-granddaughter of the aged Duchess de Noailles who, just before the fall of Robespierre, was guillotined with her daughter-in-law, the Duchess d' Ayen and her granddaughter, the Vicountess de Noailles. The Duke de Monchy, was brought up by Henry Noailles W. Standish's mother, as the mother of the little duke was her sister, the Duchess de Monchy, and the latter died when the child was quite young. Mr. Standish's mother is also aunt of Antoine, Prince of Spain. The Duke de Monchy, just mentioned, married Princess Murat, and Henry N. W. Standish married Helene de Perrisse des Cars,—daughter of the Count de Car, of France,—and this reminds me of a conversation with her in reference to Louis XVI:

The reader will recall that there has always been much speculation as to what really became of the little son of Louis XVI and Marie Antoinette; some writers insisting that he was rescued from his jailer and sent to America, and others insisting that he died under the cruel treatment administered to him by his jailer. Historians have recorded that he was starved, beaten, insulted, and reduced to a wan little shadow by the cruel Simon, but, as I have stated, writers have disputed as to whether he was finally killed by this treatment.

Mrs. Standish told me that her great-grandmother was a lady of honor to Marie Antoinette, and that she saw the dead body of the child and recognized it as that of the true Dauphin.

Poor, poor, little Prince: The first seven years of his life passed as heir to the most magnificent throne on earth, and the



EDWARD TINKHAM GIBSON





remaining three years passed in squalor under the lash of the demon Simon.

Just prior to my visit, Her Royal Highness, Alexandra, the Princess of Wales, Dowager Queen of England, had honored them by a visit. The honor of visits by their Royal Highnesses, Albert Edward the Prince of Wales and the Princess of Wales, was frequent, Mrs. Standish told me, as the Princess Alexandra was her school mate; and I recently noticed when reading the Memoirs of Princess Murat, that on page 294 she mentions that "Before the Prince came" (son of Napoleon III) "Mrs. Standish had the honor of a visit from H. R. H. the Prince of Wales."

On a stand in Mrs. Standish's boudoir was a photograph of Queen Victoria across which was written "To dear Helene from Victoria."

Louis Marie, vicomte de Noailles, served brilliantly with the Americans in their war for Independence, as all good Americans know. He married his cousin who was one of the several daughters of Jean Paul, Duke de Noailles, and the Marquis de Lafayette—who is also dear to all Americans—married her sister, Marie Adrienne Francois de Noailles.

In the ancient parish church at Chorley, England,—which towns adjoins the Standish estate—amongst the arms of the Standishes may be seen the arms of Alexander Standish, and in the lower part of the shield are the arms of his wife, Margaret Ashton, and half of which consists of the Washington arms, showing, as was recently pointed out by the Rev. Dr. Solloway, Vicar of Selby Abbey, that the ancestors of Myles Standish were related to George Washington's family.

Here are joined together four of America's most loved men in the bond of distant relationship—George Washington, Myles Standish, the Marquis de Lafayette, and Louis Vicomte de Noailles.

That Capt. Myles Standish, "who stabbed Pecksnot with the latter's own knife, and nailed the head of Wiluwamat to the wall of the meeting house" came of a fighting family is attested by the family annals, from which I learned that:

Sir John de Standish saved the life of King Richard, in the

insurrection of 1381, by the work of his sword; and for this received the honor of knighthood.

Sir Ralph de Standish was appointed High Sheriff of Lancashire by King Richard II, in 1392.

Sir Roland de Standish in 1430 brought home the relics of St. Lawrence from Normandy. In 1435 he was slain in Normandy with the Earl of Arundel.

Sir Ralph de Standish commanded in the French wars under King Henry V, and was slain at Geberoy in 1432.

Sir James de Standish fought with King Henry V at Agincourt—each with only eight foot-men behind them.

Sir Hugh de Standish and Sir John de Standish also fought in the French wars.

Sir Alexander Standish was made knight banneret by the King for his heroism in the battel of Hutton Field in Scotland in 1482.

Sir Thomas de Standish served under the Earl of Derby in the Royal army (King Charles) and was slain at the siege of Manchester, Sept. 29th, 1642.

How did it come to pass that the blooded fighting cock, Myles Standish, gave up his commission as an officer in the army of Queen Elizabeth in the Netherlands, and in 1620 accompanied the emigrant congregation of Puritans on their voyage to the New World on the ship "Mayflower"?

As he was stationed in Leyden he was of course aware of the intention of this little band of Puritans to embark for the newly discovered World; and as at this time there was a cessation of hostilities between the fighting armies, and as Walter Raleigh, Lyon Gardner, John Smith, and Fernando Gorges—all of whom were companions in arms with Myles Standish—had found occupation and thrilling adventure in America, is it not quite probable that his reason for accompanying the Pilgrims was because of the exciting adventures which he felt he might expect, and with the intention of returning to England after a short stay in the New World? "But," as an historian states, "Myles Standish had been created by God for a special purpose, and his military skill, bravery and sagacity proved so absolutely necessary for the life of the Pilgrims and their infant colony that this

great-hearted man never saw the time when he could forsake them. And so he remained in America, a tower of strength and defense to the unsoldierly Pilgrim colony of *Protestant America*."

That Capt. Myes Standish was not a member of the Plymouth church, is known; and the connection of his family with the Roman Catholic religion has since given rise to an interesting theory that Myles Standish was a Roman Catholic.

That the Standishes of Standish were intensely Romanish is not only shown by the family records, but in "The History of the Duchy of Lancashire," edited by James Croston, F. S. A., we read that "The first firearms brought into England to fight the Puritans were secreted in Standish Hall in a subterranean passage leading from a false panel in the ancient dining room to the building on the estate known as the Hermitage, the residence of the Priests." It will be observed by looking at the picture of the front of Standish Hall, that the Hall is provided with its own Chapel—the portion which has a cross at the gable—for the servants and retainers kept at Standish Hall in the old days were many; and the Hermitage above referred to was the residence of the Roman Catholic priests who held services in the chapel at Standish Hall and in the church of Saint Wilfred which is situated a short distance from Standish Hall in the village of Standish, and the advowson and chantry of which church were in the Standish family for several centuries—and the priesthood was always the destiny of one of the younger sons of the family (Hugh de Standish in 1236, Henry in 1290, Gilbert in 1358, Alexander in 1398, Roger in 1440, and Richard in 1540.)

In 1559 a Richard Modie was the priest. He renounced the Roman faith on the accession of Queen Elizabeth and was the first Protestant rector of St. Wilfred. His tomb was much injured by the followers of Charles Edward Stuart in 1745.

This church of St. Wilfred existed in 1213, and the completion of its artistic design was effected "Anno Domino, 1854." It bears the heraldic coats of the Standish family. The Standish family pew is a large square high-backed enclosure near the altar and on a level higher than that of the pews of the other members of the congregation.



To show the reader the intensity of the faith of the Standishes of Standish in the Roman Catholic religion as the true religion, and their never ending loyalty to the Stuarts, from whom the throne of England had been wrested, I again quote from *The History of Lancashire*: "The Lancashire Plot of 1694 which had for its object the dethronement of William III and the reestablishment of the family of Stuarts and the Roman religion, was concocted in Standish Hall, and a reward was offered by royal proclamation for the apprehension of Lord Standish but without success." \* \* \*

"Ralph de Standish participated in the rebellion, and he with James Blundell, were captured at the Preston fight. Blundell was executed at Wigan, and Standish was convicted of High Treason and was sentenced to die and forfeit the Standish estates; but the sentence was not carried out, and his estates were afterward restored to him through the influence of his wife, Phillippa, daughter of Henry Howard, Duke of Norfolk, the influence of this powerful Protestant family saved him."

Henry de Standish, a younger son of the house, was Provincial and Guardian of the Franciscan Convent in London. He was consecrated Bishop of St. Asaph, July 11th, 1519. In 1529 he with Fisher and Ridley, acted as proxies for Queen Catherine, although he was entirely in the King's interest. On June 1st, 1533, he assisted at the coronation of Anne Boleyn. He died in 1535.

John de Standish, a younger son of the house, was one of the bitterest of the writers against the Reformation. He died in 1556, Canon of Worcester.

Coming from such a family (is it to be wondered at that people have asked the question "Was Myles Standish at heart a Catholic.")

It is my opinion that he was a person of independent mind, like myself, to whom all religions are good religions that believe in "God Almighty, Maker of Heaven and Earth," and that teach the Golden Rule. Relative to myself I wish to offer as an excuse for the unbiased condition of my mind, the fact that the corpuscles which glide through my veins are not all of one kind: for as the reader of this article is aware, there are in





Standish Hall—The Birthplace of Miles Standish

my veins corpuscles from fanatic Roman Catholic ancestors, and corpucles from Puritan ancestors, and he will see that I am a hopeless mix-up from which nothing radical can be expected when I add that along with French Catholic corpuscles there also glide through my veins corpuscles from the first Protestant Episcopal Bishop nominated by the American Church, the Rev. Jeremiah Leaming (1717-1804) a native of Middletown, Conn., nominated in 1783, but, by reason of physical infirmity, unable to make the voyage to England to be consecrated by the bishops of the Established Church. In 1787 he was again nominated as coadjuter to Bishop Seabury, who had received consecration at the hands of the Scotch bishops Kilgour, Petrie, and Skinner at the cathedral at Aberdeen, Nov. 14, 1784, as the first Bishop of Connecticut, as well as of the American Church, but this honor he refused by reason of his age and infirmities. This eminent clergyman was the great-grandfather of my great-grandmother, Jeresha (Roberts) Drake, daughter of the Rev. Reuben Drake, a Baptist clergyman stationed at Pleasant Valley, N. Y., now known as Plattskill.

"The History of the Duchy of Lancashire, England," by James Croston, states that "Myles Standish, the Puritan Captain, was heir unto the vast estates of Standish of which he was basely defrauded" and they wonder why he was defrauded; and they read in Captain Myles Standish's will that he gives to his "son and heir apparent, Alexander Standish," the estate of Standish "belonging to me as right heir by lawful descent but surreptitiously detained from me," and they again wonder why it was detained from him.

After reading what I have said in this article about the Standishes of Standish, I do not think that the reader will be at any loss to know why the Standishes of Standish "surreptitiously detained" from Myles Standish the estate which was rightfully his; for the reader will realize that a family that "brought into England the first firearms to fight the Puritans" could hardly be expected to allow the Standish estate to pass to one of the family's members who was in America defending a community of Puritans from the Indians.

Myles Standish returned to England in 1625, and it is my



opinion that his main object in doing so was for the purpose of succeeding to the Standish estate as oldest son and rightful heir of Sir Alexander de Standish who had died in the previous year (1624).

That the family had succeeded in "surreptitiously detaining" the estate from him was made manifest to all, when, one year after his departure from the New World, he, in 1626, returned to the little colony of Puritans on the coast of America;—that was the reward that the great-hearted Myles Standish got for saving to America the little seed of civilization *and liberty* which has grown, till now freedom and liberty extend over a great country called the United States of America, in which all men are equal.

#### THE ORIGIN OF THE STANDISH FAMILY IN ENGLAND

In "The History of the Duchy of Lancashire, England," by James Croston, it is stated that:

"As early as the time of the Conquest of England (1066) by William the Norman the family of Standish resided at Standish;" and Whittaker in his "History of Manchester, England," states that "Standish was one of the twelve places in the South of Lancashire in which the Saxons erected fortified castles for the residence of their chiefs and the protection of their country. The Standish estate from ancient times contained ten townships—Standish with Langtree, Sevington, Worthington, Addington, Duxbury, Charnock Richard, and Heath Charnock, measuring from North to South eight miles, East to West six miles six furlongs, forming an area of 15,377 statute acres. Standish Hall was erected in 1530 near the site of the ancient Standish Castle. The moat encircling Standish Hall was partially filled up in 1780 and much of the building itself was then removed."

On some of the stone barns in the stable yard is a stone slab on which the words "Erected in 1530" are cut.

The Saxon blood of the Standishes of Standish was united with that of their Norman conquerors when Baron Standish de Standish married Marquerite de Hilton, daughter of Lord John de Hilton, whose mother, Beneta Tyson, was the daughter of

Germanus Tyson, whose father, Richard Tyson, was the son of Gilbert Tyson (Lord of Malton and Alnwick), who was the son of Ralph Tyson (who married a cousin of William the Conqueror), whose father was Raol Tyson, Lord of Cinglais, Normandy, who came to England with William the Conqueror in 1066.

The oldest son of this marriage of Baron Standish de Standish to Marguerite de Hilton was Thurston de Standish (living in 1184 and 1235); his son was Ralph de Standish (living in 1221 and 1240); his son was Jordan de Standish (living 1271 and 1306). Jordan's younger brother, Hugh de Standish, married Alice, daughter of Sir Richard Molyneux, Earl of Sefton. Alice brought a large property into the family and she and Hugh established the House of "Standish of Duxbury."

As Captain Myles Standish gave the name "Duxbury" to the spot on which his home was erected in the New World, it has been inferred by most people that he belonged to the Duxbury branch of the Standish family, but such is not the case. Myles was a Standish of Standish.

It has always been known that his first wife, Rose Standish, was his cousin; and as I found in examining the old church records in the ancient church at Chorley that a Sir Alexander Standish of the Duxbury house of Standishes married Margaret, daughter of Sir Ralph Asheton, and had besides several other children a daughter Rose, who would be of the right age to become a wife of Myles Standish, would it not look as though this Rose was the Rose Standish that was known to be his cousin.

But be it as it may, Myles Standish's wife Rose was known to be his cousin, and being a daughter of the house of Standish is it at all suprising that she was unable to endure the terrible sufferings which the Pilgrims were forced to endure during the Winter of their arrival in the New World (they arrived in December, 1620) and was "*the first English woman to die in America.*"

Myles Standish's second wife, Barbara, is known to have been a Standish, and, with doubt, has been referred to by writers as a sister of Rose; but if Myles' wife Rose was Margaret (Asheton)

Standish's daughter, then Barbara was not Rose's sister, but a cousin.

During the Reformation the two branches of the Standish family chose different sides in the religious contention which disturbed the land. The Standishes of Duxbury accepted the Protestant Reformation, and the Standishes of Standish refused to accept it.

Amongst my prized relics of the ancient Standish family, are two halberds (having the Standish crest set in open-work in their blades) which centuries ago were borne by footmen who accompanied the Standish Knights when they rode forth in armor to do battle with enemies; and a very ancient hall chair, having the Standish coat of arms on its back, which had been in the possession of a dear friend of mine, the Honorable Thomas Howarth, Lord Mayor of Chorley, England, and owner of large cotton mills, and given to me together with the following letter:

“Dr. E. T. Gibson.

“As a token of regard I present you with a chair which belonged to the ancient family of Standish from which you descend through your illustrious ancestor Captain Miles Standish, who was born at Standish Hall, Lancashire county, England, in 1584, and went to America in the ship ‘Mayflower’ in 1620.

THOS. HOWARTH,  
Mayor of Chorley.”

Amongst Mr. Standish's prized relics are two immense ornamental tortoise shell combs which in 1715 were given to Standish de Standish by James Stuart, Prince of Wales and son of the deposed King James II, as the only earthly possession he had in England to give to Standish de Standish as a token of his gratitude to Standish for saving him from his enemies:—for Standish had fought with Prince James in his attempt to secure the throne of England by force of arms, and when the attempt ended in unconditional surrender at Preston (near the Standish estate) and Lords Derwentwater and Kenmore were beheaded, Prince James escaped with Standish to Standish







A Bedroom in Standish Hall

Hall where both remained secreted in the secret parts of the building until an opportunity was found for Prince James to escape to France.

Amongst the many interesting things in Standish Hall is a bath room which has a swimming pool, having a length of twenty feet, a width of eight feet, and a depth of five feet two inches and having stone steps leading from its bottom to the stone floor of the bath room, and provided with means for filling and emptying it.

As only a few of my photographs of Standish Hall can be printed with this article, I have selected a view of one of the numerous bed rooms as one of them; as it will give the readers an idea of the interior finish of Standish Hall. The floors and ceilings are of polished black oak; the sidewalls are of polished mahogany and black oak; and the doors are solid mahogany. The view of the building itself fails to convey an idea of the immensity of Standish Hall.

The coat of arms of the Standishes is a blue shield bearing three standing dishes (silver) and surmounted by a helmet supporting the crest. One of the crests is an owl, and the other is a fighting cock—a most appropriate crest for a Standish.

# Religious Controversy as Effecting the American Revolution of 1776

## A STUDY

BY SAMUEL M. LEVIN,

*Principal of the Russell Evening High School, Detroit, Mich.,  
and Author of "Improvement in Elementary Evening  
Schools."*

### RELIGION AND THE AMERICAN REVOLUTION

THE scenes of strife and turmoil that marked the decade before the Revolution and the period of the war proper were not all traceable to political or economic discord. Agitations on the part of religious partisans or enthusiasts added no little to the turbulence that characterized that age. The literature of those days abounds in references to harsh quarrels between the numerous sects that then found a home in the thirteen colonies. The principal factors, however, in this strife were the Episcopalians on the one hand, and the Congregationalists and Presbyterians on the other. They seemed to feel no more regard for one another here than in England; they seemed not to have forgotten their old time feuds. Moreover the charge that the Churchmen were Tories, that they had set their heart against the cause of liberty, that they were enemies of their country, intensified the ill feeling against them. From the very moment when the American political atmosphere became somewhat unsettled, the votaries of these denominations showed symptoms of distinct political differentiation. Peter Van Schaack, a New York lawyer of Loyalist sympathies wrote in 1769 in regard to the situation in his state: "They [the Presbyterians] think they have as a religious body every evil

to expect from the growing power of the Church. \* \* \* The Church, say they, is secured in every branch of the legislature, and has no mischief to dread from their having some leading members in the House of Assembly; and why should this the only door at which they can possibly enter, and by which they can acquire any degree of significance,—the other branches of power being at the disposal of the Crown, and out of reach of those who are disagreeable to mitred heads—why say they should this be shut against them.”<sup>1</sup> In New England, perhaps, the antagonism between these sects was more intense than anywhere else in the colonies. The pronounced opposition to the patriot cause of Rev. Samuel Peters, of Connecticut, may serve as a good instance. Ezra Stiles, under date of Oct. 27, 1774, writes of him: “He is full of Malice & Venom against his Country & especially the Presbyterians. He speaks the hearts of Nine Tenths of the Episcopalians throughout the Territory North of Maryland to Nova Scotia, who are enemies to Liberty.”<sup>2</sup> Another quotation by Stiles shows clearly the breach that was dividing Episcopalians from Dissenters. He says: “In 1767 a plan was concerted & addressed to all the Non-episcopal Chhs. i. e. to the Presb., Cong., Consoc., Bapt., Dutch & French Calvinists to form an annual Assembly of Delegates from this united Body for several purposes, one of which was to remove the Aspersions cast upon us all by the Episcopalians, as Traitors, disloyal, Enemies to Monarchy, &c.,&c.,&c.”<sup>3</sup> Without following out the success or failure of this plan, it shows, at least, a greater community of interest among the Dissenters, and a more or less deep grounded antipathy, on their part, to the members of the established Church.<sup>4</sup>

Nor was there any lack of similar ill feeling in the South, though it did not affect so large a portion of the people. The Tory clergymen or those whom stiffnecked Angelicanism drew over to the side of the British, were particularly the objects of hatred and persecution on the part of the devotees of the Revolution. Some were imprisoned, others robbed and driven away,

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1. Life of Peter Van Schaack 10, 11.

2. Literary Diary of Ezra Stiles, V. 1, p. 467. Edited by Dexter, 1901.

3. Ibid., VI, 169.

4. Van Tyne, Loyalists in the American Revolution, 114.



and not a few banished, their estates taken from them and confiscated. The way these unfortunate men were treated gives sign of a malevolence that had a deeper ground than exaltation or over-refinement of political sensibility.<sup>1</sup>

In a letter dated Nov. 4, 1774, Gov. Martin of North Carolina, wrote to Lord Dartmouth: "To the reproach of the professors of Christianity on both sides distinctions and animosities have immemorially prevailed in this country between the people of the established Church and the Presbyterians, on the score of the difference of their essential modes of Church Govt. and the same spirit of division has entered into and been transferred to most other Concernments; at present there is no less apparent schism between their politics than in matters appertaining to religion, and while Loyalty, Moderation, and respect to Government seem to distinguish the generality of the Church of England, I am sincerely sorry to find that they are by no means the Characters of the Presbyterians at large."<sup>2</sup> The same writer in a later proclamation refers in language marked by the sharpest condemnation "to the base artifices," the revolutionary committees employ, "to alienate and prejudice the minds of His Majesty's subjects by confidently and traitorously propagating the most base, scandalous, and monstrous falsehoods of the King's religious and political principles."<sup>3</sup> It is very clear from these citations that the alignment of patriot against tory was also accompanied with an alignment of Dissenter against Episcopalian, and that in general the Dissenter was on the side of liberty while the Episcopalian was on the side of monarchy.

Naturally we should expect the prospect of the war to affect different denominations in a different manner. There were requirements of creed to conquer, as with the Quakers,<sup>4</sup> German Baptists and Mennonites,<sup>5</sup> all of whom thought it a sacrilege to engage in warfare. Many Baptists too were not on too good terms of intimacy with the Presbyterians. Rev. Morgan Edwards, a Baptist elder of Philadelphia, wrote in 1770: "I will

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1. McConnell, *History of the Amer. Episcopal Church*, 210.

2. *North Carolina Colonial Records*, IX, 1086.

3. *Amer. Archives Ser. 4*, VIII, 63.

4. *Ibid.*, 1778.

5. *Ibid.*, 1791.

venture to say that all the Bishops in Old England have not done the Baptists there so much Despite for 80 years past as the Presbyterians have done this year to the Baptists of New England.”<sup>1</sup> And indeed the lukewarmness of these secretaries towards the cause was soon taken advantage of by the English. Stiles in fact charges the ministry with influencing the Quakers to circulate a petition dissuading people from “joyning or taking part in the present American opposition to Parliament.” He adds that “Great efforts are being made by the Ministry & their Connexions in America to detach the Baptists & Quakers thro’out America from the continental Union.”<sup>2</sup> Yet, though these circumstances with respect to various classes of Dissenters added to the confusion of that trying period in our country’s history, it was the conflict between the Episcopalians on one side and the Congregationalists and Presbyterians on the other that looms out especially large, and is of particular importance.

There are two questions which we must determine in this connection: first the cause of the conflict as it manifested itself through the colonies; in other words what reason was there for those of a Puritanic faith to thwart and dog the steps of those who identified themselves with Anglicanism; secondly we must determine the cause of the general change in political sentiment that led the southern Anglicans to join the revolutionists. While the members of the Anglican Church in the north were warm adherents of King George, those to the south more usually tended to uphold the measures of the Continental Congress. Stiles says in one place in his diary: “The defence & Conservation of the public liberty stands on the union of the Southern Episcopalians (who differ on this point from their northern brethren) and the grand universal body of Congregationalists and Presbyterians throughout the Continent.”<sup>3</sup> Religion in the southern colonies was not so distinctly bound up with politics. Membership in the Church was not enough to turn a Virginian gentleman into a Tory. In fact some of the prime movers in the

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1. Lit. Diary of Ezra Stiles, I, 169. Cross. The Anglican Episcopate and The Amer. Colonies, 185, 186.

2. Lit. Diary of Ezra Stiles, I, 490-1.

3. Ibid., I, 491. Van Tyne Loyalists in The Amer. Revolution, III, 112.

American cause, such as Washington, Jefferson, Marshall, Patrick Henry, Robert Morris, Jay, and Madison, were Churchmen. There is even a hint of a "combination between the Massachusetts Presbyterians and the Virginia Churchmen to persecute, if not exterminate, the poor Quackers, Anabaptists, and all other persuasions, and render theirs the established cause."<sup>1</sup> However chimerical this statement may be as to actual truth, the very fact that such a belief was entertained shows that a union of this sort was at least held possible. The two parties were not so utterly irreconcilable as was the case in Massachusetts.

To understand the problems already set forth more or less fundamentally, it will be necessary to go back and review in brief the principal phases in the religious history of the colonies. There are two features that deserve special attention; first the growth of religious toleration, secondly, the struggle for an American Episcopate.

The first settlements at Plymouth and Salem were undertaken, as is well known, by the Pilgrims in the former place and the Puritans in the latter. The Pilgrims had seceded entirely from the Anglican Church; they not only objected to the popish ceremonialism of the Church, but believed that every congregation should have the right to choose its own minister and manage its own affairs. The Puritans, on the other hand, were members of the Church but set their face firmly against the pomp and pageantry that went along with it; they wished to dispense forever with all the rich paraphernalia redolent of popery. Their ideal was a pure church, a church for worship and not for show. For holding these beliefs the Dissenters, both Separatists and Puritans, suffered pitiless persecution. Under Elizabeth and James I the iron hand of the law weighed heavily on them. Unable to get any redress they finally decided to abandon their fatherland, and emigrate to the new world where they could worship as they pleased and work out their destiny in their own way.

But when they established themselves in the new world, they did not proceed to grant toleration. Indeed nothing was

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1. Amer. Archives, Ser. IV, VIII, 1013.

further away from their minds. They came here to enjoy freedom of worship after their own fashion and never dreamed of allowing their peace of mind to be disturbed by the untoward practices of non-conforming sects. The Pilgrims were the first to set up the Congregational Church. Less stern and uncompromising than their northern neighbors, they even for a time contemplated the granting of religious toleration, but the attempt failed.<sup>1</sup> In 1650 they forbade the setting up of new churches different from those already established without the consent of the government. A few years later, in 1657, they enacted a law providing for taxation by civil authority, for the support of ministers. The union of church and state was now complete.

In the Massachusetts Bay settlements the church was even more directly amenable to the state than in the other colony. Congregationalism was adopted, and the direction of ecclesiastical affairs from the first placed in the hands of the General Court. In 1631 church membership was made a condition for the enjoyment of the franchise. Taxation for the support of the established church was also resorted to and legalized. In 1654 a law was passed requiring every town to have a minister and to make proper provision for his support, under penalty of compulsory assessment.<sup>2</sup> Members of other sects were by no means tolerated. In 1644 a law was passed providing for the banishment of Baptists. About a decade later occurred the memorable persecution of the Quakers, in which Puritanism revealed itself in a religiosity blind and immutable. And not before the end of the century did the Puritan mind begin to free itself from the chains or perhaps enchantment of this ruthless formalism.

Massachusetts not only failed to adopt toleration, but stretched out its hand to thrust down anyone who dared to raise his voice against the suppression of individuality, or the evil of imposed conformity. Roger Williams and Anne Hutchinson both had to flee the colony because they could not make their beliefs agree with those fixed by law. Thus were founded New-

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1. Lauer in Johns Hopkins University Studies, 10th Ser., 1892, p. 24.

2. Records of Mass., III, 354.



port and Portsmouth, which later became a part of the colony of Rhode Island. And here for the first time in New England, church and state were kept apart and complete religious liberty granted.<sup>1</sup> Near Rhode Island the colony of Connecticut grew up Congregational in its organization though the franchise was not made a matter of church membership. Lastly there was the colony of New Haven, founded by John Davenport and Theodore Eaton. Here church government in civil matters reached its climax. From the scriptural text "Wisdom hath builded her house, she hath hewn out her seven pillars," the settlers of New Haven piously deduced that they were obligated to found a government of seven men, who were also to be the pillars of the new church. In ordering the affairs of government the word of God as seen in the bible was to be the only rule attended to. The bible was to be the only fundamental law. In its early days New Haven came very near growing into a pure theocracy.

Northward in Maine and New Hampshire the Puritan faith was not so dominant, as these territories had for a time belonged to proprietors who were staunch Episcopalians, and members of that denomination had therefore an opportunity to establish themselves. When Maine and New Hampshire passed into the hands of Massachusetts, that colony did not attempt to enforce its religious system on the inhabitants and they were given the franchise without becoming members of the Congregational Church. In 1691 Maine became an integral part of Massachusetts and continued so into the first quarter of the nineteenth century. Under this long Puritan domination Congregationalism had a good opportunity to establish itself in the northern territory. New Hampshire was created into a separate province in 1679, and so was not influenced as potently as the colony was by Massachusetts.

Up to this time the policy of New England had been dominated by the influence of Massachusetts. Congregationalism was established in nearly all the colonies and the tendency was away from toleration. But this state of affairs could not continue long. Rhode Island, as has been seen, very early opened its

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1. Johns Hopkins University Studies, 10th Ser., p. 47.

doors to all creeds. Its charter of 1644 declares that "no person within the said colony at any time hereafter, shall be molested, punished, disquieted, or called in question for any differences of opinion in matters of religion." As years passed by Quakers, Baptists, and Episcopalians began to wander into New England. The first Episcopal Church of Massachusetts was established in Boston in 1686, after the colonial charter had been forfeited. The Puritans were exasperated, but they had to keep their temper until the Revolution of 1688 when William of Orange, was placed on the English throne. When the news of this revolution reached the New Englanders, they allowed their pent up wrath to burst forth in all its fury. They "clapped Gov. Andros into jail, shipped the Episcopal rector off to England, smashed the windows of the church, pelted its walls with mud and filth, and mobbed and harried the Churchmen within an inch of their lives."<sup>1</sup> But such violence did not find favor in the eyes of the new king, who on accepting the throne had become head of the Church. In his charter of 1691 issued to Massachusetts he provided that there shall no longer be any religious tests for suffrage and that, with the exception of Papists, there shall be liberty of conscience to all.

With the coming of the seventeenth century the question of toleration became more significant. New England began to outgrow its early insularity. Baptists, Quakers, and Episcopalians continued to come in increasing numbers. Before long laws were passed exempting Dissenters from paying their quota to the established church, and permitting the application of their funds to the support of their own ministers.

In Massachusetts most of these laws were enacted from 1727 to 1770. The first law applied to Episcopalians and the one following in 1728, to Baptists and Quakers. In every case taxation for public worship was still maintained, though the funds were divided in the manner described above. They also required every Dissenter who desired exemption from taxation to present a certificate from his church to the effect that he was what he professed to be. The laws were executed with carelessness and wilful neglect. The same sort of legislation like-

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1. McConnell, History of the Amer. Epis. Church, 46.

wise took place in Connecticut. In New Hampshire the inhabitants of every town, in town meeting, decided on their ministers<sup>1</sup> and supported them by taxation, though Dissenters could escape the tax by facing various obstacles.

We thus see that by the beginning of the Revolution New England had learned to tolerate the various sects that peopled its territory. The growth in population, the persistent efforts of dissentients, the coming of a new generation who did not feel the bitter antipathies of their ancestors, the increased enlightenment of the new century, all these influences undoubtedly served to bring about the desired results.

In the south the situation was practically the opposite of that in the north. The principle motive of colonization there was economic rather than religious. Again the Church of England was the legal establishment and denominations existing only by toleration. In Virginia from the first the Church of England was established by the House of Burgesses, and all people, Dissenters as well as members, were obliged to pay for its support. In Maryland Anglicanism was officially established in 1692. In the Carolinas it was established by proprietary charter, and in Georgia, though the Church was not legally established, it was well representd. Dissenters, however, were present in all the southern colonies. As early as 1700 there could be found in Virginia, Quakers, Presbyterians, and Huguenots, and the government took no pains to molest them. On the contrary it was glad to have them come and help populate the country. After the French and Indian wars the number of Dissenters grew, but no toleration was formally permitted until a law of 1776, when they were also relieved from supporting the established Church by taxation.

The middle colonies seemed to occupy a middle ground in religion as they did geographically and in politics. In Pennsylvania, though founded by Quakers, the first assembly guaranteed religious freedom. Several years after the first settlement, Mennonites, Swedish Lutherans, Dutch Calvinists, and German Baptists, lived there unmolested.<sup>2</sup> The charter con-

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1. Johns Hopkins University Studies, 10th Series, 42.

2. Tiffany, *Hist. of the Prot. Epis. Church in America*, 205, 206.

tained a provision that if twenty people in the colony should petition therefor, they should have the right to organize a parish of the Church of England. Accordingly in 1695 the first church was established. In New York absolute religious freedom prevailed from the beginning. "New York gave a home to everything that is human. There the Jew first set foot in America. Lutherans, Puritans, Presbyterians, Huguenots, and Quakers, dwelt undisputed."<sup>1</sup>

The account so far has made us acquainted with some of the principal phases in the evolution of religious toleration in the colonies. We have seen a marked change in the eighteenth century tending toward liberalism and leading away from the pious philistinism of the century before. We have seen the various sects take advantage of the freedom offered them, and spread over the land from New Hampshire to Georgia. We now come to one of the most important landmarks in colonial religious history, which has a vital connection with the conditions that obtained in the revolutionary epoch, and that is the attempt to settle Anglican bishops to officiate in the colonies.

The Episcopal Church established in America was part of the Anglican Episcopacy, the head of which was the king of England. There never was a purely independent American Episcopacy. The oversight of Church affairs in America devolved upon the Bishop of London, and, with the exception of a short intermission during the Protectorate, remained under control of successive Bishops, until all connection with England was dissolved by the Revolution. As it was manifestly impossible for the Bishop of London to perform all his duties to his colonial charges, some of them were delegated to officers appointed by him, known as commissaries, whose function related chiefly to oversight and discipline of the Church and clergy. Others were exercised by the colonial governors.<sup>2</sup>

As a result of this arrangement the situation was far from satisfactory. Candidates for holy orders in the colonies had to undergo the trouble of a trip to England to receive ordination. In consequence few Americans by birth entered the ministry

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1. McConnell, *His. of the Amer. Epis. Church*, 62.

2. Cross, *The Anglican Episcopate and the Amer. Colonies*, 1-8.



the clergy being sent over from England. There was a lack both of churches and ministers. Partly to remedy this evil, through the efforts of Rev. Thomas Blair, one of the colonial commissaries, the "Society for the Propagation of the Gospel" was founded in 1701. It undertook to improve the tone of Anglicanism in the colonies, by inducing as many clergy as possible to come over from England, by building new churches, and by engaging in zealous missionary propaganda. Its endeavors were very effective but still were not deemed sufficient. It was believed that to make the church worthy of its name, bishops ought to be established with jurisdiction over their particular dioceses<sup>1</sup> as in England.

The first decided efforts to establish bishops in the colonies began with Thomas Sherlock, Bishop of London from 1748 to 1761. Whether his motives were the betterment of the Church or the better establishment of English power in America, it is clear that he took unmistakable steps looking toward an American Episcopate. He refused to appoint commissaries, hoping that by withholding the ministrations of an English bishop, he would enforce on the minds of the Americans the need of bishops on their own soil. He even sought the presence of the king and entered into correspondence with the chief officers of the state upon the project.<sup>1</sup> But the ministry did not respond. It saw the danger lurking in such an action, which would undoubtedly provoke Puritan discontent and even possibly satisfy southern Episcopalians. It was thought best for political reasons at least to leave the matter alone.

But the efforts of Sherlock, though they did not succeed well, had two important results. They encouraged a large party of Episcopal clergymen who resided in America to enter assiduously upon the work of realizing the ideal of an episcopate. In 1766 the clergy of New York and New Jersey even went to the length of forming an organization having the introduction of native bishops as one of its main objects. On the other hand the zeal of Sherlock and his American followers served to arouse the Dissenters particularly those of a Puritanic extraction to the new situation and stimulate them keenly to block their efforts. Violent controversies ensued in which both parties made free

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1. Cross, *The Anglican Episcopate and The Amer. Colonies*, 116-122.

with condemnation and invective. Rev. Jonathan Mayhew, a well known Congregational minister of Boston, in a pamphlet entitled "Observations on the Character and Conduct of The Society" charged that the Society for the Propagation of The Gospel had been neglecting missionary undertakings, was designing to root out Presbyterianism and establish an Anglican Episcopacy.<sup>1</sup> He was answered by Rev. Arthur Browne of Portsmouth, admitting Mayhew's charges in part, at least, but ardently in support of the motives that actuated the Episcopalians. Pamphlets from partisans of both sects now came forth in abundance. Fear was expressed by the Congregationalists that American bishops like English would have to enjoy temporal power as well as spiritual, that the Churchmen would attain a majority of the legislatures, secure an establishment of their faith, and even tax the people for its support. The important point is that the controversy occurred at a time when the colonists had many causes of complaint against Parliament, so that their agitation and fear were rendered more acute by their suspicion of an alliance of the Episcopalians with the English ministry.

The discussions were continued with unabated intensity up to the beginning of the Revolution. In 1768 the matter was taken up by the newspapers, and men like John Dickinson and William Livingston contributed. Scathing articles were written denouncing the proposed plan. Such wanton expressions as "episcopal bondage" or the necessity of not suffering "the right reverend and holy tyrants to plunge their spiritual swords into the bowels of their fellow creatures," the repeated insinuations that the hand of the English government was in the embroilment, were all used with telling effect. But the interest and spirit of the populace were further kept alive by the activities of an organization formed in 1766, consisting of New York and New Jersey Presbyterians and Connecticut Congregationalists to retard and counteract the work of the rival Episcopal organization. This society was by no means idle. It carried on correspondence with Dissenters in London and had connection with almost all the colonies where Dissenters could be found.

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1. Cross, *The Anglican Episcopate and The Amer. Colonies*, 156.

Perhaps it ought to be said that not all Episcopalians united in the demand for bishops. The feeling among the clergy proper was more ardent than among the laity. Furthermore in the South the sentiment was not nearly so strong as in the middle states and north. In 1771 only twelve clergy from the whole of Virginia could be induced to hold a meeting to consider the plan, and from that number four opposed it. Yet these four had voiced the sentiment of the people, for the Virginia House of Burgesses voted them a resolution of thanks, complimentary of their discreet and well timed opposition.

Before proceeding now to inquire into the more intimate features of sectarian conflicts in the period of the Revolution, it will be well to see how many Episcopalians and Dissenters there were in the colonies at that time. Charles Chauncy, a contemporary Boston clergyman, puts the number of Episcopalians at about 300,000, 26,000 of whom were north of Maryland.<sup>1</sup> Burke refers to the members of the Church of England as "not comprising one-tenth of the people,"<sup>2</sup> which would result approximately in the same estimate as Chauncy's. They had in all about three hundred parishes, mostly in the south. The disparity in numbers between the two parties was very large, there being about ten Dissenters to every Churchman.

Thus far in following the career of the Episcopalians and Dissenters, we have had occasion to observe their disagreements and contentions. But these might be interpreted as ecclesiastical or religious, as having no inherent connection with the Revolution. It remains therefore to discover this connection, to understand the peculiar political affiliations of the contending sects, and account for their existence.

There is a great deal of evidence to believe that the most zealous enthusiasts for the war were the devotees of Puritanism, the Presbyterians and Congregationalists, while many of the most fervent loyalists were the clergy and members of the Church of England. A tory writer remarks, "so great is the rage of fighting among the Presbyterian preachers, that one of them has taken no less than seven different commissions, in or-

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1. Cross, *The Anglican Episcopate and The Amer. Colonies*, 169.

2. *Amer. Archives*, Ser. IV, III, 1753.

der to excite the poor deluded men who have taken up arms, they known not why, to stand forth with an enthusiastic ardor, against their King and Constitution.”<sup>1</sup> Rev. Jonathan Boucher writes, “Those persons who have read any out of the great number of Puritan Sermons that were then printed as well as preached will cease to wonder that so many people were worked up into such a state of frenzy.”<sup>2</sup> On the other hand it is a well established fact that the Episcopalians, particularly of the north, espoused the cause of monarchy. Evidence of this has already been given in the first part of this article, but the following striking instance will not be out of place. In Connecticut there were about two thousand tories in 1774 mostly in the west. A collection of statistics made at that time showed that in Fairfield county where tories were very numerous, one-third of the people were Episcopalians, while in the town of Newton, “the hot bed of toryism,” there were an equal number of Episcopalians and Dissenters.<sup>3</sup>

Several causes may be assigned for these religious-political alliances, some of temporary and others of a more fundamental nature. It has already been shown that the Episcopal clergy had to be ordained in England. There they were also required to take the oath of allegiance to the king. Again because of the lack of bishops and the efforts of the Society For The Propagation of the Gospel, many clergymen came over from England in mature life. Others served as missionaries of the Society, so that their livelihood was at stake, and at the least sign of disloyalty would be cut off. Finally the creed of the Church of England was usually acknowledged by persons who sought political prominence and by governors and crown officers.<sup>4</sup>

No doubt these causes operated to estrange many Episcopalians from the American cause, but they were probably not the fundamental deep rooted causes. Many a clergyman in the

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1. Moore's Diary of The Revolution, 359.

2. Notes and Queries, Series V, Vol. VI, 142.

Samuel Adams writes under date of Oct. 13, 1773: “And that America has many friends among the Merchants & Manufacturers, the Country Gentlemen & especially the Dissenters from the established Church, I am so well informed that I cannot doubt.”

3. Amer. Hist. Review, IV, 278.

4. Van Tyne, The Loyalists in the Amer. Revolution, III.



south who had taken the oath of allegiance did not feel himself bound to forsake his country in its most trying hour on that account. Some thought their oath merely meant that they were to be obedient to the ruling power, but if that power changed their allegiance might also change, just as in the English Revolution of 1688 a large number of the clergy had transferred their allegiance from James II to William III.<sup>1</sup> Similarly the mere fact of holding a crown office cannot be considered an ultimate cause of what the patriots regarded as treason.

The real explanation must first be sought in the form and character of the Episcopal Church in America. We have already seen that it was not an independent organization, but part and parcel of the English establishment, of which the king was the head. It was ruled over by the Bishop of London and his commissaries who were all functionaries of the English state. Every Episcopalian, and the Clergy in particular had to look to England for ultimate authority in religious, if not in civil matters immediately under ecclesiastical control; in complete contrast to the Congregationalists, Presbyterians, and other dissenting sects, who were absolutely independent of any authority in religious matters, outside the bounds of America. The mind of the Episcopalian was therefore always trained to an attitude of dependence on the crown and to a high regard for its authority, while that of the Dissenter was trained to the contrary.<sup>2</sup>

Such an attitude of mind cannot be kept in isolation to apply merely to ecclesiastical affairs. When political troubles came it was natural for the Episcopalians to be less disposed to commit violence against England than for the Dissenters. But there were other circumstances which widened and deepened the rift between them. It has already been shown that the Puritans had fled from England to rid themselves of the incubus of the established Church. The first generation or two of settlers were so set in their aversion to the Church that they would not toler-

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1. McConnell, *Hist. of The Epi. Church in America*, 206.

2. In regard to the religion of the Dissenters, Burke said in his *Speech on Conciliation*: "Their mode of professing it is also one main cause of their free spirit. The people are Protestants and of that kind which is the most adverse to all implicit submission of mind and opinion. This is a persuasion not only favorable to liberty, but built upon it . . . the dissenting interests have sprung up in direct opposition to all the powers of the world and could justify that opposition only by a strong claim to natural liberty."

ate its presence amongst them. But though the later Presbyterians and Congregationalists were not so short sighted in their religious outlook, not so hardened in their religious prejudices, they were nevertheless heart and soul Puritans. They were hewn from the same rock as their ancestors. Their feeling against the Episcopalians may have become less poignant but had not entirely left them. They did indeed provide for measures of toleration, but at the same time made their realization very difficult. On the other hand the Churchmen could not help but feel that they were in foreign territory, that they were confronted by a stern, uncompromising foe. Under such conditions it is little likely that a mutual affection would ensue between the two or that the policy of the one would be zealously supported by the other.

Moreover this discord was further intensified by the crossing of swords over the question of the settlement of bishops. With the Puritans an episcopate was an impossible idea; it meant the blackest of evil. If they had previously looked askance at the Churchmen, they now condemned them. The quarrel coming at a time when America was engaged in the trying political combat with England, it was natural to associate the purely ecclesiastical with the political. They disregarded the fact that the English ministry itself was opposed to an episcopate. In the heat of the excitement they did not take time to think. They charged their opponents with being in league with the government to impose its obnoxious system on them. They saw in the proposed episcopal organization an avowal on the part of the colonist of the unlimited authority of Parliament over them. Whatever apprehension<sup>1</sup> of England's attitude and action they

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1. The expressions of John Adams in regard to the conflict over bishops are worthy of note. In a letter written to H. Niles in 1818, he says: "If any gentleman supposes this controversy to be nothing to the present purpose, he is grossly mistaken. It (the plan of episcopizing the colonies, especially New England) spread an universal alarm against the authority of Parliament. It excited a general and just apprehension, that bishops, and dioceses, and churches, and priests, and tithes were to be imposed on us by Parliament." *Works of John Adams*, X, 288.

In an earlier letter John Adams brings out the same point perhaps somewhat more forcibly. He writes: "Where is the man to be found at this day [1815] when we see the Methodistical bishops, bishops of the church of England, and bishops, archbishops, and Jesuits of the church of Rome, with indifference, who will believe that the apprehension of Episcopacy contributed fifty years ago as much as any other cause, to arouse the attention not only of the inquiring mind, but of the com-

had on the governmental side was therefore increased by the incidence of this strife. On the other hand the attachment of the Anglicans to the home government was strengthened by this harsh antagonism. The unstinted virulence of their opponents made them withdraw further from anything that savored of Puritanism. When the Revolution came it was therefore natural to find these two eligious parties pitted against each other on political grounds.

We can now see more clearly why the war was the "Puritan's high holiday season," and why "they enjoyed it with rapture all over the continent."<sup>1</sup> Moreover we can see more clearly why New England and more particularly Massachusetts should be a hotbed of sedition; why the first public and formal denial of the right of Parliament to tax the colonies without their consent, why the circular letter calling for a Stamp Act Congress, should emanate from Massachusetts; why the committees of correspondence should originate there; why the Boston Massacre, the Boston Tea Party, the battle of Lexington and Concord should take place on its territory. Truly they were the resultant of many forces, but one of the strongest was the attitude of mind already dwelt on, due to the latent feeling of distrust and aversion to the Episcopalians, strongly accentuated by their tantalizing religious propaganda. The Puritan population was gathered in New England and particularly concentrated in Massachusetts, where consequently there was a marked intensity of revolutionary feeling.

The truth of the above remarks will become more patent, if we consider the relation of the conditions in which Dissenters and Episcopalians found themselves with the fundamental causes of the Revolution. If the real basal causes of the war are to be sought in the facts that the colonists were remote from the fatherland, that under the influence of a new and strange environment, they had evolved into new personalities with new ideals we can easily see how these would affect Dissenters more than

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mon people, and urge them to close thinking on the constitutional authority of parliament over the colonies? This, nevertheless, was a fact as certain as any in the history of North America." Works of John Adams, X, 185.

1. Moore's Diary of The Revolution, 291.



Churchmen.<sup>1</sup> The former practically were isolated from the old world: America was all to them. To American institutions, religious, political, and social, they looked for salvation. Not so with the latter. They lived in America but they were ever in intimate communication with the home country. They were not free from the trammels of ecclesiastical and crown dependence. They were therefore less likely to be actuated by such a spirit for freedom as dominated the Dissenters, and were more likely to feel a strange attachment to the old regime.

Now to explain the position of the large majority of the southern Churchmen, such as those from Virginia, in some respects diametrically opposed to that of their northern brethren, we shall not deviate from our previous course of reasoning. Virginia as has been shown was Episcopal from the start. Unlike the situation in the north, it was actually the home of Episcopalians. There they were not strangers in a hostile land. They had grown up to cherish and love their soil. They lived there with their friends and relatives and all that they held dear.

Again, the possession of slaves and the plantation life would tend to cultivate a high spirit of pride and freedom. Furthermore, religion there was inherent. Neither the clergy nor the laity were beset by the fanatical zeal or even missionary spirit that was so strongly felt to the north. The religious storm that had stirred New England and the middle states had left the south calm and unperturbed. Consequently strong religious prejudices against the Revolution were unknown there. The people of fashion even countenanced Presbyterianism. Fithian who had spent seven or eight months in wealthy Virginia society tells of a typical, fine Virginia lady, who allowed "the difference between the Church and Presbyterianism to be only exceeding small," and wished "they were both entirely united."<sup>2</sup> He also gives the following interesting picture of a Virginia Sabbath. "A Sunday in Virginia don't seem to wear the same dress as our Sundays to the northward—generally here by five o'clock on Saturday every face (especially the Negroes) looks

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1. Van Tyne, *American Revolution*, Ch. 1.

2. Fithian's *Journal and Letters*, 102. Edited by J. N. Williams.



festive and cheerful. All the lower Class of People & the Servants & the Slaves, consider it as a day of Pleasure & amusement & spend it in such Diversion, as they severally choose—The Gentlemen go to Church to be sure; but they make that itself a matter of convenience, & account the Church a useful weekly resort to do Business.”<sup>1</sup>

The conduct of the Episcopalians is therefore chargeable to circumstances quite antithetical to those which obtained northward. The southern Episcopalians entered the fight not prompted by religious motives, but because they were devoted to their independence. They regarded jealously the least step that would tend to abridge their liberties. In the Parson's case we see this attitude of mind carried to an almost unreasonable limit. Perhaps their apprehension for their liberty was even increased, because having the church supported by the home government they had to acknowledge more of English authority than their neighbors. And so when the call for arms came, Virginia and the other southern states sent their noble sons to fight for independence.

Of course it must not be supposed that all Episcopalians to the north espoused the cause of England, and all to the south that of independence. There were numerous exceptions in both cases. In the northern and middle colonies the clergy were undoubtedly more stringently loyalistic than the laity, while to the south many of the clergy, some of whom have already been mentioned, were faithful to England. The facts set forth answer for the large majority of cases, not for all.

As a result of the strong religious-political differences the war proper saw many a church wrecked and desecrated. The British and tories did not hesitate to burn and misuse Presbyterian churches,<sup>2</sup> and cast cheap abuse and scurrilous taunts on the Puritans,<sup>3</sup> while the latter were not slow in venting their wrath against Episcopalian establishments wherever they could be found. “The Episcopal churches in New York were all shut

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1. *Ibid.*, 202.

2. Moore's *Diary of the Revolution*, 718.

3. Van Tyne, *The Loyalists in the Amer. Rev.*, 112-114.

up, the prayer books burned, and the ministers scattered abroad in this and neighboring provinces," writes a contemporary.<sup>1</sup> Indeed the Revolution was a dark day for the professors of both creeds.

As to the other prominent sects such as Baptists and Quakers, there were no patent causes of lasting antagonism between them and the Episcopalians, consequently there was no embittered strife. They took only a lukewarm interest in the controversy that was so agitating the Puritans, and indeed, as already pointed out, were not too eager to take a hand in the struggle for independence. The German Baptists of Pennsylvania declared "they found no freedom in giving or doing or assisting in anything by which men's lives are destroyed or hurt."<sup>2</sup> They did, however, acquiesce to assist by taxation. A more virile attitude was shown by the Baptists of Virginia. In an address to the Virginia Convention, Aug. 16, 1775, they declared that "they \* \* \* consider themselves as members of the same community in respect to matters of a civil nature, and embarked in the same common cause; that, alarmed over the oppression which hangs over America," they "had considered what part it would be proper to take in the unhappy contest, and had determined that in some cases it was lawful to go to war and that they ought to make a military resistance against Great Britain, in her unjust invasions, tyrannical oppression, and repeated hostilities."<sup>3</sup> Less compromising were the Quakers. As Franklin remarks in his autobiography "the defence of the country was not disagreeable to any of them provided they were not required to assist in it."<sup>4</sup> Indeed the Quakers tried to hold fast to their principles against war; to the letter if not to the spirit. The story that Franklin tells, how, when an application was made to them, by order of the Crown to grant aids for military purposes, they first used a variety of evasions to avoid complying, and at last granted money for the king's use, shows the refined casuistries which they considered it in keeping

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1. Moore's Diary of the Rev., 291; N. Y. Col. Doc. VIII, 684.

2. Amer. Archives, Series 4, III, 1790, 1791.

3. Ibid., Series 4, III, 383.

4. Autobiography of Benjamin Franklin, Ch. 8.

with piety to employ. Instead of voting money for powder in earlier days, they voted it for bread or "other grain."<sup>1</sup> When the Revolution broke out they naturally sought to avoid transgressing their religious tenets. On Oct. 27, 1775, a body of Quakers, seemingly representing all their coreligionists in Pennsylvania, sent an address to the Pennsylvania Assembly in which among other things they said: "It is well known that for above one hundred years past, we as a religious society have declared to the world that we could not be concerned in warlike preparations, either by personal service or by paying any fines, penalties or assessments, imposed in consideration of our exemption from such services."<sup>2</sup> And they begged that the assurance given in their charter by William Penn that they shall not be obliged "to do or suffer any act or thing contrary to their religious persuasion should not be infringed." Such was the attitude taken by a large number of Quakers, little calculated to promote the cause of liberty.

It has been observed that up to and during the Revolution the religious question in America had not yet been settled. Taxation for the support of the church was still kept up in most states. The status of the Church of England was not fixed. But after the war a new era ensued; the religious atmosphere cleared. The Church of England that had been so harassed in the previous decade, with the acknowledgment of American independence could no longer subsist in its ancient relations of dependence. It therefore reorganized itself and soon developed into the "Protestant Episcopal Church in the United States." In the various colonies before the first half of the nineteenth century all laws requiring church taxation were abrogated, and America became a land of true religions as well as political liberty.

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1. Autobiography of Benjamin Franklin, Ch. 8.

2. Amer. Archives, Ser. 4, III, 1778.

# Traditions of the Earliest Visits of Foreigners to North America

BY COL. REUBEN THOMAS DURRETT, A. M., LL. D., President of the Filson Club.

*(Concluded.)*

## I. EXTINCTION OF THE MANDANS

FROM the accounts brought to New York in the fall of 1838, by Messrs. M'Kensie, Mitchell, and others, from the upper Missouri, and with whom I conversed on the subject, it seems that in the summer of that year the small-pox was accidentally introduced amongst the Mandans, by the Fur Traders; and that in the course of two months they all perished, except some thirty or forty, who were taken as slaves by the Riccarees; an enemy living two hundred miles below them, and who moved up and took possession of their village soon after their calamity, taking up their residence in it, it being a better village than their own; and from the lips of one of the Traders who had more recently arrived from there, I had the following account of the remaining few, in whose destruction was the final termination of this interesting and once numerous tribe.

The Riccarees, he said, had taken possession of the village after the disease had subsided, and after living some months in it, were attacked by a party of their enemies, the Sioux, and whilst fighting desperately in resistance, in which the Mandan prisoners had taken an active part, the latter had concerted a plan for their own destruction, which was effected by their simultaneously running through the piquets on to the prairie, calling out to the Sioux (both men and women) to kill them, "that they were Riccaree dogs, that their friends were all dead, and that they did not wish to live," that they here wielded



their weapons as desperately as they could, to excite the fury of their enemy, and that they were thus cut to pieces and destroyed.

The accounts given by two or three white men, who were amongst the Mandans during the ravages of this frightful disease, are most appalling and actually too heartrending and disgusting to be recorded. The disease was introduced into the country by the Fur Company's steamer from St. Louis; which had two or three of their crew sick with the disease when it approached the upper Missouri, and imprudently stopped to trade at the Mandan village, which was on the banks of the river, where the chiefs and others were allowed to come on board, by which means the disease got ashore.

I am constrained to believe that the gentlemen in charge of the steamer did not believe it to be the small-pox; for if they had known it to be such, I cannot conceive of such imprudence as regarded their own interests in the country, as well as the fate of these poor people, by allowing their boat to advance into the country under such circumstances.

It seems that the Mandans were surrounded by several war-parties of their most powerful enemies, the Sioux, at that unlucky time, and they could not therefore disperse upon the plains, by which many of them could have been saved; and they were necessarily inclosed within the piquets of their villages, where the disease in a few days became so very malignant that death ensued in a few hours after its attacks: and so slight were their hopes when they were attacked, that nearly half of them destroyed themselves with their knives, with their guns and by dashing their brains out by leaping headforemost from a thirty-foot ledge of rocks in front of their village. The first symptom of the disease was a rapid swelling of the body, and so very virulent had it become, that very many died in two or three hours after their attack, and that in many cases without the appearance of the disease upon the skin. Utter dismay seemed to possess all classes and all ages, and they gave themselves up in despair, as entirely lost. There was but one continual crying and howling and praying to the Great Spirit, for his protection during the nights and days, and there being but few

living, and those in too appalling despair, nobody thought of burying the dead, whose bodies, whole families together, were left in horrid and loathsome piles in their own wigwams, with a few buffalo robes, etc., thrown over them, there to decay and to be devoured by their own dogs. That such a proportion of their community as that above mentioned, should have perished in so short a time, seems yet to the reader, an unaccountable thing; but in addition to the causes just mentioned, it must be borne in mind that this frightful disease is everywhere far more fatal amongst the native than in civilized population, which may be owing to some extraordinary constitutional susceptibility; or, I think more probably, to the exposed lives they lead, leading more directly to fatal consequences. In this, as in most of their diseases, they ignorantly and imprudently plunge into the coldest water, whilst in the highest state of fever, and often die before they have power to get out.

Some have attributed the unexampled fatality of this disease amongst the Indians to the fact of their living entirely on animal food; but so important a subject for investigation I must leave for sounder judgments than mine to decide. They are a people whose constitutions and habits of life enable them most certainly to meet most of its ills with less dread, and with decidedly greater success, than they are met in civilized communities; and I would not dare to decide that their simple meat diet was the cause of their fatal exposure to one frightful disease, when I am decidedly of opinion that it has been the cause of their exemption and protection from another, almost equally destructive, and, like the former, of civilized introduction.

During the season of the ravages of the Asiatic cholera, which swept over the greater part of the western country, and the Indian frontier, I was a traveller through those regions, and was able to witness its effects; and I learned from what I saw, as well as from what I have heard in other parts since that time, that it travelled to and over the frontiers, carrying dismay and death amongst the tribes on the borders in many cases, so far as they had adopted the civilized modes of life, with its dissipations, using vegetable food and salt; but wherever it came to the tribes living exclusively on meat, and

that without the use of salt, its progress was suddenly stopped. I mention this as a subject which I looked upon as important to science, and therefore one on which I made many careful inquiries; and so far as I have learned along that part of the frontier over which I have since passed, I have to my satisfaction ascertained that such became the utmost limits of this fatal disease in its travels to the west, unless where it might have followed some of the routes of the Fur Traders, who, of course, have introduced the modes of civilized life.

From the trader who was present at the destruction of the Mandans I had many most wonderful incidents of this dreadful scene, but I dread to recite them. Amongst them, however, there is one that I must briefly describe, relative to the death of that noble gentleman of whom I have already said so much, and to whom I became so much attached, Mah-to-toh-pa, or "The Four Bears." This fine fellow sat in his wigwam and watched every one of his family die but him, his wives and little children, after he had recovered from the disease himself; when he walked out, around the village, and wept over the final destruction of his tribe, his braves and warriors, whose sinewy arms alone could he depend on for a continuance of their existence, all laid low; when he came back to his lodge, where he covered his whole family in a pile, with a number of robes, and wrapping another around himself, went out upon a hill at a little distance where he laid several days, despite all the solicitations of the Traders, resolved to starve himself to death. He remained there till the sixth day when he had just strength enough to creep back to the village, when he entered the horrid gloom of his own wigwam, and laying his body alongside of the group of his family, drew the robe over him and died on the ninth day of his fatal abstinence.

So have perished the friendly and hospitable Mandans, from the best accounts I could get; and although it may be possible that some few individuals may yet be remaining, I think it is not probable; and one thing is certain, even if such be the case, that, as a nation, the Mandans are extinct, having no longer an existence.

There is yet a melancholy part of the tale to be told, relating



to the ravages of this frightful disease in that country on the same occasion, as it spread to other contiguous tribes, to the Minatarees, the Knisteneaux, the Blackfeet, the Cheyennes, the Crows; amongst whom twenty-five thousand perished in the course of four or five months, which most appalling facts I got from Major Pilcher, now Superintendent of Indian Affairs at St. Louis, from Mr. M'Kenzie and others.

It may be naturally asked here, by the reader, whether the Government of the United States have taken any measures to prevent the ravages of this fatal disease amongst these exposed tribes; to which I answer, that repeated efforts have been made, and so far generally, as the tribes have ever had the disease (or at all events, within the recollections of those who are now living in the tribes) the Government agents have succeeded in introducing vaccination as a protection; but amongst those tribes in their wild state, and where they have not suffered with the disease, very little success has been met with in the attempt to protect them on account of their superstitions, which generally resisted all attempts to introduce vaccination. Whilst I was on the Upper Missouri, several surgeons were sent into the country with the Indian agents, where I several times saw the attempts made without success. They have perfect confidence in the skill of their own physicians, until the disease has made one slaughter in their tribe, and then having seen white men amongst them protected by it, they are disposed to receive it, before which they cannot believe that so minute a puncture in the arm is going to protect them from so fatal a disease; and as they see white men so earnestly urging it, they decide that it must be some new mode or trick of pale faces, by which they are to gain some new advantage over them, and they stubbornly and successfully resist it.

## II. THE WELSH COLONY

Which I barely spoke of in page 319, which sailed under the direction of Prince Madoc, or Madawe, from North Wales, in the latter part of the Twelfth century in ten ships, according to numerous and accredited authors, and never returned to their



own country, have been supposed to have landed somewhere on the coast of North or South America; and from the best authorities (which I will suppose everybody had read rather than quote them at this time) I believe it has been pretty clearly proved that they landed either on the coast of Florida or about the mouth of the Mississippi, and according to the history and poetry of their country, settled somewhere in the interior of North America, where they are yet remaining, intermixed with some of the savage tribes.

In my letter just referred to, I barely suggested, that the Mandans, whom I found with so many peculiarities in looks and customs, which I have already described, might possibly be the remains of this lost colony amalgamated with a tribe, or part of a tribe of natives which would account for the unusual appearances of this tribe of Indians and also for the changed character and customs of the Welsh colonists, provided these be the remains of them.

Since those notes were written as will have been seen by my subsequent letters, I have descended the Missouri river from the Mandan village, to St. Louis, a distance of eighteen hundred miles, and have taken pains to examine its shores; and from the repeated remains of the ancient location of the Mandans, which I met with on the banks of that river, I am fully convinced that I have traced them down nearly to the mouth of the Ohio River, and from exactly similar appearances, which I recollect to have seen several years since in several places in the interior of the state of Ohio, I am fully convinced that they have formerly occupied that part of the country, and have, from some cause or other, been put in motion and continued to make their repeated moves until they arrived at the place of their residence at the time of their extinction, on the Upper Missouri.

These ancient fortifications, which are very numerous in that vicinity, some of which inclose a great many acres, and being built on the banks of the rivers, with walls in some places twenty or thirty feet in height, with covered ways to the water, evince a knowledge of the science of fortifications, apparently not a century behind that of the present day, were evidently



Beaumaris Castle



Entrance to Beaumaris Castle



never built by any nation of savages in America, and present to us incontestible proof of the former existence of a people very far advanced in the arts of civilization, who have, from some cause or other, disappeared, and left these imperishable proofs of their former existence.

Now, I am inclined to believe that the ten ships of Madoc, or a part of them at least, entered the Mississippi River at the Balize, and made their way up the Mississippi, or that they landed somewhere on the Florida coast, and that their brave and persevering colonists made their way through the interior to a position on the Ohio River, where they cultivated their fields, and established in one of the finest countries on earth, a flourishing colony; but were at length set upon by the savages, whom, perhaps, they provoked to warfare, being trespassers on their hunting-grounds, and by whom, in overpowering hordes, they were besieged, until it was necessary to erect there fortifications for their defense, into which they were at last driven by a confederacy of tribes, and there held till their ammunition and provisions gave out, and they in the end had all perished except perhaps that portion of them who might have formed alliance by marriage with the Indians, and their offspring, who would have been half-breeds, and of course attached to the Indians' side; whose lives have been spared in the general massacre; and at length, being despised, as all half-breeds of enemies are, have gathered themselves into a band, and severing from their parent tribe, have moved off, and increased in numbers and strength, as they have advanced up the Missouri River to the place where they have been known for many years by the name of Mandans, a corruption or abbreviation, perhaps, of "Madawgwys," the name applied by the Welsh to the followers of Madawc.

If this be a startling theory for the world, they will be the more sure to read the following brief reasons which I bring in support of my opinion; and if they do not support me, they will at least be worth knowing, and may, at the same time, be the means of eliciting further and more successful inquiry.

As I have said on page 415 and in other places, the marks of the Mandan villages are known by the excavations of two feet



or more in depth and thirty or forty feet in diameter, of a circular form, made in the ground for the foundations of their wigwams, which leave a decided remain for centuries, and one that is easily detected the moment that it is met with. After leaving the Mandan village, I found the marks of their former residence about sixty miles below where they were then living, and from which they removed (from their own account) about sixty or eighty years since; and from the appearance of the number of their lodges, I should think, that at that recent date there must have been three times the number that were living when I was amongst them. Near the mouth of the big Shienne River, two hundred miles below their last location, I found still more ancient remains, and in as many as six or seven other places between that and the mouth of the Ohio, and each one, as I visited them, appearing more and more ancient, convincing me that these people, wherever they might have come from, have gradually made their moves up the banks of the Missouri, to the place where I visited them.

For the most part of this distance, they have been in the heart of the great Sioux country, and being looked upon by the Sioux as trespassers, have been continually warred upon by this numerous tribe, who have endeavored to extinguish them, as they have been endeavoring to do ever since our first acquaintance with them; but who being always fortified by a strong piquet or stockade, have successfully withstood the assaults of their enemies, and preserved the remnant of their tribe. Through this sort of gauntlet they have run, in passing through the countries of these warlike and hostile tribes.

It may be objected to this, perhaps, that the Riccarees and the Minatarees build their wigwams in the same way, but this proves nothing for the Minatarees are Crows, from the northwest; and by their own showing fled to the Mandans for protection, and forming their villages by the side of them, built their wigwams in the same manner.

The Riccarees have been a very small tribe, far inferior to the Mandans, and by the traditions of the Mandans, as well as from the evidence of the first explorers, Lewis and Clark, and others, have lived, until quite lately, on terms of intimacy

with the Mandans, whose villages they have successively occupied as the Mandans have moved and vacated them, as they are now doing, since disease has swept the whole of the Mandans away.

Whether my derivation of the word Mandan from Madagwys be correct or not, I will pass it over to the world at present merely as presumptive proof, for want of better, which perhaps, this inquiry may elicit; and at the same time, I offer the Welsh word Mandon (the woodroof, a species of madder used as a red dye) as the name that might possibly have been applied by the Welsh neighbors to these people on account of their very ingenious mode of giving the beautiful red and other dyes to the porcupine quills with which they garnish their dresses. In their own language they called themselves See-phos-ke-nu-mah-kee (the people of the pheasants) which was probably the name of the primitive stock, before they were mixed with any other people; and to have got such a name, it is natural to suppose that they must have come from a country where peasants existed, which cannot be found short of reaching the timbered country at the base of the Rocky mountains, some six or eight hundred miles west of the Mandans, or the forests of Indiana and Ohio, some hundreds of miles to the south and east of where they last lived.

The above facts, together with the one which they repeatedly related to me, and which I have before alluded to, that they had often been to the hill of the Red Pipe Stone, and that they once lived near it, carry conclusive evidence, I think, that they formerly occupied a country much farther to the south; and that they have repeatedly changed their locations, until they reached the spot of their last residence, where they have met with their final misfortune. And as evidence in support of my opinion that they came from the banks of the Ohio, and have brought with them some of the customs of the civilized people who erected those ancient fortifications, I am able to say, that the numerous specimens of pottery which have been taken from the graves and tumuli about those ancient works, (many of which may be seen now, in the Cincinnati Museum, and some of which, my own donations, and which have so much surprised

the inquiring world) were to be seen in great numbers in the use of the Mandans; and scarcely a day in the summer, when the visitor to their village would not see the women at work with their hands and fingers, moulding them from black clay, into vases, cups, pitchers, and pots, and baking them in their little kilns in the sides of the hill, or under the bank of the river.

In addition to this art, which I am sure belong to no other tribe on the continent, these people have also, as a secret with themselves, the extraordinary art of manufacturing a very beautiful and lasting kind of blue glass beads, which they wear on their necks in great quantities, and decidedly value them above all others that are brought amongst them by the Fur Traders.

This secret is not only one that the Traders did not introduce amongst them, but one that they cannot learn from them; and at the same time, beyond a doubt, an art that has been introduced amongst them by some civilized people, as it is as yet unknown to other Indian tribes in that vicinity or elsewhere. Of this interesting fact, Lewis and Clark have given an account thirty-three years ago, at a time when no Traders or other white people had been amongst the Mandans, to have taught them so curious an art.

The Mandan canoes which are altogether different from those of all other tribes, are exactly the Welsh caracle, made of raw hides, the skins of buffaloes, stretched underneath a frame made of willow or other boughs and shaped nearly round, like a tub; which the woman carries on her head from the wigwam to the water's edge, and having stepped into it, stands in front, and propels it by dipping her paddle forward and drawing it to her instead of paddling by the side.

How far these extraordinary facts may go in the estimation of the reader, with numerous others I have mentioned in volume 1, whilst speaking of Mandans, of their various complexions, colors of hair, and blue and grey eyes, towards establishing my opinion as a sound theory, I cannot say; but this much I can safely aver, that at the moment I first saw these people, I was so struck with the peculiarity of their appearance, that I was under the instant conviction that they were an amalgam of



a native with some civilized race; and from what I have seen of them, and of the remains on the Missouri and Ohio rivers, I feel fully convinced that these people have emigrated from the latter stream; and that they have, in the manner that I have already stated, with many of their customs, been preserved from the almost total destruction of the bold colonists of Madawe, who, I believe, settled upon and occupied for a century or so, the rich and fertile banks of the Ohio.

### III. THE ISLAND OF ATLANTIS

The story of Atlantis, by its own interest and the skill of its author, has made by far the deepest impression. Plato, having given in the Republic a picture of the ideal political organization, the state, sketched in the Timæus the history of creation, and the origin and development of mankind; in the Critias he apparently intended to exhibit the action of two types of political bodies involved in a life and death contest. The latter dialogue was unfinished, but its purport had been sketched in the opening of Timæus. Critias there relates "a strange tale but certainly true as Solon declared, which had come down in his family from his ancestor Dropidas, a near relative of Solon. When Solon was in Egypt he fell into talk with an aged priest of Sais, who said to him: 'Solon, Solon, you Greeks are all children,—there is not one old man in Greece. You have no traditions, and know of but one deluge, whereas there have been many destructions of mankind, both by flood, and fire. Egypt alone has escaped them, and in Egypt alone is ancient history recorded; you are ignorant of your own past. For long before Deucalion, nine thousand years ago, there was an Athens founded, like Sais, by Athena; city rich in power and wisdom, famed for mighty deeds, the greatest of which was this. At that time there lay opposite the columns of Hercules, in the Atlantic, which was then navigable, an island larger than Libya and Asia together, from which sailors could pass to other islands, and so to the continent. The sea in front of the straits is indeed but a small harbor; that which lay beyond the islands, however, is worthy of the name, and the land



which surrounds that greater sea may be truly called the continent. In this island of Atlantis had grown up a mighty power, whose kings were descended from Poseidon, and had extended their sway over many islands and over a portion of the great continent; even Libya up to the gates of Egypt and Europe as far as Tyrrhenia, submitted to their sway. Ever harder they pressed upon the other nations of the known world seeking the subjugation of the whole. Then O Solon, did the strength of your republic become clear to all men, by reason of her courage and force. Foremost in the arts of war, she met the invader at the head of Greece; abandoned by her allies she triumphed alone over the western foe; delivering from the yoke all the nations within the columns. But afterwards came a day and night of great floods and earthquakes; the earth engulfed all the Athenians who were capable of bearing arms, and Atlantis disappeared, swallowed by the waves; hence it is that this sea is no longer navigable from the vast mud-shoals formed by the vanished island.' This talk so impressed Solon that he meditated an epic on the subject, but on his return, stress of public business prevented his design. In the *Critias* the empire and chief city of Atlantis is described with wealth of detail, and the descent of the royal family from Atlas, son of Poseidon, and a nymph of the island, is set forth. In the midst of a council upon Olympus, where Zeus, in true epic style, was revealing to the gods his designs concerning the approaching war, the dialogue breaks off."

Such is the talk of Atlantis. Read in Plato, the nature and meaning of the narrative seem clear, but the commentators, ancient and modern, have made wild work. The voyage of Odysseus has grown marvelously in extent since he abandoned the sea; Io has found the pens of the learned more potent goads than Hera's gadfly; but the travels of Atlantis have been even more extraordinary. No region has been so remote, no land so opposed by location, extent, or history to the words of Plato, but that some acute investigator has found in it the origin of the lost island. It has been identified with Africa, with Spitzbergen, with Palestine. The learned Latreille convinced himself that Persia best fulfilled the conditions of the problem; the more

than learned Rudbeck ardently supported the claims of Sweden through three folios. In such a search America could not be overlooked. Gomara, Guillaume de Postel, Wytfliet, are among those who have believed that this continent was Atlantis; Sanson in 1669, and Vaugondy in 1762, ventured to issue a map, upon which the division of that island among the sons of Neptune was applied to America, and the outskirts of the lost continent were extended to New Zealand. Such work, of course, needs no serious consideration. Plato is our authority, and Plato declares that Atlantis lay not far west from Spain, and that it disappeared some 8,000 years before his day. An inquiry into the truth or meaning of the record as it stands is quite justifiable, and has been several times undertaken, with divergent results. Some, notably Paul Gaffarel and Ignatius Donnelly, are convinced that Plato merely adapted to his purpose a story which Solon had actually brought from Egypt and which was in all essentials true. Corroboration of the existence of such an island in the Atlantic is found, according to these writers, in the physical conformation of the Atlantic basin, and in marked resemblance between the flora, fauna, civilization and language of the old and new worlds, which demand for their explanation the prehistoric existence of just such a bridge as Atlantis would have supplied. The Atlantic islands are the loftiest peaks and plateaus of the submerged islands. In the widely spread deluge myths Mr. Donnelly finds strong confirmation of the final cataclysm. He places in Atlantis that primitive culture which M. Bailly sought in the highlands of Asia, and President Warren refers to the North Pole. Space fails for a proper examination of the matter but these ingenious arguments remain somewhat top-heavy when all is said. The argument from ethnological resemblance is of all arguments the weakest in the hands of advocates. It is of value only when wielded by men of judicial temperament who can weigh differences against likenesses, and allow for the narrow range of nature's moulds. The existence of the ocean plateaus revealed by the soundings of the "Dolphin" and the "Challenger" prove nothing as to their having been once raised above the waves; the most of the Atlantic islands are sharply cut off from them. Even granting

the pre-historic migrations of plants and animals between Europe and America, as we grant it between America and Asia, it does not follow that it took place across mid-ocean, and it would still be a long step from the botanic "bridge" and elevated "ridge" to the island empire of Plato. In short, the conservative view advocated by Longinus, that the story was designed by Plato as a literary ornament and a philosophic illustration, is no less probable to-day than when it was suggested in the schools of Alexandria. Atlantis is a literary myth, belonging with Utopia, the New Atlantis, and the *Orbis alter et idem* of Bishop Hall.

#### IV. THE TRADITION OF PRINCE MADOC OF WALES IN AMERICA ABOUT 1170

The tradition that America was discovered about the year 1170 by a Welsh prince named Madog, or Madoc, is still more circumstantial and attempts to support it by later evidence have been made from time to time for the last two hundred years. Even so cautious and judicial a critic as Humboldt says in allusion to it: "I do not share the scorn with which national traditions are too often treated and am of the opinion that with more research the discovery of facts, entirely unknown, would throw much light on many historical problems."

Certainly we are not to forget the distinction between a tradition and an invention; it is impossible to establish the one, and, as a lie can never be made the truth, it is not worth repeating; but the other is an honest relation, accepted as such by those who first repeated it, and which may yet be sustained by evidence. This tradition relating to Madoc had, no doubt, some actual basis of truth, however much it may have been misapprehended; the evidence adduced from time to time in support of it has been believed by many, and is curious and entertaining; the tradition itself in its original baldness has found a place in historical narrative for three hundred years; for each and all of these reasons it demands brief consideration.

The story was first related in Caradoc's "History of Wales," published by Mr. David Powell, in 1584. Caradoc's history,



however, came down only to 1157, and Humphrey Llwyd (Lloyd) who translated it, added the later story of Madac. Llyod received it from Guttun Owen, a bard who about the year 1480, copied the registers of current events which, as late as the year 1270, were kept in the abbeys of Conway, North Wales, and Strat Flur, South Wales, and compared together every three years by the boards belonging to the two houses. Another bard, Cynfrig ab Gronow, referred to the tradition of western discovery by Madoc about the same time with Owen; and another allusion to it is claimed in the following lines, literally translated, written three years earlier by Sir Meredyth ab Rhy:

“On a Happy Hour, I, on the water  
Of manners mild, the Huntsman will be,  
Madog bold of pleasing Countenance,  
Of the true Lineage of Owen Gwynedd.  
I coveted not Land, my ambition was,  
Not great wealth, but the seas.”

This may certainly be accepted as conclusive evidence, at least, that the mild-mannered and good-looking prince was fond of the sea; but it is difficult to find anything else in it that can be supposed to refer to the discovery of America. The only real authorities may properly be considered as reduced to two—the bards Guttun Owen and Cynfrig ab Gronow.

The story is briefly this: When Owen Gwynedd, Prince of North Wales, was gathered to his fathers, a strife arose among his sons as to who should reign in his stead. The eldest legitimate son, Edward, was put aside as unfit to govern “because of the maime upon his face,” he was known as “Edward with the broken-nose,” and the government was seized by Howel who was illegitimate, “a base son begotten of an Irish woman.” But the next brother, David, refusing allegiance to this Howel, and civil war followed. At length the usurper was killed in battle, and the rightful heritage established, David holding the reins of government as regent till the son of Edward, eldest brother, was of age. In this contention, Madoc took no part, but endeavored to escape from it; which inasmuch as it was a



struggle for the lineal succession of his family, was not much to his credit. Leaving his brothers (about 1170) to fight it out among them, he got together a fleet and put to sea in search of adventures. He sailed westward, leaving Ireland to the North, which it may be remarked, is nearly the only thing he could do in sailing from Wales, unless he laid his course northward through the Irish Sea. But at length he came to an unknown country, where the natives differed from any people he had ever seen before, and all things were strange and new. Seeing that this land was pleasant and fertile, he put on shore and left behind most of those in his ships and returned to Wales.

Coming among his friends again, after so eventful a voyage, he told them of the fair and extensive region he had found; there, he assured them, they could live in peace and plenty; instead of cutting each other's throats for the possession of a rugged district of rocks and mountains. The advantages he offered were so obvious, or his eloquence so persuasive that enough determined to go with him to fill ten ships. There is no account of their ever having returned to Wales; but on the contrary, it is said "they followed the manners of the land they came to, and used the language they found there,"—a statement which, if true, not only proves that they did not return, but that some intercourse was preserved with their native land. Their numbers, nevertheless, must have been sufficient to have formed a considerable colony, and if, as the narrative asserts, the new country "was void of inhabitants" (meaning probably that it was only sparsely peopled), it is difficult to believe that they could have become so entirely assimilated to the savages as to lose their own customs and their own tongue.

Moreover, if such were the fact, it destroys all other evidence which was supposed to be subsequently found, of the existence of such a colony. That supposed evidence is, that a tribe of Indians of light complexion and speaking the old British language, was found within the present limits of the United States in the seventeenth century, and the traces of such a people were still evident at a quite recent period.

The earliest testimony on this point is a letter to Dr. Thomas Lloyd of Pennsylvania, and by him transmitted to his brother,

Mr. C. H. S. Lloyd in Wales. The letter purported to have been written by the Rev. Morgan Jones and was dated New York, March 10, 1685-6, more than half a century before its publication in the Magazine. The Rev. Mr. Jones declares that in the year 1660, twenty-five years before the date of the letter, he was sent as chaplain of an expedition from Virginia to Port Royal, South Carolina, where he remained eight months. Suffering much from want of food, he and five others at the end of that time started to return to Virginia by land. On the way they were taken prisoners by an Indian tribe, the Tuscaroras, and condemned to die. On hearing this sentence, Mr. Jones, being much dejected, exclaimed, in the British (*i. e.* Welsh) tongue, "Have I escaped so many dangers, and must now be knocked on the head like a dog?" Immediately he was seized around the waist by a War Captain, belonging to the Doegs, and assured in the same language that he should not die. He was immediately taken to the "Emperor of the Tuscaroras" and with his five companions, ransomed. The Providential Doeg took them to his own village, where they were kindly welcomed and hospitably entertained. For four months, Mr. Jones remained among these Indians, often conversing with them, and preaching to them three times a week in the British tongue. The conclusion is that these Indians were descendants of the Welsh colonists under Madoc.

#### V. WHAT MORGAN JONES KNEW OF THE WELSH INDIANS

Mr. Jones also says that about the Year 1750, his father and family went the Penfylvania, where he met with several whom he knew in Wales; one in particular, with whom he had been intimate. This person had formerly lived in Penfylvania, but then lived in North Carolina. Upon his return to Penfylvania, the following year, to settle his affairs they met a second fate. Mr. Jones' friend told him that he was then very sure there were Welsh Indians; and gave for reason, that his House, in North Carolina, was situated on the great Indian Road to Charlestown, where he often lodged parties of them. In one of these parties, an Indian hearing the family speaking Welsh

began to jump and caper as if he had been out of his fences. Being asked what was the matter with him, he replied, "I know an Indian Nation who speak that language, and have learnt a little of it myself, by living among them;" and when examined, he was found to have some knowledge of it. When asked where they lived, he said, "a great way beyond the Mississippi." Being promised a handsome reward he said that he would endeavor to bring some of them to that part of the Country but Mr. Jones soon afterwards returning to England, he never heard any more of the Indian.

#### VI. MR. BINSON'S ACCOUNT OF THE WELSH INDIANS

In the Gentleman's Magazine for July last, page 612, Mr. Edward Williams says that about twenty years ago he became acquainted with a Mr. Binon of Coyty in the county of Glamorgan, who had been absent from his native country about thirty years (in a letter I received from him since, he says that on further consideration he thinks it must have been several years longer). Mr. Binon said that he had been an Indian trader from Philadelphia, for several Years; that about the year 1750 he and five or six more penetrated much farther than usual to the westward of the Mississippi and found a Nation of Indians, who spoke the Welsh tongue. They had Iron among them, lived in stone built villages, and were better clothed than the other tribes. There was also ruinous buildings among them; one appeared like an Old Welsh castle; another like a ruined church, etc. They showed Mr. Binon a book, in Manuscript, which they carefully kept, believing it to contain the mysteries of Religion. They told Mr. Binon that it was not very long since a Man had been among them who understood it. This Man (whom they esteemed a prophet) told them that a people would some time visit them, and explain to them the mysteries in their book, which would make them completely happy. When they were informed, that Mr. Binon could not read it, they appeared very much concerned. They conducted him and his companions for many days thro' vast Deserts, and plentifully supplied

them with provisions which the woods afforded, until they had brought them to a place they well knew; and at parting, they wept bitterly, and urgently entreated Mr. Binon to fend a person to them who could interpret their book. On his return to Philadelphia, he related the story, and was informed that the inhabitants of the Welsh tract (in Pennsylvania) had some knowledge of them, and that some Welshman had been among them."

A Gentleman in company with Messrs. Binon and Williams at that time, in a letter to me confirms the above account. He says that Mr. Binon declared that these Indians worshipped their book as God, but could not read it. They also said that thirty or forty of them sometimes visited the Ancient Britons settled on the Welsh Track in Pennsylvania. This circumstance, by the way, will help us to account for the interviews, which it is said have taken place between these Indians and the Europeans at different times. When Mr. Binon said that he came from Wales, they replied, "It was from thence that our Ancesters came, but we do not know in what part of the world Wales is."

#### VII. THE SPEECH OF MONTEZUMA TO HIS PEOPLE

In a letter to the Right Hon. William Pitt, signed Columbus, inserted in the Public Advertiser, September 23rd, 1790, there are several very interesting facts and observations on this subject.

We are there told that Sebastian Cabot, about the year 1495, two years after the first voyage of Columbus, discovered Florida and Mexico and that he found on the different parts of the Coast, the descendants of the first British discoverers, who settled at Mexico about the year 1170. In the records of the Mexican Emperors, are set down the arrival and settlement of their great Progenitors, whom the unfortunate Montezuma describes in 1520, in a speech made to his subjects, after he had been taken prisoner by that monster of cruelty, Cortez:

"Kinsmen, Friends, Countrymen and Subjects: You know I have been eighteen years your sovereign and your natural



king, as my illustrious predecessors and fathers were before me, and all the descendants of my race, since we came from a far distant Northern Nation, whose tongue and manners we yet have partly preserved. I have been to you a father, Guardian, and a loving Prince, while you have been to me faithful subjects, and obedient fervants.

“Let it be held in your remembrances, that you have a claim to a noble descent, because you have sprung from a race of Freemen and Heroes, who scorned to deprive the native Mexicans of their ancient liberties, but added to their rational Freedom, principles which do honour to human nature. Our divines have instructed you of our natural descent from a people the most renowned upon earth for liberty and valour, because of all nations they were, as our first parents told us, the only unfubdued people upon the earth, by that warlike nation, whose tyranny and ambition assumed the conquest of the world; but nevertheless, our great fore-fathers checked their ambition and fixed limits to their conquests, altho’ but the inhabitants of a small island, and but few in number, compared to the ravagers of the earth, who attempted in vain to conquer our great, glorious and free forefathers, &c.”

The author of the above account told me, that he had seen Montezuma’s speech, in a Spanish manuscript, in the year 1748, when he arrived at Mexico, and that most probably, it is still extant.

I would here just observe that as the ancient Romans were the Conquerors alluded to, we may naturally suspect that Julius Cæsar’s attempt on Britain, was rather unsuccessful, or at least not so brilliant as he cautiously endeavors to represent it.

The above spirited speech plainly shows that the Mexicans in 1520 looked upon themselves as the descendants of Freeman and Heroes, the only unfubdued people upon Earth, who set limits to the Roman conquest though only the inhabitants of a small island in the north, and in comparison, few in number; and who taught them principles, which did honour to human nature, probably the principles of Christianity, which though miserably disfigured in 1170, yet were greatly superior to those of an enlightened savage people.

The above defeription remarkably and exactly answers to the Character, Manners and Principles of the Ancient Britons.

#### VIII. UNBELIVERS IN THE MADOC TRADITION

Nearly all the extracts taken from various authors and authorities and inserted in the foregoing appendix or text are in favor of the truth of the tradition of a Welsh colony established by Prince Madoc in America in the Twelfth century. Only a fraction of them can be considered as dissenting, and this dissent is generally given in such mild terms as to carry no weight. It was not my purpose in preparing this monograph to present only one side of the question, or to quote from authorities only who were in full accord. I proposed to present facts as they appear in history and tradition and to bring to their support the authorities which sustain them, without any wish on my part to give the weight of authority to either side. With the facts as stated in the text and presented in the extracts the reader has the means of forming an opinion of his own as to whether the tradition be true or false. It might seem fairer, however, when so many authorities in favor of the tradition are given, to present some which do not favor it, if any such be known. I know of but two authors of eminence enough to speak on the subject, who did not believe in the truth of the Madoc tradition and put themselves on record to that effect. These were Lord Littleton, who in his "Life of King Henry II" with considerable energy denied the truth of the Madoc tradition, and William Robertson, who in his "History of America" did likewise. Neither of these historians had much to say on the subject, but what was said left no doubt of his unbelief in the truth of the tradition. If it were my undertaking to establish the truth of the Madoc tradition, I might say that neither Littleton nor Robertson use uncontestible facts or unanswerable arguments in what they say; but as it is my purpose only to present an historic sketch of the subject, I have no criticism to offer. In the following two extracts, one from Littleton and the other from Robertson, the reader will have before him all that these two authors said on the subject.

## LITTLETON ON THE MADOC TRADITION

This being the last mention made of the Welsh in my account of these times, I will take notice here of a remarkable passage in Dr. Powell's history of Wales, concerning a voyage performed by one of their princes in the 16th year of the reign of King Henry the Second. The words are these:

"Madoc, another of Owen Gwyneth's sons, left the land in contention betwixt his brethren, and prepared certain ships with men and munition, and fought adventures by sea, sailing west, and leading the Coast of Ireland so far to the north, that he came to a land unknown where he saw many strange things."

In enquiring what credit is due to this story, it will be necessary to premise that this part of the History published by Dr. Powell is not taken from the Chronicle of Caradoc of Llancarvan, who (as Powell affirms) ended his collections in the year 1156, antecedent to the date of this supposed event; but it is said by Humphrey Lluyd, the translator of Caradoc, to have been compiled from collections made from time to time, and kept in the abbeys of Conway and Stratflur.

We are also told that the best and fairest copy of these was written by Gutryn Owen in the days of Edward the Fourth, and translated into English by the Humphrey Lluyd before-mentioned, who flourished in the reign of King Henry the Eighth, and continued the history to the death of Prince Llewelyn ap Gruffyth in the year 1282. But, this gentleman having been prevented by death from publishing his work, it was not sent to the press till the year 1584, when Dr. Powell published it, with many additions and interpolations of his own. The latter says in his preface "that he had conferred Lluyd's translation with the British book, whereof he had two ancient copies, and corrected the same when there was cause so to do," and adds, "that, after the most part of the book was printed, he received another larger copy of the same translation, being better corrected, at the hands of Robert Glover, Somerset herald, a learned and studious gentleman in his profession, the which if he had had the beginning, many things had come forth in better plight than they now be."





Hawarden Castle



Ruthin Castle





It is therefore very doubtful whether the above-cited passage concerning the Madoc voyage gives the sense of the British book which Gutryn Owen had transcribed, as translated by Llyud, or as corrected by Powell, and whether we can depend on it being agreeable to the original text. It may be suspected that Llyud, living after the discovery of America by Columbus, may have dressed up some accounts of traditions about Madoc, which he found in Gutryn Owen, or other ancient Welsh writings, in such a manner as to make them convey an idea, that this prince, who perhaps was a bolder navigator than any of his countrymen in the age when he lived, had the honour of being the first discoverer of that country. Sir Philip Herbert, a writer of the same nation, who is zealous for the truth of this supposed discovery (which he conceives would give our kings a title to the West Indies) adds to the authority of Gutryn (or Gutten) Owen, that of Cynwrick ap Grono, another ancient Welsh bard, and also of Sir Meredith ap Rhees who lived in the year 1477. The words of the former bard he does not quote, but those of the latter he does, and translates them into English. The poet, speaking in the person of his hero, says,

“Madoc ap Owen was I call’d,  
Strong, tall and comely, not enthralled,  
To home-bred pleasure, but to fame:  
Thro land and sea I fought the fame.”

This proves indeed that Madoc was famous in those days for some voyage he had made, but, not marking the course, it is of no importance to the matter in question, which entirely depends on his discovering land to the south-west of Ireland. Dr. Powell, having given the description above cited, viz.: that he sailed west, and leaving the coast of Ireland far north, came to a land unknown, adds the following note:

“This Madoc arriving in that western country, into which he came in the year 1170, left most of his people there, and returning back for more of his own nation, acquaintance and friends, to inhabit that fair and large country, went thither again with ten fails, as I find it noted by Gutryn Owen.”

And then he gives us some reasons why he takes this land unknown to have been some part of Mexico, rather than of Nova Hispania, or Florida as Llyud had supposed. Without comparing the argument for their different conjectures (as none of them seem to me to have much weight) I will only say that if Madoc did really discover any part of America, or any islands lying to the south-west of Ireland in the Atlantic ocean, without the help of the compass, at a time when navigation was ill understood, and with mariners less expert than any others in Europe, he performed an achievement incomparably more extraordinary than that of Columbus. But, besides the incredibility of the thing itself, another difficulty occurs; that is, to know how it happened that no English historian, contemporary with him, has said a word of this surprising event, which, on his return into Wales, and public report of the many strange things he had seen, must have made a great noise among the English in those parts, and would have certainly reached the ears of Henry himself. Why is no notice taken of a fact so important to the honour of his country by Giraldus Cambrensis, who treats so largely of the state of Wales in his times? One may also be in some doubt, what could have caused so entire a destruction of the colony planted by Madoc, and of all belonging to it, as that in no land, since discovered to the south-west of Ireland, any certain monument, vestige, or memory of it, has every yet been found. But the first foundation of all inquiry about this adventure, which many good modern writers have inclined to believe; should be a faithful and well attested translation of the words of Gutryn Owen, or Cynwrick ap Grono, relating thereto, if their writings still remain. (Notes to Littleton's Henry II, edition of 1767, Volume 4, page 371.)

#### ROBERTSON ON THE MADOC TRADITION

The pretensions of the Welsh to the discovery of America seem not to rest on the foundation much more solid. In the Twelfth century, according to Powell, a dispute having arisen among the sons of Owen Guyneth, king of North Wales, concerning the succession of his crown, Madoc, one of their num-

ber, weary of this contention, betook himself to sea in quest of a more quiet settlement. He steered due west, leaving Ireland to the north, and arrived in an unknown country, which appeared to him so desirable that he returned to Wales, and carried thither several of his adherents and companions. This is said to have happened about the year 1170, and after that, he and his colony were heard of no more. But it is to be observed that Powell, on whose testimony the authenticity of this story rests, published his history about four centuries from the date of the event which he relates. Among a people as rude and illiterate as the Welsh at that period, the memory of a transaction so remote must have been very imperfectly preserved, and would require to be confirmed by some author of greater credit, and nearer to the era of Madoc's voyage, than Powell. Later antiquaries have indeed appealed to the testimony of Meredith ap Rees, a Welsh bard who died A. D. 1477. But he, too, lived at such a distance of time from the event that he can not be considered as a witness of much more credit than Powell. Besides, his verses, published by Hakluit, Volume III, page 1, convey no information but that Madoc, dissatisfied with his domestic situation, employed himself in searching the ocean for new possessions. But even if we admit the authenticity of Powell's story, it does not follow that the unknown country which Madoc discovered by steering west, in such a course as to leave Ireland to the north, was any part of America. The naval skill of the Welsh in the Twelfth century was hardly equal to such a voyage. If he made any discovery at all, it is probable that it was Madeira, or some other of the Western isles. The affinity of the Welsh language with some dialects spoken in America has been mentioned as a circumstance which confirms the truth of Madoc's voyage. But that affinity has been observed in so few instances, and in some of these is so obscure, or so fanciful, that no conclusion can be drawn from the casual resemblance of a small number of words. There is a bird which, as far as is yet known, is found only on the coasts of South America, from Port Desire to the Straits of Magellan. It is distinguished by the name of Penguin. This word in the Welsh language signifies White-head. Almost all the authors who



favor the pretensions of the Welsh to the discovery of America language with that spoken in this region of America. But Mr. Pennant, who has given a scientific description of the penguin, observes that all the birds of this genus have black heads, "so that we must resign every hope (adds he) founded on this hypothesis of retrieving the Cambrian race in the New World." *Philos. Transac.*, Volume LVIII, page 91, etc. Besides this, if the Welsh, towards the close of the Twelfth century, had settled in any part of America, some remains of the Christian doctrine and rites must have been found among their descendants when they were discovered about three hundred years posterior to their migration; a period so short, that in the course of it we can not well suppose that all European ideas and arts would be totally forgotten. Lord Littleton, in his notes to the fifth book of his *History of Henry II*, page 371, has examined what Powell relates concerning the discoveries made by Madoc, and invalidates the truth of his story by other arguments of great weight. (*Robertson's History of North and South America*, London edition, 1834, page 241).

[THE END]

# History of the Mormon Church

BY BRIGHAM H. ROBERTS, Assistant Historian of the Church.

## CHAPTER LXXXV

MISCELLANEOUS EVENTS, 1851-7—THE FAMINE OF 1855-6—DEATH OF NOTABLE MEN—REFORMATION—"BLOOD ATONEMENT"

**A**MONG other calamitous events of the period 1851-7, to which the preceding chapter and this one will be devoted, was "the famine" of 1855-6. This was occasioned by a prolonged drought and a plague of grasshoppers<sup>1</sup> during the summer of 1855, from which dual

1. The "grasshoppers" were a recurring plague to the valleys of Utah for several, though, fortunately, not always consecutive years; and not always in equally destructive numbers. Captain Burton quotes a description of the grasshoppers, and of their flights in swarms, by a Lieutenant Warren, as follows: "According to Lieutenant Warren, whose graphic description is here borrowed, these insects are 'nearly the same as the locusts of Egypt;' and no one who has not traveled on the prairie, and seen for himself, can appreciate the magnitude of the swarms. Often they fill the air for many miles of extent, so that an inexperienced eye can scarcely distinguish their appearance from that of a shower of rain or the smoke of prairie fire. The height of their flight may be somewhat appreciated, as Mr. E. James saw them above his head, as far as their size would render them visible, while standing on the top of a peak of the Rocky Mountains, 8,500 feet above the plain, and an elevation of 14,500 above that of the sea, in the region where the snow lies all the year. To a person standing in one of these swarms as they pass over and around him, the air becomes sensibly darkened, and the sound produced by their wings resembles that of the passage of a train of cars on a railroad when standing two or three hundred yards from the track. The Mormon settlements have suffered more from the ravages of these insects than probably all other causes combined." (City of the Saints, p. 69-70).

"All the farms south of this city," writes Brigham Young, in 1855, "are nearly a desert, the northern counties and Tooele have fared considerably better, but within the last few days the latter have had a visit from the enemy, and the result is that wheat stalks have lost their heads; and moreover, as the farms have been located on small streams, a large quantity of wheat has been burnt up for want of water. This is rather a dark picture, but I regret to say *it is not overdrawn*. Myriads of grasshoppers, like snow flakes in a storm, occasionally fill the air over the city, as far as the eye can reach, and they are liable to alight wherever they can distinguish good feed. A great portion of them, however, alight in the Great Salt Lake, which appears green at a distance, and the shore is lined with their dead, from one inch to two feet thick, and which smell exactly like fish. Wherever there is a chance for water the brethren are still planting corn. (History of Brigham Young Ms., 1855, pp. 71).

cause the crop of that year was well nigh a total failure. In addition to the loss of the crops by drought and grasshoppers, great numbers of cattle died on the ranges from the severity of the winter of 1855-6, which also materially lessened the quantity of food. And while the quantity of food was lessened from these three causes combined, the immigration of the Saints was unusually large, and during the same period "great numbers of gold hunters *en route* for California," says George A. Smith, church historian, "came into the valley destitute of food, who were fed and aided on their way from our scant supplies." "In all these times of scarcity," he continues, "measures were taken to supply those who were unable to furnish themselves; fast-days were proclaimed in all the congregations on the first Thursday of each month, and the food saved in that way distributed among the poor;<sup>2</sup> and thousands of persons, who had an abundance of bread put their families on rations,<sup>3</sup> so as to save the same for those who could not otherwise obtain it. And so wise and liberal were the regulations during these periods of scarcity, incident upon settling the Territory, that no one perished or even suffered materially for the want of food, and all were remarkably healthy."<sup>4</sup>

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2. The practice then begun has continued, and become a permanent institution in the Church, only the fast day has been changed from the first Thursday in the month to the first Sunday of the month. For the excellence and possibilities of this charity, see Note 1, end of chapter.

3. This was reinstating the system adopted in the earlier years of the colony's experience. For the first three years in Utah "every head of a family," says Geo. A. Smith, "issued his breadstuff in daily rations, varying from one-quarter to one pound per soul, according to the amount of provisions he had on hand; most of the time the rations were from one-half to three-fourths of a pound, sometimes accompanied with vegetables and milk; but if without these, the bread was not increased; for it was necessary that it should be made to last until harvest. This order of things continued until the population increased to 12,000, when in 1850 an abundant harvest put an end to the necessity of rationing." (Answers to Questions, p. 18). The families of the Church authorities as well as other families were rationed. "I have been under the necessity," wrote Heber C. Kimball to his son William, then on a mission in England, "of rationing my family, and also yours, to two-thirds of a pound of bread stuff per day each; as the last week is up to day, we shall commence on half-a-pound each. This I am under the necessity of doing. Brother Brigham told me to-day that he had put his family on a half-a-pound each, for there is scarcely any grain in the country, and there are thousands that have none at all scarcely. We do this for the purpose of feeding hundreds that have none. (Letter to William Kimball, date of Feb. 29th, 1856. Hist. of Brigham Young, *Ms.* entry for Feb., 1856, p. 154, *et seq.* The letter will also be found in *Mill. Star*, Vol. XVIII, p. 395.

4. Ibid, Note 3.

Those were days in Utah when money was of little value in buying flour. "Money will not buy flour or meal, only at a few places, and but very little at that," wrote Heber C. Kimball to his son William, in England. "I can assure you," he continues, "that I am harassed constantly; I sell none for money, but let it go where people are truly destitute. Dollars and cents do not count now, in these times, for they are the tightest that I have ever seen in the Territory of Utah."<sup>5</sup>

But notwithstanding these hard times the Presidency could report on returning from a visit to the settlements that a general spirit of contentment and a desire to do right extensively prevailed; and although they found the people, continues the report, "with their crops almost entirely destroyed by the ravages of grasshoppers, rendering their hard exertions and the labors of their hands fruitless, still we heard not a murmur, nor repining nor complaining, but rather a firm and determined reliance upon the Lord of hosts and their continued exertions for sustenance."<sup>6</sup>

I have been particular to mention this "famine" in detail, for by doing so it will throw light upon some incidents of importance in the history of the Latter-day Saints, in this period. For instance, the sacrifices and increased burdens by reason of the heavy immigration of 1856, and the work of rescuing the hand cart emigration of that year will appear all the more heroic and praiseworthy on the part of the Latter-day Saint community in Utah if it is remembered that these burdens and this rescue work was done by a people whose resources were reduced by a previous year of famine. It will also account for the necessarily careful and limited, though efficient, help given to California emigrant companies.

This "famine" of '55-'56 revealed the precariousness of these Great Basin settlements, which eight years after the advent of the pioneers into Salt Lake Valley could still be subject to such reverses as had now come to them in the matter of food supplies. Such possibilities together with their isolation and dis-

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5. *Mill. Star*, Vol. XVIII, p. 395.

6. "Thirteenth General Epistle," of the Presidency, dated at Salt Lake City, Oct. 29, 1855. *Mill. Star*, Vol. XVIII, p. 49, *et seq.*



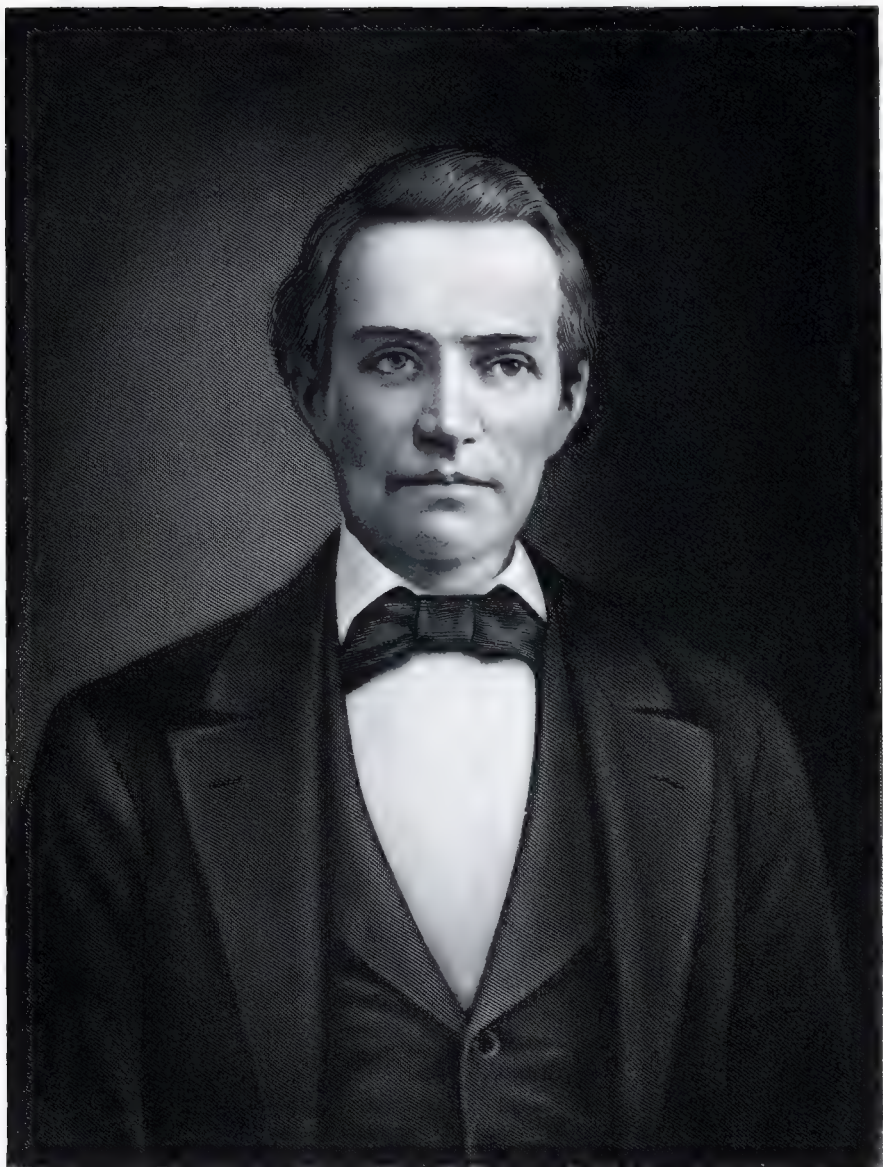
tance from other sources of supplies, taught them caution with reference to selling grain to passing emigrant companies; and that caution accounts for some complaint made against them in these and immediately succeeding years, by California-bound emigrant companies. No charge can truthfully be made that the Utah colonists refused needed help to emigrant companies passing through their settlements; but the instinct of self preservation, and the Christian duty of providing for their own,<sup>7</sup> both prompted caution in disposing of grain supplies beyond what was absolutely needed by the emigrant strangers passing through their settlements; and led them sometimes to refuse absolutely to sell grain to be fed to teams.

It was during these years, when crops were so uncertain, and other sources of food supplies so distant and transportation so slow, to say nothing of the unsympathetic and even hostile attitude of their fellow citizens, both east and west, leading to an indifference to the suffering of the Latter-day Saints in Utah, and who could—as we have already seen—coldly speculate upon the famine of 1855-6, settling the Utah question by the probable extermination of the “Mormons”—it was during these years, I say, that the wise policy was inaugurated of storing up grain each year “against a day of famine”—a policy which though now sometime since abandoned by individuals, is still followed in many quarters by a woman’s auxilliary organization known as the Relief Society.<sup>7½</sup>

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7. “If any provide not for his own, and especially for those of his own house, he hath denied the faith, and is worse than an infidel.” 1 Tim. 5:8.

7½. This first auxiliary organization to the Church was founded by Joseph Smith on the 17th of March, 1842. As implied by its name, and as declared by the Prophet soon after its organization was effected, the purpose of the society is “the relief of the poor, the destitute, the widow and the orphan, and for the exercise of all benevolent purposes. . . . They [members of the society] will fly to the relief of the stranger; they will pour in the wine and oil to the wounded heart of the distressed; they will dry up the tears of the orphan and make the widow’s heart to rejoice.” (Documentary Hist. of the Church, Vol. IV, p. 567). Mrs. Emma Smith (the Prophet’s wife) was made the first President of the society; with Mrs. Elizabeth Ann Whitney and Sarah M. Cleveland as Counselors. Miss Elvira Cole was made Treasurer, and Miss Eliza R. Snow, Secretary. The work of this society in caring for the poor, in nursing the sick, in keeping a storage of grain in many of the communities of the Latter-Day Saints to provide against famine or other food supply emergencies, is among the most commendable things achieved by the Church. Every completely organized ward and branch of the Church has its own Relief Society, each stake of Zion has its Stake Relief Society Board, with general management of the societies within the stakes



*John Brown Spencer, 1840*

*Portrait of John Brown Spencer*



During the period being considered (1851-7) death's harvest was heavy among the men prominent in the work from and near the beginning of it. Among these was the presiding bishop of the Church, Newel K. Whitney, who died on the 23rd of September, 1850, in the 56th year of his life. He had been a staunch, personal friend of Joseph Smith, from the time of their first meeting at Kirtland in February, 1831, to the close of the Prophet's eventful career. He had continued steadfast and faithful through the succeeding years that witnessed the exodus from Nauvoo, the migration through the wilderness, and settlement of the Saints in Utah's valleys. In losing him, as stated by the *Deseret News* when announcing his death, "the Church suffered the loss of a wise and able counselor—of a thorough, straightforward business man. . . . He has long held the office of Presiding Bishop of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints—to receive from the rich and to distribute to the poor, of the goods of this world."<sup>8</sup>

He was succeeded in office by Edward Hunter who was sustained at the general conference of the Church, April 7th, 1852; and ordained on the 11th of the same month. He chose as his counselors Brigham Young and Heber C. Kimball, of the First Presidency; and he, himself, was made assistant trustee in trust of the Church, Brigham Young being the chief.<sup>9</sup>

In 1854, on the 11th of March, Willard Richards, of the First Presidency, died of dropsy at his residence in Salt Lake

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respectively; with a Presidency and General Board of management, with supervisory control and direction of the work in all the world. The society is affiliated with all the principal woman's national societies of the world, and sends delegates and representatives to the great councils of women both in America and Europe.

8. *Deseret News*, of September 28th, 1850. "He has gone down to the grave," said the *News* in concluding its comment, "leaving a spotless name behind him, and thousands to mourn their loss of such a valuable man. It is hoped that all the members of the Church will be able to bequeath to the body (i. e., the Church) at their demise, a pure and spotless name, which is the more valuable to those who remain than silver or gold." *Id.*

9. See the conference minutes, *Deseret News*, April 17, 1852. "On the 11th (i. e., of April) President Kimball preached and presented the case of Bishop Edward Hunter, who was then ordained Presiding Bishop under the hands of Presidents Kimball and Richards. Bishop Hunter then chose Pres. Kimball and myself for his counselors, and we were unanimously sustained by the conference in that office." (Hist. Brigham Young, *Ms.*; entry for April, 1852, p. 35). These Brethren had acted as counsellors to his predecessor; but finally Leonard W. Hardy and Jesse C. Little became his counselors, October, 1856. (See Minutes of that Conference in *Deseret News* of October 22nd, 1856).



City. It will be remembered that he was with the Prophet Joseph Smith in the martyrdom at Carthage, but himself escaped unhurt. As he had been the confidant, and the tried and true friend of the Prophet, so did he occupy these relations with Brigham Young, and became his second Counselor when the First Presidency of the Church was organized near the close of 1847. He was also the historian and general church recorder of the Church—which position he held from December, 1842, to the time of his death. In that capacity he rendered invaluable service to the New Dispensation. For this office “he was eminently gifted,” wrote Elder Orson Spencer. “He chronicled events, dates, circumstances and incidents,” Spencer continues, “with rare accuracy of judgment and great tenacity of memory.”<sup>10</sup> Much of the accuracy and fullness of the history of the Church that can now be given to the world, covering the eventful period of his labors as historian and general church recorder is due to the accuracy and fulness of the annals then written by him.<sup>11</sup>

He was succeeded as counselor in the First Presidency by Jedediah M. Grant; and as Church Historian and General Church Recorder by Geo. A. Smith.<sup>12</sup>

On May 23rd, 1854, John Smith, the Presiding Patriarch of the Church, died at Salt Lake City. “Uncle John,” as he was familiarly known to the Church, was the uncle of the Prophet

10. *Deseret News*, March 16, 1854.

11. In addition to the offices above referred to as being held by him at the time of his demise, President Richards was “editor and proprietor of the *Deseret News*; also postmaster at Salt Lake City, and “enjoyed the full confidence of the Postmaster General (James Campbell) who respected his judgement touching postal arrangements throughout the mountain territories.” He was chosen Secretary of State in the provisional government of the state of Deseret, and also exercised the functions of the office of Secretary of the Territory for some time after the departure of the “runaway officials” in 1851-2, under an appointment from Governor Young. He was a member of the legislature from the organization of the Territory, and President of the Council at the time of his death. In fact his last appearance in public was to attend the last day of the Council’s session for 1854. To friends while making his painful way to the Council chamber he remarked: “I will go and perform this last duty, if like John Q. Adams, I die in the attempt.” Returning to his home that day, 20th January, he never left it again alive. (*Deseret News*, March, 1854). The number and nature of his pursuits will bear witness to the activity and uprightness of his life, since his occupations bespeak the community trust he was deemed worthy to receive. A brief biographical note, up to the time of his uniting with the church will be found in Chapter XXVI of his History, and a steel engraving of him with Chapter XLVIII, *Americana* for June, 1911.

12. See Conference, April, 1854. *Deseret News*, April 13, 1854.

Joseph, being the brother of Joseph Smith, Sen., who was the first presiding Patriarch of the Church. As stated in a previous chapter he was a very worthy man, and greatly beloved of the people.<sup>13</sup> He was succeeded in the patriarchal office in the Church by John Smith,<sup>14</sup> the son of Hyrum Smith, the martyr, who was the second presiding Patriarch of the Church.

The next among the prominent elders of the Church to pass away in death was Orson Spencer, M. A. The value of this man in the ministry of the New Dispensation has been already

13. "Uncle John Smith" was born in Derryfield (now Manchester) Rockingham county, New Hampshire, on the 14th of July, A. D., 1781, and was baptized into the faith, which has so long preserved his life in usefulness, on the 9th of January, 1833, and ordained an elder. . . . In 1833 he moved to Kirtland, Ohio, and in 1838 to Far West, Caldwell county, Missouri, and then to Adam-ondi-Ahman, in Daviess county, where he presided over that stake of Zion until expelled by the mob in 1839. He arrived in Illinois on the 28th of February of that year, and located at Green Plains, six miles from Warsaw, where he put in a crop of corn; during the summer he split rails, and performed much hard labor unsuited to his health and years. In June he moved to Commerce (since Nauvoo), and on the 4th of October was appointed to preside over the Church in Iowa, and on the 12th moved to Lee county to fulfill that mission. October, 1843, he moved to Macedonia, Hancock county, Illinois, having been appointed to preside over the Saints in that place. In January, 1844, he was ordained a Patriarch, and in Nov. of that year, was driven by mobbers from Macedonia to Nauvoo, where he continued to administer patriarchal blessings to the joy of thousands, until the 9th of February, 1846, when he was compelled by mob violence to again leave his home. After passing a dreary winter on the right bank of the Missouri, at Winter Quarters, he took up the weary ox train march on the 9th of June, 1847, and reached Salt Lake City Sept. 23rd, where he presided over the Church in the mountains until Jan. 1st, 1849. He was ordained the Presiding Patriarch of the Church under the hands of Presidents Brigham Young and Heber C. Kimball. He moved out of the Fort on to his city lot in February, 1849, and this is the only spot on which he has been privileged to cultivate a garden two years in succession in twenty-three years. In addition to a vast amount of varied and efficient aid to thousands in the way of salvation, during his long and faithful ministry, he administered 5,560 Patriarchal Blessings,—which are recorded in seven large and closely written books, and closed the arduous duties of a well accipied life as stated in the text. (See *Deseret News* of May 25th, 1854).

14. John Smith, appointed to succeed "Uncle John Smith" as presiding Patriarch to the Church was the son of Hyrum and Jerusha Barden Smith, and was born September 22nd, 1832, in Kirtland, Geauga (now Lake) county, Ohio. His mother died October 13, 1837. In the spring of 1838, John accompanied his father's family to Far West where from that time he shared in all the persecutions and drivings endured by the Church in Missouri, and subsequently in Illinois. He arrived in Salt Lake Valley in September, 1848. He was ordained to the Office of Presiding Patriarch on the 18th of February, 1855, being then but in his 23rd year, by President Brigham Young, assisted by his two counselors, Heber C. Kimball and Jedediah M. Grant and several of the apostles. "In consequence of the persecution of the church and the circumstances of his family," remarks President Young in making entry of the fact of the ordination of the young patriarch, "his opportunities of attending school were very limited. He labored diligently to attend to the wants of his father's family. In manner he was very diffident, and he possessed no tact for public speaking. In the canons and on Indian expeditions he was always found on hand by his brethren." (Hist. of Brigham Young, Ms. entry for Feb. 18, 1855, pp. 18, 19).

stated on the occasion of his being released from the presidency of the British mission and the editorship of the *Millennial Star*.<sup>15</sup> He was a graduate of Union College, Schenectady, New York, 1824; and of Hamilton Theological Seminary (Baptist), New York, 1829. He received the gospel in 1841, being baptized by his brother Daniel, and from that time became one of the most faithful, as he was one of the most refined, talented and highly educated disciples of the New Dispensation. He died at St. Louis, Missouri, on the 15th of October, 1855, to which point forty days before, he had returned from a brief mission among the Cherokee Nation of the American Indians, in what is now the state of Kansas. While on this mission he was stricken with malaria; and much weakened by chills and fever he returned to St. Louis, where he was expected to take editorial charge of the *Luminary*, then being published by Erastus Snow, and also to resume his labors as the president of the St. Louis stake of Zion, which had been organized in November, 1854.<sup>16</sup> These expectations were disappointed by his death.<sup>17</sup>

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15. See Chapter LXXV, this history, foot note 42.

16. See Hist. Brigham Young, Ms. entry for 1854, p. 99. The organization was effected on the 4th of November of the year named. Milo Andrus was chosen the first president, with Charles Edwards and Geo. Gardiner counselors. The members of the High Council were James H. Hart, Andrew Sproule, John Evans, William Morrison, James S. Cantwell, William Lowe, Samuel J. Lees, Edward Cook, James S. Brooks, William Gore, John Clegg and Charles Chard.

17. Orson Spencer was born in West Stockbridge, Berkshire county, Mass., March 14, 1802, and was the son of Daniel and Chloe Spencer, who "belonged to that virtuous, industrious class of New Englanders of the Puritan stock which has produced so many eminent men to figure on the stage of action in all the various departments of life." In addition to the items of his history in the text it should be said that he acceptably filled the office of Alderman in the city council of Nauvoo; that he shared the hardships which attended upon the exodus of the Saints from that city; that on the Missouri frontiers he lost his wife, Catherine Curtis, daughter of Deacon Samuel Curtis, an accomplished and refined lady, who succumbed to the hardships of the enforced exodus from Nauvoo; that he left his six bereaved children in the care of a friend in order to respond to an appointment to take charge of the British mission where he presided with becoming dignity and honor. In 1849 he arrived in Salt Lake Valley; and when the "University of Deseret"—predecessor of "Utah University," was founded in 1850, he was appointed its Chancellor, which position he held at his death. In 1852 he was appointed a mission to Prussia, but was rejected and expelled from the kingdom. He returned to Utah in 1853. In 1854 he was appointed to a mission in the United States. He made his headquarters at Cincinnati until called to preside in St. Louis and take editorial charge of the *Luminary*, an appointment postponed in order that he might make the missionary visit to the Cherokee Indians, referred to in the text, from which he returned only to die. (See *Mill. Star*, Vol. XVII, pp. 762-3). In addition to the editorial work in connection with several church periodicals, Elder Spencer was the author of "Spencers Letters," a New Dispensation classic, covering nearly all the controversial subjects involved in



The last of the quintet of very worthy men who died within the period covered by this and the preceding chapter, and whose prominence in the church makes it imperative that their demise be noted in this general history, was Jedediah M. Grant,<sup>17</sup> second counselor to Brigham Young in the first Presidency of the Church, at the time of his demise; also Salt Lake City's first mayor, and the prime mover and master spirit in what is known in the New Dispensation annals as the "Reformation." Mayor Grant died quite unexpectedly on the 1st of December, 1856. His demise "has cast a deep gloom over the city," said the *Deseret News* in its announcement of his death; "stores are closed and the ordinary vocations of business suspended." Three days later he was buried with processional honors.

In the civic life of Salt Lake City and the Territory of Utah, Mayor Grant was a truly forceful factor, but it is in connection with the religious movement known as "The Reformation" that he will be best remembered in history. The "Reformation" was doubtless a much needed moral and spiritual awak-

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the message of Mormonism to the world. The little work is a series of letter extending over a number of years to the Rev. William Crowel, of Boston, Mass., and is still published by the Church for the use of its ministry, and the instruction of inquirers into her doctrines.

17. Jedediah M. Grant was the son of Joshua and Thalia Grant. He was born in Windsor, Broom county, New York, on the 21st of February, 1816. He was baptized and became a member of the church on the 21st of March, 1833. In 1834 he went to Missouri with "Zions' Camp," and after returning from that journey was ordained an elder in the church, and began that active work in the ministry of the New Dispensation that never ceased until the close of his eventful life. He was identified practically with all the movements of the Church; with the exodus from Missouri; with the founding of Nauvoo; with the exodus from that city; with the building of winter quarters. He was captain of one of "the hundreds"—the third—in the migration of the saints across the plains in 1847. After that he twice returned to the eastern states in the interests of the church. He was Salt Lake City's first mayor, being elected on the first Monday in April, 1851, and uninterruptedly held that office up to the time of his death. He was elected Major General of the first division of the Nauvoo legion in 1852, a position he held at his death. He was a member of the Territorial legislature and unanimously elected speaker of the House in 1852, a position he continued to hold in the three subsequent sessions. In 1845 he was chosen a member of the First Council of the Seventy, presiding over the missionary forces of the Church; and from 1854 to the time of his death he was a member in the First Presidency of the Church. "As a citizen," said the *Deseret News* in his obituary, "as a friend, a son, a husband, a father, and above all as a Saint, and in every station and circumstance of life, whether military, civil, or religious, he everywhere and at all times shed forth the steady and brilliant light of lofty and correct example, and died, as he lived and counseled, with his armor on and burnished." Perhaps the best eulogy pronounced upon him, however, was the remark of Brigham Young at his obsequies, *viz.*, "He has been in the Church twenty-four years, and was a man that would live, comparatively speaking, a hundred years in that time." (*Deseret News* for Dec. 10th, 1856. Same issue contains obituary and funeral proceedings).



ening. It must be remembered that for a number of years the Latter-day Saints had not lived under normal conditions. From the exodus from Nauvoo, in 1846, up to "the Reformation" in 1856—ten years—there had been much of camp life, and of frontier life, in both of which there was much moving about, unrest, absence of settled conditions everywhere, all of which made it difficult to establish regularity of life and to enforce discipline. Again, also, I call attention to the fact that the men who were the leaders in the New Dispensation were largely of Puritan stock and training, and although they had become men of the mountains and the plains—men of the frontier wilderness—still at bottom they were men of very deep and very sincere religious convictions—religious convictions that demanded striving for absolute righteousness, and that did not look upon sin, in itself, with any degree of allowance. "Be ye perfect, even as your father in heaven is perfect," represented a principle and was an admonition of the Christ accepted by them, and emphasized into possibility of achievement, when rightly understood, by the philosophy and the ethics of the New Dispensation. When, therefore, these leaders saw moral disorders about them, and increasing lack of habitual reverence for sacred things—for the Sabbath day, for example, so often infringed in their forced marches, in their fighting crickets and grasshoppers, and meeting the exigences of the irrigation system of farming; which, to raise and sometimes to preserve a crop, often forced the use of the water upon the Lord's day on some of the community. Neglect of prayer by some "in the time and season thereof," was doubtless an outgrowth of the irregularity of their lives. So, too, a carelessness in respect of individual property rights. Often necessity forced the use of range cattle for food supplies, and the exigency of forced journeys the use of work cattle and other team stock not always with the consent of the owners—and yet without intent of stealing, said uses of property springing from that sense of community feeling which had so often regarded all the means or resources of the community as available in order to carry to successful conclusion any individual enterprise of importance, so interwoven were in-

dividual and community interests in the period here under consideration.

But while this community use of property was not evil intended in itself, it did make easy to those so inclined that habit of trespassing upon the property rights of others that, speaking plainly, can only be called theft.

So also in regard to sex sins. The unsettled life of the ten years between the exodus from Nauvoo and the beginning of "the Reformation" was crowded with circumstances that lent themselves to continuous temptations in this kind of evil. There were the long weeks of ocean travel by mixed companies in slow sailing vessels; followed by long journeys of the same mixed companies up the American rivers, in crowded steamboats; or day and night travel in more crowded railway trains to the western terminal of the railroads. Then there was the longer overland journeying by hand cart or ox train means of travel, all classes being thrown into constant and closest contact, which not all the care of the organized camp, nor the watchfulness of faithful pastors could rob of insidious and sometimes ruinous temptations. Then, too, as an explanation of the unusual force of emphasis placed upon sex sins, the Latter-day Saint community was open to the charge of licentiousness, and indeed were so charged, and that vehemently, for proclaiming as a principle and adopting as a practice the doctrine of a plurality of wives. To free themselves of this imputation in the practice of that doctrine, the Church leaders laid an emphasis of denunciation upon sex sins which perhaps gives them an undue prominence in the things to be corrected by "the Reformation." Not that sex sins can be too severely denounced, or chastity too rigidly safeguarded by a community, but in consequence of what was perhaps the unconscious anxiety of the leaders to free the Church from imputations of licentiousness in the matter of plurality of wives, the emphasis of denunciation placed upon violations of the law of chastity,<sup>18</sup> and the severity of the retribution it was suggested

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18. "The law of chastity" as it stands in the doctrines of the Church, is the law as given by the Christ when among men, involving not only the prohibition of physical acts against chastity, but even licentiousness of the mind: "He that looketh upon a woman to lust after her, shall deny the faith, and shall not have

be inflicted upon those guilty of such violations, have led to the belief that sexual sins were much more common in the Latter-day Saint communities than they really were.<sup>19</sup>

the spirit; and if he repents not he shall be cast out. Thou shalt not commit adultery; and he that committeth adultery, and repenteth not shall be cast out." (Doc. & Cov., sec. 42:23-4). "He that looketh on a woman to lust after her, or if any shall commit adultery in their hearts, they shall not have the Spirit, but shall deny the faith, and shall fear." (Doc. & Cov., sec. 63:16), c. f. Matt. V, 27:28). Sex sins in the Book of Mormon are denounced as "Most abominable above all sins, save it be the shedding of innocent blood, or denying the Holy Ghost." (Alma, Ch. 39:5). It should be noted, in passing, that these were instructions of scriptural force to the Latter-day Saints before the revelation respecting plural marriages was given. Such was the law of chastity in the church both before and after the doctrine of plural marriage was introduced. The teaching in the Reformation on this point brought forth no new law, but it laid tremendous emphasis upon the existing law.

19. Both Captain Stansbury and Lieutenant Gunnison have been quoted as to the strictness of the early Utah community in the matter of insisting upon chastity, in sex relations, notwithstanding the existence of the plural marriage system. (This History, Ch. LXXX, note 11). Captain Burton, whose "City of the Saints" was published in 1862, and whose sojourn among the Saints was made in 1860, writes on this point: "The offenses against chastity, morality, and decency are exceptionally severe" (p. 252). "There is a prevailing idea . . . that wives are in public, and that a woman can have as many husbands as the husband can have wives—in fact, to repeat colloquially, that they all 'pig together.' The contrary is notably the case. The man who, like *Messrs.* Hamilton and Howard Egan, murders in cold blood his wife's lover, is invariably acquitted, the jury declaring that civil damages mark the rottenness of other governments" (p. 426). . . . "The Mormons point triumphantly to the austere morals of their community, their superior freedom from maladive influences, and the absence of that uncleanness and licentiousness which distinguish the cities of the civilized world" (p. 428). "In point of mere morality," he said later, "the Mormon community is perhaps purer than any other of equal numbers" (p. 441). Our author also quotes the penalties of the laws of Utah defining "Crimes and Punishments," then (1860) in force, beginning with *section 32*: "Every person who commits the crime of adultery shall be punished by imprisonment not exceeding twenty years, and not less than three years; or by fine not exceeding one thousand dollars, and not less than three hundred dollars; or by both fine and imprisonment, at the discretion of the court. And when the crime is committed between parties any one of whom is married, both are guilty of adultery, and shall be punished accordingly.

"Sec. 33. If any man or woman, not being married to each other, lewdly and lasciviously associate and cohabit together; or if any man or woman, married or unmarried, is guilty of open and gross lewdness, and designedly make any open and indecent, or obscene exposure of his or her person, or of the person of another, every such person so offending shall be punished by imprisonment not exceeding ten years, and not less than six months, and fine not more than one thousand dollars, and not less than one hundred dollars, or both, at the discretion of the court.

"Sec. 34. If any person keep a house of ill-fame, resorted to for the purpose of prostitution or lewdness, he shall be punished by imprisonment not exceeding ten years, and not less than one year, or fine not exceeding five hundred dollars, or both fine and imprisonment. And any person who, after being once convicted of the like offense, shall be punished not more than double the above specified penalties.

"Sec. 35. If any person inveigle or entice any female, before reputed virtuous, to a house of ill-fame, or knowingly conceal, aid, or abet in concealing such female so deluded or enticed, for the purpose of prostitution or lewdness, he shall be punished by imprisonment not more than fifteen years, nor less than five years.

Nearly all anti-Mormon writers have made much of the fierce denunciations of sin by Church leaders in this period of "the Reformation," and of the confessions to moral delinquencies on the part of some of the people, as indicating a very low state of morals and of spiritual degeneracy of the whole community. And this without taking note of the very high standard of moral and spiritual excellence required by the teaching of the Church leaders; of the untoward circumstances above noted, so conducive to irregularity of life in the previous ten years; or of the excessive zeal of the leaders, inspired by the Puritan spirit in which the Reformation was conceived and conducted, and that often led to unconscious exaggeration in charging and denouncing both individual and community sins.

"The Reformation" began at a conference at Kaysville, in Davis county, held on the 13th of September, continuing through four days; President Jedediah M. Grant, Joseph Young, of the First Council of the Seventy, and William Willes, recently returned from his protracted mission in India, being the most prominent factors, brother Willes contributing much to the awakening of religious fervor by singing soul-stirring songs, one in particular, through which ran the refrain

*"The Saints will nobly do their duty."*

On the third day 500 people renewed all their religious obligations in the act of baptism, 80 of whom were baptized by Elder Grant himself.

The Reformation proposed went to the most practical affairs in life. According to the minutes of the meeting, published at the time, the text of Elder Grant's first discourse and exhortation was supplied by Brigham Young:

*"Saints, live your religion."*

Such the text; the speaker urged that the Saints hold sacred

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"Sec. 38. If any person import, print, publish, sell or distribute any book, pamphlet, ballad, or any printed paper containing obscene language, or obscene prints, pictures, or descriptions manifestly tending to corrupt the morals of youth, or introduce into any family, school or place of education, or buy, procure, receive, or have in his possession any such book, pamphlet, ballad, printed paper, picture, or description, either for the purpose of loan, sale, exhibition, or circulation, or with intent to introduce the same into any family, school, or place of education, he shall be punished by fine not exceeding four hundred dollars."



their baptismal covenants: "observing cleanliness in their persons, and dwellings, setting their families in order, carefully cultivating their farms and gardens, and not to feel so anxious to have more land than they could attend to themselves; to gather into and build up the fort and settlement; and concluded by praying that all those who did not feel to do right might have their way opened to leave this people and Territory, and that those who did not come forward and do their first works, [i. e., renew religious obligations by baptism], let them be unto you as heathen men and publicans, and not numbered among the Saints."<sup>20</sup>

In this passage the key note of the Reformation is struck; and save only for what some might regard as a hint of intolerance in the closing lines, its purposes were wholly commendable.

This first Reformation meeting was followed by others during the same week at Farmington in the same county, continuing three days, resulting in 406 persons renewing their religious obligations by baptism. The meetings were of the same general character as those held in Kaysville.<sup>21</sup>

By Sunday, the 21st of September, the reformation had reached Salt Lake City; and in the two meetings held in the "Old Tabernacle" that day, President Brigham Young and Heber C. Kimball as well as President Grant participated in the enthusiasm of the occasion, and from thence the work of reform and the renewel of religious obligations and covenants by the impressive sign of baptism, extended throughout all the settlements of Utah, and to all the branches and conferences and missions of the Church. That much good was accomplished, that a spiritual awakening in the Church was secured may not be doubted. Also it must be admitted, as in nearly all such movements, and times of special manifestation of religious zeal, there were many extreme things suggested, and some unwarranted interpretations of the scriptures, and many ill-advised things said which, when measured by the spirit of the gospel of Jesus Christ, are found wanting, especially on the side of patience, and forbearance, and mercy. In some of its aspects this

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20. *Deseret News*, September 24, 1856.

21. Minutes of the Farmington meetings are published in *Deseret News* of Oct. 6, 1856.

“Reform” movement resembled more in spirit the severe justice and retribution of the old Mosaic law than the Spirit of the gospel of Jesus Christ.

Among the things to be regretted in connection with “the Reformation,” and from which the church has suffered much, through misapprehension of her real attitude in respect of the matter involved, are certain extreme and unqualified utterances of some of the leading Elders of the Church on what it has become custom to call “blood atonement;” by which is meant, as commonly represented by anti-Mormon writers, a claimed right on the part of the Church to shed the blood of men guilty of heinous crimes, such as murder, adultery, and apostasy; and which, since such acts may not be done openly, and by legal authority vested in the Church, then secretly, by assassination.<sup>22</sup>

That there are crimes for which the law of God prescribed capital punishment; and which, under the union of the spiritual and temporal power—under the blending of civil and religious authority in the old theocratic government of ancient Israel—may not be denied. As for example, in the case of murder, the law given to Noah and his posterity was: “At the hand of every man’s brother will I require the life of men. Whoso sheddeth man’s blood, by man shall his blood be shed.”<sup>23</sup> This law was carried over into the Mosaic polity; and the list of crimes enlarged to include capital punishment for assault of children upon parents; for stealing men and selling them into slavery; for witchcraft; for bestiality; for idolatry; for violating the Sabbath day; for adultery.<sup>24</sup> Capital punishment, however, was not left to be executed by irresponsible individuals, and at their caprice. It was sternly regulated by law and executed by legally designated agencies. So also there are

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22. See Linn’s “Story of the Mormon,” 1902, Book V, Ch. IX. “Life in Utah or the Mysteries and Crimes of Mormonism,” Beadle, 1870, Ch. XII. Stenhouse’s “Rock Mountain Saints,” Ch. XXXV. Stenhouse’s chapter on the “Reformation” and “blood atonement,” and constituting the most circumstantial narrative on the excesses of the “Reformation” is largely the contribution of an anonymous writer, a fact, that goes far towards destroying the trustworthiness of the statements made. Waite’s “Mormon Prophet,” 1866, Ch. IX. “Lights and Shadows of Mormonism,” Gibbs, 1909, Ch. XXIV.

23. Gen. IX, 5, 6.

24. See Exodus XX, XXI, XXXI; and Leviticus XXIV. Also Leviticus XX, c. f. Matt. XV, 1-9; St. John, VIII, 3-12.

sins enumerated in the New Testament for which it is said there is no forgiveness. "No murderer hath eternal life abiding in him," saith St. John.<sup>25</sup> "Who so speaketh against the Holy Ghost, it shall not be forgiven him, neither in this world, neither in the world to come."<sup>26</sup> "He that shall blaspheme against the Holy Ghost hath never forgiveness," is the more impressive declaration of St. Mark, "but is in danger of eternal damnation."<sup>27</sup>

"It is impossible for those who were once enlightened, and have tasted of the heavenly gift, and were made partakers of the Holy Ghost, and have tasted the good word of God, and the powers of the world to come, if they shall fall away, to renew them again unto repentance; seeing they crucify to themselves the Son of God afresh, and put him to an open shame."<sup>28</sup>

It is very clear that other new Testament writers recognized a "sin unto death:" "If any man," said St. John, "see his brother sin a sin which is not unto death, he shall ask, and he shall give him life for them that sin not unto death. There is a sin unto death: I do not say that he shall pray for it."<sup>29</sup> "For," as declares the writer to the Hebrews, "if we sin wilfully after that we have received the knowledge of the truth, there remaineth no more sacrifice for sins;" "but a certain fearful looking for of judgment and fiery indignation, which shall devour the adversaries. He that despised Moses' law died without mercy under two or three witnesses: Of how much sorer punishment, suppose ye, shall he be thought worthy, who hath trodden under foot the Son of God, and hath counted the blood of the covenant, wherewith he was sanctified, an unholy thing, and hath done despite unto the Spirit of grace?"<sup>30</sup> Therefore it follows as logical conclusion in such cases as are here enumerated that the matter stands with them as if no atonement of the Christ had been made, and they themselves must pay the penalty of their sins. "The life of the flesh," said Moses, is in the blood; "and I have given it to you upon the

25. I John III, 15.

26. St. Matt, XII, 32.

27. St. Mark III, 28, 29.

28. Heb. VI, 4-6.

29. I John V, 16.

30. Heb. X, 26-29.



altar to make an atonement for your souls: for it is the blood that maketh an atonement for the soul."<sup>31</sup>

It may, of course, be urged that reference is here made to the blood of beasts and birds appointed to be slain in sacrifice; and that their blood, typifying the blood of the Christ, which would be shed for remission of sin, was given to ancient Israel to make atonement for their souls; and it is true, as Paul said of the law, "almost all things are by the law purged with blood; and without the shedding of blood is no remission."<sup>32</sup> But if, as seems to be the case, from foregoing considerations, there are certain limitations to vicarious atonement, even to the vicarious atonement of the Christ, then these ancient laws proclaiming that the life of the flesh is in the blood, and that "the blood maketh an atonement for the soul," make plain what is needful for the salvation of the soul, where one's sin places him beyond the reach of vicarious means of salvation—it is the shedding of the sinners own blood.<sup>33</sup> Paul evidently recognized such cases as these; for in referring to one who had been guilty of such sin as is not so much as named among the Gentiles, "that one should have his father's wife," he said:

31. Leviticus XVII, 11.

32. Heb. IX, 22.

33. Not, however, as I have already urged in preceding pages, by the Church; certainly not by individuals taking it upon themselves to be the ministers of God's vengeance; for then they themselves would become murders. "To me belongeth vengeance and recompence," saith the Lord (Deutt. XXII, 35). "Vengeance is mine; I will repay," saith the Lord (Rom. XII); and therefore must this matter of retribution for sin be left with God and those agencies that he shall ordain to encompass it. These, in part, are the secular governments in whose polities capital punishments are provided for some of the more heinous crimes against society and government, such as murder in the first degree, etc. Therefore the Church is commanded to give up those who kill to be dealt with according to the law of the land. And Latter-day Saints believe that where secular government prescribes capital punishment it is better that such form of execution be adopted as will shed the blood of the criminal; hence in Utah, when the Latter-day Saints, in their capacity as citizens of the state have made the laws, condemned criminals, subject to capital punishment, are permitted to choose their mode of execution either by being hung or shot, the latter mode, of course, resulting in the shedding of their blood, thus meeting the requirements of the law of God as well as the law of the state. It is quite erroneously supposed that this idea had its origin among Latter-day Saints with Brigham Young. That, however, is not the case. In the minutes of the Nauvoo city council for March 4th, 1843, occurs the following statement by Joseph Smith: "In debate, George A. Smith said imprisonment was better than hanging. I replied I was opposed to hanging, even if a man kill another, I will shoot him, or cut off his head, spill his blood on the ground, and let the smoke thereof ascend up to God; and if ever I have the privilege of making a law on that subject, I will have it so." (Documentary Hist. of the Church, Vol. V, p. 296).



“For I verily, as absent in body, but present in spirit, have judged already, as though I were present, concerning him that hath so done this deed, in the name of our Lord Jesus Christ, when ye are gathered together, and my spirit, with the power of our Lord Jesus Christ, to deliver such an one unto Satan *for the destruction of the flesh, that the spirit may be saved in the day of the Lord Jesus.*”<sup>34</sup>

Here then is the doctrine taught that by “destruction of the flesh,” there is hope that “the spirit might be saved, in the day of the Lord Jesus.” And no one can say that Brigham Young went beyond this when he said—and this is one of the offensive passages so frequently quoted against him by anti-Mormon writers:

“There are sins that men committ for which they cannot receive forgiveness in this world, or in that which is to come, and if they had their eyes open to see their true condition, they would be perfectly willing to have their blood spilt upon the ground, that the smoke thereof might ascend to heaven as an offering for their sins; and the smoking incense would atone for their sins, whereas, if such is not the case, they will stick to them and remain upon them in the spirit world.

“I know, when you hear my brethren telling about cutting people off from the earth, that you consider it is strong doctrine; but it is to save them, not to destroy them. \* \* \*

\* \* \* “I do know that there are sins committed, of such a nature that if the people did understand the doctrine of salvation, they would tremble because of their situation. And furthermore, I know that there are transgressors, who, if they knew themselves and the only condition upon which they can obtain forgiveness, would beg of their brethren to shed their blood, that the smoke thereof might ascend to God as an offering to appease the wrath that is kindled against them, and that the law might have its course. I will say further; I have had men come to me and offer their lives to atone for their sins. It is true that the blood of the Son of God was shed for sins through the fall, and those committed by men, yet men can commit sins which it can never remit.”<sup>35</sup>

The doctrine of “blood atonement,” then, is based upon the

34. I Cor. V, 1-5.

35. Discourse Sept. 21st, 1856, *Deseret News* of Oct. 1st, 1856. Also Journal of Discourse, Vol. IV, p. 53.

scriptural laws considered in the foregoing paragraphs. The only point at which complaint may be justly laid in the teaching of the "Reformation" period is in the unfortunate implication that the Church of the Latter-day Saints, or individuals in that Church, may execute this law of retribution.<sup>36</sup> Fortunately, however, the suggestions seemingly made in the over-zealous words of some of these leading elders were never acted upon. The Church never incorporated them into her polity. Indeed, it would have been a violation of divine instruction given in the New Dispensation had the Church attempted to establish such procedure. As early as 1831 the law of the Lord was given to the Church as follows:

"And now, behold, I speak unto the Church. Thou shalt not kill; and he that kills shall not have forgiveness in this world, nor in the world to come.

"And again, I say, thou shalt not kill; but he that killeth shall die." \* \* \* "And it shall come to pass, that if any persons among you shall kill, they shall be delivered up and dealt with according to the laws of the land; for remember that he hath no forgiveness, *and it shall be proven according to the laws of the land.*"<sup>37</sup>

The same disposition was directed to be made with reference to those who should rob, steal, or lie, that is, they should be delivered up to be dealt with according to the laws of the land.<sup>38</sup> Those who committed adultery, and repented not, were to be cast out.

A few months later, August, 1831, the Lord said in connection with the purchase of lands in Jackson county:

"Satan putteth it into their hearts [i. e., the hearts of the Missourians] to anger against you, and to the shedding of blood; wherefore the land of Zion, shall not be obtained but by purchase or by blood, otherwise there is none inheritance for you. And if by purchase, behold you are blessed; and if by blood,

36. The passages that warrant the remarks of the text are to be found in a discourse of Jedediah M. Grant on March 12th, 1854, *Deseret News*, July 27th, 1854; also a discourse on the 21st of September, 1856, *Journal of Discourses*, Vol. IV, p. 49, *et seq.* Also a discourse delivered by Brigham Young on Feb. 8th, 1857, *Journal of Discourses*, Vol. IV, pp. 219-220.

37. Doc. & Cov., Sec. XLII, 18, 19, 79.

38. *Ibid.*, verses 84-86.

*as you are forbidden to shed blood, lo, your enemies are upon you, and ye shall be scourged from city to city, and from synagogue to synagogue, and but few shall stand to receive an inheritance.*"<sup>39</sup>

Moreover, in the very discourse, most frequently quoted by anti-Mormon writers against both the speaker and the Church, Brigham Young very clearly indicates that neither the Church nor individual members of it had any right to execute the law of retribution he had been discussing. He could refer to "plenty of instances where men have been righteously slain in order to atone for their sins," doubtless having in mind the many such instances named in the scriptures under the law and polity received through Moses; and the legal executions in those nations that give sanction to capital punishment for some of these offenses; he had "seen scores and hundreds of people for whom there would have been a chance (in the last resurrection there will be) if their lives had been taken and their blood spilled on the ground as a smoking incense to the Almighty;" he "had known a great many men who have left this church [i. e., of the Latter-day Saints] for whom there is no chance whatever for exaltation, but if their blood had been spilled, [for their crimes, not because they left the Church] it would have been better for them;"—yet "*the wickedness and ignorance of the nations forbid this principle's being in full force, but the time will come when the law of God will be in full force.*"<sup>40</sup> All which is but recognition of the fact that said law of God is not now in force, and the "ignorance" of the nations now in power will not permit it to go into force. Under these circumstances, then, what is to be done? On the one hand is God's law of retribution that would destroy certain sinners in the flesh for their crimes, that "the spirit," to use the language of Paul, "might be saved in the day of the Lord Jesus;"<sup>41</sup> on the other hand are the "ignorant nations" who will not authorize the penalties affixed to some divine laws, nor prescribe the methods of execution that the law of God anciently ordained; and the

39. Doc. & Cov., Sec. LXIII. For fuller exposition see this History, Ch. XX.

40. Discourse of Feb. 8th, 1857, Journal of Discourses, Vol. IV, p. 220.

41. Paul, I Cor. V, 3-5.



*J. M. Grant*





Church, as an organization, and the individuals comprising it, are forbidden to inflict the physical punishment of death, or any other physical punishment. Under these circumstances, I ask again, what is to be done? Just what Brigham Young did, issue the declaration he made in the very discourse here under consideration, the discourse of February 8th, 1857, but which declaration has never received consideration by anti-Mormon writers, nor allowed its place in modifying the spirit of the whole discourse, namely:

“The time has been in Israel under the law of God \* \* \* that if a man was found guilty of adultery, he must have his blood shed; \* \* \* *but now, I say, in the name of the Lord, that if this people will sin no more, but faithfully live their religion, their sins will be forgiven them without taking life.*”<sup>42</sup>

And that was the course and policy followed by the Church; and if there was departure in any degree from that policy, and the positive, divine injunction to the Church and its individual members—“*Thou shalt not kill*”—violated, the responsibility for such departure rests wholly upon the guilty individuals and not upon the Church.

It should be noted in this connection that in the individual cases of “blood atonement” charged, the allegations rests upon the word of men who are themselves self-confessed murderers and outlaw desperadoes; or else the charge rests upon the word of anonymous writers; or the cases specified are not such as fall under the category of so-called “blood atonement.”

Of the first class the accounts of “blood atonement” are by such characters as John D. Lee, of the “Mountain Meadow” horror,<sup>43</sup> and of William A. Hickman, commonly known as “Bill” Hickman—a typical western desperado;<sup>44</sup> these, *et al*, loosely ascribe responsibility for their crimes to leading Mor-

42. Journal of Discourses, Vol. IV, p. 219.

43. See “Mormonism Unveiled, Life and Confession of John D. Lee,” especially Ch. XIX. This book—M. E. Mason, publisher, St. Louis, Mo., 1891—is edited by Wm. W. Bishop, Lee’s attorney, at his second trial, 1876.

44. “Brigham’s Destroying Angel”—“Life, Confession and Startling Disclosures of Bill Hickman—the Danite Chief of Utah,” edited by J. H. Beadle, 1877). Beadle is also the author of “Life in Utah; Mysteries and Crimes of Mormonism,” etc., etc., *Ad Nauseam*.

mon Church officials, especially to alleged orders or to the veiled suggestions of President Brigham Young. It would violate all the canons of standard historical writing to consider seriously charges made by such characters.<sup>45</sup>

Of the second class, *viz.*, anonymous persons, usually apostate Mormons, who kept their identity concealed, it is alleged, through fear of assassination should they be identified with their disclosures, and whose tales of blood and cruelty and oppression struggle out of obscurity to public attention through sensational writers. These are represented by such anonymous persons as those whose statements are admitted into the pages of Stenhouse, in his "Rocky Mountain Saints;"<sup>46</sup> by Beadle, in his "Mysteries and Crimes of Mormonism;"<sup>47</sup> by *Reverend* C. P. Lyford, in his "Mormon Problem;"<sup>48</sup> and by many others who from one pretense or another conceal the identity of their alleged informers. And yet, as remarked in an official document signed by the first Presidency of the Church and the Twelve Apostles, in 1889, there seems to have been no danger to such characters either from open or secret church agencies. "Notwithstanding all the stories told about the killing of apostates," says the document referred to, no case of this kind has ever occurred, and of course has never been established against the Church we represent. Hundreds of seceders from the Church have continuously resided and now live in this Territory, many of whom have amassed considerable wealth, though bitterly opposed to the Mormon faith and people. Even those who made it their business to fabricate the vilest falsehoods, and to render them plausible

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45. Speaking of such charges the late President John Taylor, in a series of five letters to the *Deseret News* in which he was counseling the people of Utah to patience in the midst of a judicial crusade that gave entertainment of charges made by such characters as are referred to in the text, said: "But they are accusing some of our best and most honorable men of murder! What of that? Who have they suborned as their accusers? They themselves call them by the mild name of *assassins*—these are their fellow-pirates with whom they hob-nob and associate." (Life of John Taylor (Roberts). p. 316. The series of Taylor's Letters will be found in *Deseret News* of Nov. 15, 1871.

46. See the long communication of an anonymous writer to Stenhouse detailing long list of crimes of the "reformation" period. Ch. XXXVI, *et passim*, and more especial in his chapter on the Mountain Meadow Massacre, Ch. XLIII.

47. See Chapters VI, VIII, X, XII.

48. "The Mormon Problem," Rev. C. P. Lyford, 1886. More especially his four chapters constituting the Appendix of his book.

by culling isolated passages from old sermons without the explanatory context, and have suffered no opportunity to escape them of vilifying and blackening the characters of the people, have remained among those whom they have thus persistently culminated until the present day, without receiving the slightest personal injury.<sup>49</sup>

Of the third class of cases, *viz.*, those that do not properly come within the category of alleged "blood atonement," cases such as where a father or brother personally avenges the outraged chastity of a daughter or sister; or a wronged husband slays the despoiler of his domestic peace and home. Such cases are not peculiar to communities of Latter-day Saints in the United States, they are recognized as appeals to the "*Unwritten law of the land*;" and trial juries quite generally in the United States refuse to convict, either for manslaughter or murder those who take the law into their own hands in such cases. Granting that the severity of the denunciations against violations of chastity and the purity of the home encouraged appeals to "the unwritten law," and hence that such appeals were made more frequently in Utah than elsewhere,—if they were more frequent than elsewhere in our western America—it still remains to be determined whether or not that is a reproach to the community, or a tribute to the high sense of honor, the virility, the strength, and the courage of the community's manhood.<sup>50</sup>

49. "The History of the Mormons: Their Persecutions and Travels," a brochure of 20 pages by the late George Q. Cannon, 1891, p. 17.

50. All such cases as these, however, are charged up to "blood atonement" by anti-Mormon writers. See all the authorities cited in notes 40 to 45 inclusive. In the case of the United States vs. Howard Egan for the murder of James Monroe, appeal to "the unwritten law" was first reviewed before a court in Utah, 1851. Briefly stated the facts in the case were that Monroe seduced the wife of Egan while the husband was absent in California; an illegitimate child was born; returning to his home Egan sought out its despoiler, and shot him to death. For this he was arraigned before Hon. Z. Snow, judge of the first judicial district court of the U. S. for the Territory of Utah. Counsel for the defense pleaded:

"I argue that in this Territory it is a principle of mountain common law that no man can seduce the wife of another without endangering his own life. . . . What is natural justice with this people? Does a civil suit for damages answer the purpose, not with an isolated individual, but with this whole community? No! it does not! The principle, the only one that beats and throbs through the heart of the entire population of this Territory, is simply this: The man who seduces his neighbor's wife must die, and her nearest relative must kill him! . . . If Howard Egan did kill James Monroe, it was in accordance with the established principles of justice known in these mountains. That the people of this Territory would have regarded him [Egan] as an accessory to the crimes of that creature [Monroe], had he not done it, is also a plain case. Every man knew the style of old



But this whole question of "blood atonement," so much iterated and reiterated by anti-Mormon writers, is put at rest, so far as the Church's relationship to it is concerned, by an official proclamation upon the subject, in addition to the divine instructions to the Church already cited in this chapter. I give the title and formal introduction to the proclamation, and so much of the document as deals with the subject in hand, and the signatures:

## MANIFESTO OF THE PRESIDENCY AND APOSTLES

SALT LAKE CITY, Dec. 12th, 1889.

*To Whom It May Concern:*

In consequence of gross misrepresentations of the doctrines, aims and practices of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, commonly called the "Mormon" Church, which have been promulgated for years, and have recently been revived for political purposes and to prevent all aliens, otherwise qualified, who are members of the "Mormon" Church from acquiring citizenship, we deem it proper on behalf of said Church to publicly deny these calumnies and enter our protest against them.

"We solemnly make the following declarations, *viz.*:

"That this Church views the shedding of human blood with the utmost abhorrence. That we regard the killing of a human being, except in conformity with the civil law, as a capital crime, which should be punished by shedding the blood of the criminal after a public trial before a legally constituted court of the land.

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"We denounce as entirely untrue the allegation which has

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Israel, that the nearest relation would be at his heels to fulfil the requirements of justice." (*Deseret News* for Nov. 15, 1851). Judge Snow in his charge to the jury said: "We have no right to punish a person for a real or imaginary wrong, except with the authority of law. The safety of ourselves individually, and of society, depends on the correct and faithful administration of good and wholesome laws. No one ought to be punished unless that act has been declared to be penal by the law of the land, and the punishment directed; nor until he has had an opportunity of having a fair and impartial trial; for, peradventure, he may not be guilty as alleged against him." (*Ibid*). This instruction, however, correct and formal was vain, as such instructions have quite generally been in the United States, and especially in the western part of that country. The jury's verdict in the above case was "*not guilty*."

been made, that our Church favors or believes in the killing of persons who leave the Church or apostatize from its doctrines. We would view a punishment of this character for such an act with the utmost horror; it is abhorrent to us and is in direct opposition to the fundamental principles of our creed.

“The revelations of God to this Church make death the penalty of capital crime, and require that offenders against life and property shall be delivered up and tried by the laws of the land.

“We declare that no bishop’s or other court in this Church claims or exercises civil or judicial functions, or the right to supersede, annul or modify a judgment of any civil court. Such courts, while established to regulate Christian conduct, are purely ecclesiastical, and their punitive powers go no further than the suspension or excommunication of members from Church fellowship. \* \* \*

\* \* \* \* \*

Signed:

WILFORD WOODRUFF, GEORGE Q. CANNON, JOSEPH F. SMITH,  
 Presidency of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints.

LORENZO SNOW,	GEORGE TEASDALE,
FRANKLIN D. RICHARDS,	HEBER J. GRANT,
BIRGHAM YOUNG,	JOHN W. TAYLOR,
MOSES THATCHER,	W. W. MERRILL,
FRANCIS M. LYMAN,	A. H. LUND,
JOHN HENRY SMITH,	ABRAHAM H. CANNON,

Members of the Council of the Apostles.

JOHN W. YOUNG, DANIEL H. WELLS, Counselors.<sup>51</sup>

NOTE 1: THE FAST DAY OF THE CHURCH: The fast day mentioned in the regular text of this history, usually extends from the evening of Saturday—the day of preparation for the Lord’s Day—to the afternoon of Sunday. Special services are held upon that day, the “fast day meeting, when right of speaking briefly,—usually in praise of God for his providences, or in testimony of the truth, or praying, or of singing, is granted to all present. And at this meeting the Saints are admonished to “remember the poor and contribute means, food or money, for their benefit; *which in value should at least equal the amount*

51. The History of the Mormons,” by the late Pres. Geo. Q. Cannon—a brochure—1891, pp. 17, 18. The omitted parts between the first marks of elipsis above may be found in the previous quotation from the document of this chapter, see note 49.

*saved by the person or family so fasting.* \* \* \* "All such funds," says the instructions to the Church, "should be applied exclusively for the purpose of assisting the worthy poor as, in the judgment of the Bishopric, may be necessary." The limitation of the charity to the "worthy poor," is made in order not to foster the vicious in preying upon the industrious, and to prevent the creation of a permanent pauper class. It is no part of the Church's polity to burden the industrious with the wilfully idle, the law is that the idler shall not eat the bread nor wear the garments of the laborer (Doc. & Cov., Sec. 42). Even in the cases of the "worthy poor," "Who," says the instructions of the Church in directing uses of the fast charity, "should always have our sympathy and aid," it is suggested that "wherever a person drawing assistance is able to do something toward his or her support, however small, the Bishopric should endeavor to provide such employment suited to their capacity and condition."

The possibilities of this provision is tremendous. It requires giving up one or two meals in a month and consecrating what would otherwise be consumed to the charity proposed. It is an act in which all may equally participate; and in their sacrifice be equal. And what is better yet, those who may have never felt the gnawing and the weakness from hunger before,—especially the children of the rich—by this means may be given the experience with each recurring month, and thus be put into sharper sympathetic relations with their less fortunate fellow Christians and fellow citizens than could otherwise exist. Suppose such a plan was faithfully carried out in the Christian city of New York—all Christians responding to it as a Christian duty—it would provide ample means to feed and clothe and lodge the worthy poor of the city; the cry of hunger need not ascend into the ears of God who has provided in his earth an abundance for all. The same would be true of our nation if it became a national institution among the Christians of our land. It would constitute a permanent resource, an emergency fund, from which could be instantly met the requirements of such calamities as overtake our land at times by fire and flood, by tempest and earthquake, by famine and pestilence in which all would participate by an equal sacrifice. And what would result from a great Christian city or of one Christian nation adopting such a noble means of charity, would equally result from all nations adopting it—it has in it the elements of a noble, world-wide charity, sufficient to the constantly recurring needs of the worthy poor, and the unavoidable calamities which intermittently visit every nation and people.

# Historic Views and Reviews

## GOOD PRICES FOR AMERICANA

A MANUSCRIPT document referring to New York in 1748, and having entries of payments to Sir William Johnson, Oliver Wolcott and others was sold at the Anderson Company sale in New York, January 18, 1913, to George D. Smith for \$130.

Transcriptions of love letters written to John Howard Payne, author of "Home Sweet Home" by Anna Mary Freeman, an artist, September, 1848, to May, 1850, was bought by Mr. Smith for \$330, who also bought a fine copy of the rare "History of Kentucky," by H. Marshall (Frankfort, 1825) for \$105.



## HISTORIC STATUARY IN SEATTLE, WASHINGTON

The Washington Historical Quarterly for January, 1913, gives the following list of works of art in statuary, in the public squares of the city of Seattle, both completed and in process of construction, and the subjects so immortalized, by being placed as follows:—

GEORGE WASHINGTON, presented to the University of Washington by the Rainier Chapter of the Daughters of the American Revolution, the work of Lorado Taft of Chicago.

WILLIAM HENRY SEWARD, presented to the city by its citizens through a Chamber of Commerce Committee to commemorate the purchase of Alaska, the work of Richard El. Brooks of Paris and New York.

JAMES J. HILL, a large bust, presented by the citizens of Seattle to the University of Washington, the work of Finn H. Frolich of Seattle.



CHIEF SEATTLE, the Indian Chief for whom the city was named, unveiled on November 13, 1912, Founders Day, by Miss Myrth Loughrey, a great-granddaughter of the chief, the work of James Wehn of Seattle.

JOHN H. MCGRAW, former governor of Washington, presented to the city by his friends, the work of Richard E. Brooks.

GEORGE KINNER, a Seattle pioneer, equestrian statue as the subject appeared as an officer in the Civil War. To stand when completed in Kinner Park, a gift to the city by the subject of the statue a quarter of a century ago.



#### NOTABLE SALE OF AMERICANA

The fifth and final sessions of the sale of the American library of the late Edward N. Crane, of Newark, N. J., was held yesterday by the Richmond Auction Company, 19 East Forty-fifth Street. Robert E. Sherwood was the auctioneer. The day's total was \$9,705, and the grand total, \$59,442.83. The sale was the third most important of the season in this city, the other sales being the last part of the Robert Hoe library and the M. C. D. Borden collection of books. As a library almost entirely composed of Americana, however, the Crane collection is the most important that has been dispersed at auction in many years.

More new records were made by rarities sold yesterday. The highest price of the day was \$2,325, paid by George D. Smith for a fine copy of the extremely rare first edition of William Wood's "New England's Prospect. A true, lively, and experimental description of that part of America," &c., small quarto, London, 1634. This was the first printed account of Massachusetts Colony. The Craine copy contains the scarce map of "The South part of New England as it is Planted in this yeare 1634." It is thought that Roger Williams may have assisted Wood in the compilation of the English-Indian dictionary which is found in this work. The price paid is by far the highest ever obtained for this work at public auction. The Thomas J. McKee copy brought only \$600. For the Crane example George E. Little-

field of Boston was the underbidder, going to \$2,320 before he quit.

The second highest price of the day, \$900, was given by Dodd & Livingston for a large folio one-page letter from President George Washington to the Emperor of Morocco, dated New York, Dec. 1, 1789, and inclosing a copy of the newly adopted Constitution of the United States. The letter is signed but not written by Washington.

A fine set of the rare Dictionary of Books relating to America from its Discovery to the Present Time," by Joseph Sabin, was bought by Mr. Smith at the record price of \$456. Mr. Littlefield paid \$325 for a good copy of the rare "Le Grand Voyage du Pays des Hurons," by Theodat G. Saguard, octavo, Paris, 1632.

Mr. Smith obtained for \$230 the scarce "Atlas," by Santarem, Paris, 1849, a monumental work, reproducing in fac simile the rarest maps known, from the sixth to the sixteenth century, the originals of which are in important libraries of Europe. The same bidder paid \$550, another record price, for a copy of George Scot's "Model of the Government of the Province of East New Jersey in America," small octavo, Edinburgh, 1685. Mr. Smith also gave \$450 for Capt. John Smith's "Generall Historie of Virginia, New England, and the Summer Isles," folio, London, 1624, the rare first edition. The scarce "History of the Province of New York," by William Smith, quarto. London, 1757, in binding by Riviere, went to E. Scott for \$145.

Solomon Stoddard's "Answer to Some Cases of Consequence respecting the Country," quarto, Boston, 1722, was knocked down to Mr. Smith for \$230. Lathrop C. Harper paid \$745 for the finest copy known of Gabriel Thomas's "Historical and Geographical Account of the Province and Country of Pensilvania and of West -New-Jersey in America," octavo, original sheep binding, London, 1698.

Walter M. Hill bought for \$155 "Papers relating to an Affidavit made by his Reverence James Blair, pretended President of William and Mary College and supposed Commisary to the Bishop of London in Virginia against Francis Nicholson, Esq., Governour of the said Province," a small octavo of 104 pages,

printed in 1727. Mr. Smith gave \$110 for "The Journal of Dayly Register," by William Walker, black letter, quarto, London, 1601, and \$145 for "Sketches in North American and Oregon Territory," by Capt. H. Warre, London, 1848. Mr. Harper obtained for \$440 "The Bloudy Tenent of Persecution for Cause of Conscience," by Roger Williams, quarto, original calf binding, 1644. One of the most interesting items was the "Debates and other Proceedings of the Convention of Voriginia," Petersburg, 1788, the copy owned by Richard Henry Lee, one of the signers of the Declaration of Independence. It brought \$80. —*N. Y. Times*.



#### STUYVESANT SQUARE WAS NOT DEEDED TO THE CITY BY THE GOVERNOR.

Antiquarians have discovered an error in Controller Prendergast's report on the city's real estate holdings, in which the Controller says that Gov. Peter Stuyvesant deeded Stuyvesant Square to the city in 1636 for \$5. The statment which has been submitted to the Sinking Fund Commission gives the present assessed valuation of the municipal park property as contrasted with the price paid for the property.

There are two errors in the Controller's statement regarding the origin of Stuyvesant Square. In the first place, it could not have been deeded to the city in 1636 by the old Governor because Peter Stuyvesant did not arrive in the city until 1647. It was several years after that that he bought his "bouwerie" in lower Second avenue, which surrounds the present St. Mark's Church.

In the second place, Stuyvesant Square was not converted into a park until after 1836, and the donor of that east side square between Fifteenth and Seventeenth streets, on either side of Second avenue, was Peter Gerard Stuyvesant, a great-great-grandson of the Dutch Governor. The conveyance is on file in the Register's office in Liber 360, page 550, the date of record being Sept. 22, 1836. In brief, it recites that Peter Gerard Stuy-

vesant and Helen, his wife, for the sum of \$5 paid by New York City, deeded the property now known as Stuyvesant Park "upon express condition that the lands conveyed should at all times thereafter be applied to and used exclusively for the purposes of a public square."

Peter Gerard Stuyvesant's original request was that the park should be known as "Holland Square." The city officials insisted that Stuyvesant would be a more appropriate name as the property was once a part of the old farm. Mr. Stuyvesant consented to the change and it was so named by act of the Legislature in May, 1836.—*N. Y. Times*.



#### SHAKERS ABANDON ENFIELD

Enfield, Conn., Saturday, May 3, 1913.—After 125 years, and reduced in numbers from three hundred to ten, the North family of Shakers abandoned their settlement here to-day and started for the mother home in Mount Lebanon, N. Y. Their goods filled five freight cars. Valuable relics more than a century old, consisting of silks, satins, laces and linens of Shaker handiwork, were presented to the Morgan Memorial in Hartford.

The Shakers have not disposed of their 1,700 acres and forty buildings, which cost almost \$2,000,000, and which they have offered to the State for \$140,000, only one-half the amount on which they pay taxes.



#### MRS. STEVENS GIVES RARE WALL STREET VIEW TO HISTORICAL SOCIETY.

A copy of the rare Wall Street view of 1825 which was sold for \$2,010 a few days ago, the second highest price ever paid at auction for a New York print, has been presented to the New York Historical Society by Mrs. Byam Kerby Stevens. She has been a member of the society for many years, but in recognition of her gift, she was elected a fellow of the society at the last regular meeting. Mrs. Stevens told the librarian, Robert



H. Kelby, that she had owned the view for a long time, having purchased it for a very small sum. After the sale of the print for \$2,010, it was learned that Mrs. Stevens owned a copy, and she received many offers from dealers for it. One dealer offered her more than \$2,000.

Only four or five of these prints are known. Besides the one sold recently, Robert Goelet, John D. Crimmins, and Amos F. Eno own copies. The view is from Broadway looking down Wall street. It is Winter and an old-fashioned sleigh is in the foreground.—*N. Y. Times*.



#### SURVIVOR OF THREE POLAR EXPEDITIONS DIES ON LONG ISLAND

William F. C. Nindeman, a survivor of the Jeanette polar expedition and a member of the Greely relief expedition, died Tuesday at the home of his sister-in-law, Mrs. R. M. Price, in Hollis, L. I. It is believed his death was caused by grief over the death a year ago of his son, William E. A. Nindeman, who, as a student at Rensselaer Polytechnic Institute, was drowned while canoeing in the Hudson River. Ninedman had since been in failing health.

The explorer formerly lived at 150 Chestnut Street, Brooklyn. He was born in Germany on April 22, 1850. He went to sea while a lad and took part in three polar expeditions. He was one of the survivors of the ill-fated Jeannette, which sank among the ice floes in 1879. He was saved through the fact that he and his companion had been sent for aid just before the ship went down. He was awarded a medal for bravery by Congress in 1890. He was in the rescue party that went after Lieut. Greely, and was also a survivor of the Polaris expedition when he was saved after being for weeks on an ice floe. During the Russo-Japanese war he took several submarines to Japan for the Holland Submarine Boat Company.

JUNE, 1913

# AMERICANA

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GOVERNOR PETER STUYVESANT

# AMERICANA

June, 1913

## The Road to the Bouwerij

HISTORICALLY, CARTOGRAPHICALLY<sup>1</sup> AND GENEALOGICALLY  
CONSIDERED

BY HOPPER STRIKER MOTT

TRUSTEE AND TREASURER OF THE NEW YORK GENEALOGICAL AND  
BIOGRAPHICAL SOCIETY AND EDITOR OF *The New York Genea-  
logical and Biographical Record*.

[To be Completed in Three Parts]

### PART I

**A**S the original highway on the Island this road had begun to be of some importance soon after the original settlement of the hamlet which grew up around the Stuyvesant mansion. It followed the course of an Indian trail which led from the end of the Island of Manhattan to hunting grounds farther north—a trail of the warlike Wickquaesgecks when yet the primeval forest overshadowed the locality. As was to be expected this rough way was by no means a pleasant path to travel. A year after the village was established one Jansen, a boer, asked to be released from tenancy of land nearby because he had to travel two miles through a dense forest; and ten years later complaint was made that the lane was in such bad condition that people riding in the saddle were in danger of their lives. (*Ct. Mins.*, Vol. 11, 359). Those who were appointed to lay out a road over the pathway and to

1. It is advisable that this article should be read with the maps mentioned in hand. The Grim map, the original of which is at the N. Y. Historical Soc., will be found in Valentine's *Manual* of 1854, and that in Valentine's *Hist. of N. Y.*, opp. p. 379.

continue the same to the village of Nieu Haarlem were so dilatory that the Court interfered and authorized the summoning and fining of delinquent burghers whose duty it was under the ordinance to give time and labor to the task. Eventually the road was finished, not, however, without continuous prodding on the part of the Governor and Council. Beginning at the then end of Broadway, opposite the Astor House, it followed the bed of Park Row to Chatham Square, where at an earlier day was an eminence known as Werpoes (i. e., small hill) which the conformity of the land still retains. This, in 1651, had been purchased, together with other land further west, by Augustyn Heermans, a merchant of the little city of the future. In the grant, says the *Manual* of 1866, the description of property is stated to be "the land called Werpoes," containing about 50 acres.

The thoroughfare became the Bowery road to Boston—the original highway on the Island to distant points. Bouweries and plantations sprang up slowly along its line, the distinction between them being that the former were farms on which the family resided while the latter were those which were partly cultivated but on which no settlers dwelt. (*Hist. New Neth.*, Vol. II, 291).

There had been laid out north of the Fresh Water several bouweries which were originally designated by numbers 1 to 6, the most northerly of which was No. 1 and was afterwards that belonging to Stuyvesant. No date is given to the laying out of these plots which must have been prior to 1642, when Jan Jansen Damen acquired this particular bouwerie. The farms were leased by the government to various tenants and hence, in preference to their numerical designations, were commonly known by the name of their occupants, thus Bylevert's, The Schout's, Wolfert's, van Corlear's, Leendert's and Pannebacker's. After the destruction of these bouweries in the Indian war of 1642-3 it was not found possible to lease them anew without improvements and they were offered for sale. No. 1 was sold in 1651 to Damen; No. 5 in 1645 to Cornelis Clasen Swits; No. 6, 57 acres, in 1647 to Cornelis Jacobsen Stille; The Schout's bouwerij, 50 acres, to Gerrit Hendricksen and the

Pannebacker's, in 1646 to Gerret Jansen van Oldenberg. This according to Valentine's *Manual*, 1866. The bouwerij named Bylevert's or Blyvelt's was patented by Kieft to Laendert Aerden in 1645. It contained about 80 acres surrounding the present junction of Houston and First Streets and extending to the meadows along the East River. The grant described the property as follows: "A farm called Bylevert's bouwerie, lying behind Corlear's plantation, extending from the valley [swamp] next said plantation to a valley one hundred and seventy rods, further on west sixty rods, till to the wagon road, further along the wagon road north by east, a little east, one hundred and fifteen rods, then south thirty five rods, next to the land of the Schout, till to the valley about west." By successive conveyance this land became the property of James de Lancey, Sept. 5, 1734. (L. 32:489).

Pieter Bylvert, after whom this bouwerij was called, was a member of the Council, dating from 1626. He was reappointed in 1630. (*Reg. New Neth.*, 11). This body under the Dutch acted in a two-fold capacity, viz: as an Executive Council and as a Court of Justice. It was continued until the fall of the Province and was revived when New Netherland was retaken. Bylvert signed a patent for land as a member of this body in 1672. (*Hol. Docs.*, 1:44).

That farm denominated as the Schout's, so named because it was set apart as the property of the Schout, an officer whose functions were similar to those of Sheriff, was granted in 1646 to Hendricksen. It became a part of Stuyvesant's bouwerij and as such merged in his title.

Wolfert's meadows were granted by Stuyvesant April 2nd, 1650, to Wolfert Webber as a piece of land lying beyond the Fresh Water, between the land of Cornelis Jacobsen Stille and the valley or meadow ground, being in length from the beginning of the Kill (the stream which drained the Kolch pond) along the highway to the mark which divides Cornelis Jacobsen's land, 51 rods, stretching northeast further in length along said Stille's land 40 rods, south by west, along the valley to the Hoek (van Corlear's) 66 rods northwest, [Hoffman's *Estates and Rights* &c. states this direction should be north] then along



the hills to the beginning 48 rods northerly. Title was confirmed by Governor Nicolls in Annette, Webber's widow, June 18th, 1670. After a number of conveyances, to respectively A. L. Mott, Arnoult Webbers, Lawrence Colvell, William Merritt, a quondam Mayor of this city, William Janeway, Noy Willy and Christopher Bancker, this bouwerij came into possession of Isaac Roosevelt in 1792. (L. 48:6). It will be noted that Valentine (*Manual* 1860, 555) has confused the name of the original owner by granting it to Wolfert Gerritse, the van Couwenhoven ancestor.

The transports to Aerden, Hendricksen and Stille became the subject of an action brought in 1653 by Cornelis van Tienhoven, the Fiscal, on behalf of the West India Company, by which it was sought to recover title because the tithes of the crops had not been paid, according to the ground brief, and further of certain sums claimed to be due by them to the company. Because of short crops and the Indian War payment had been deferred by consent of the General and Council. Aerden protested that he would abandon the bouwerij provided the amount he had expended on it be returned. He confessed he was in the Company's debt but had signed no obligation to pay. Stille stated that he had signed such an obligation. Plaintiff was directed to produce his account against the defendants to be submitted at a future court. This on August 25th. On September 1st, Aerden, on confrontation, admitted that he owed, under his signature, fl. 1563:11 and Stille fl. 789:11:4 and were condemned to pay such amounts subject to deduction of any equitable claim which could be substantiated. As to what became of the action against Hendricksen the records are silent. (*Ct. Mins. New Amst.*, Vol. I, 105, 111).

What has become known as Corlear's Hook lay along the East River east of the Aertzen plot hereinafter described. It was a projection of land denominated a *hoek* by the Dutch and was granted to Jacob van Corlear by Gov. Wouter van Twiller before 1638. Comprising 76 acres it was used by the grantee as a tobacco plantation and later came into the possession of Secretary van Tienhoven. During his occupancy occurred the massacre of Weckquaeskecks. Hunted through the snow, half fam-

ished with cold and hunger, they had sought shelter in the neighborhood of New Amsterdam and built their fires on the outskirts of the town. The opportunity presented was too strong to be neglected, for vengeance, so long held in reserve, burned in the breasts of the whites over former indignities. In fear of this retaliation the savages scattered, some to Pavonia and some to Corlear's Hook. A blow was decided on at this place and Kieft commissioned Maryn Adriaensen to attack them "as the good Commonalty themselves solicit its execution." This document was signed February 25th, 1643, and that same night the attack was made. Thirty of the Indians were killed here. Because of this massacre arose the war which eleven different tribes proclaimed. (*N. Y. Col. Mass.*, Vol. I:194). In July, 1645, van Tienhoven deeded the plantation "commonly known as Corlear's Hook" to Conrad van Curler and he, on June 9th, 1667, to William Beekman. In L. 2 Patents, 90, is written the confirmation of title from Gov. Nicolls to said Beekman.

The earliest map of interest here is that drawn from memory by David Grim as of date 1742-4. Thereon are laid down a number of bouwerijs along the road, the only ones, however, specifically indicated being H. Rutgers' (No. 48), Minthorne's (No. 49), both at Chatham Square, and J. de Lancey's (No. 47). The Bayard property (No. 46) lay on the west side of the road below and nearly opposite the latter.

No. 48. The Rutgers family descended from Rutger Jacobsen van Schoenderwoerd (a village two miles north of Leerdam), who embarked Oct. 1st, 1636, at Texel, on the yacht *Rensselaerswyck* for Fort Orange in the service of the Patroon. He removed to New York *circa* 1693 and on May second of that year bought the dwelling house and brewery of Isaac de Forest from the latter's heirs. This property was on the north side of Stone, near Whitehall Street. (Riker's *Harlem*, 571-2). His two sons, Anthony and Harman, accompanied him from Albany. Capt. Anthony it was who drained the swamp on the site of the present Tombs and City Prison. In December, 1730, he petitioned the Council for a grant "of a certain swamp and Fresh Pond called the Fresh Water and

adjacent to the Duke's Farm. (*Docs. Col. Mss.*, Vol. V, 914). This swamp, which caused a great deal of illness, was included in a piece of 70 acres of public land which the local government could only lease for life. Anthony's petition asked that it be granted him so that he could drain it, which no mere life tenant would undertake to do. The petition was referred to the Boards of Trade, through whom Gov. William Cosby was directed to make the grant by an order of the King in Council made at Hampton Court, August 12th, 1731. The Gov. notified the Lords of Trade, Dec. 15th, 1733, that in obedience to His Majesty's instructions he had "granted the swamp and fresh water therein mentioned to Anthony Rutgers who has already been at a very great expense in draining it and must still be at much greater." (*Ibid*, 962).

Capt. Rutgers was living near William Street in 1731 (*N. Y. Gazette*, No. 321) and at about this time he built himself a house on his new farm. He died 1746. His will is of record in L. 16 of Wills, 12. One daughter, Elsie, had married Leonard Lisenard in 1741, and he bought the other shares in the North River estate in 1748. Another daughter, Mary, became the wife of Rev. Henry Barclay, rector of Trinity, in Dec., 1749. His bride was a lady "of great merit and valuable accomplishments," (*Postboy*, Dec. 18th, 1740), and the same paper on Dec. 25, 1749, contained a poem on the wedding, addressed to "Inspiring Phœbus." Mrs. Barclay's daughter, Cornelia, married Col. Stephen de Lancey and another daughter, Anna Dorothea, was the wife of Col. Beverly Robinson. Her son, Col. Thomas Barclay, married Susan de Lancey and it was one of their daughters who was the wife of Peter G. Stuyvesant. John Morin Scott, the patriot, married Helena, a granddaughter of Anthony Rutgers and a daughter of his son, Peter. Scott was a graduate of Yale, a distinguished lawyer and politician, who served as Brig. Gen. in the Revolution. In 1777 he became Sec. of State of New York and was a member of the Continental Congress in 1782-3.

Harman, the brother of Anthony, lived with his father in Stone street, and engaged in business with him as a brewer. When his father died he removed to a house on the north side



of Maiden Lane at the corner of present Gold Street and established a brewery there. He was one of the struck jury in the famous Zenger trial in 1735. Zenger had reflected in his newspaper upon the course of Gov. Cosby's supporters in the Council in the controversy with Hon. Rip van Dam, the President thereof. He was indicted for seditious libel. The jury acquitted him and sustained the freedom of the press. (*N. Y. Genealogical and Biographical Record*, Vol. 17).

Harmanus Rutgers acquired the northern plot as shown on this map four years prior to that to which this No. 48 is attached but at the date of the map he owned the two pieces of contiguous land. Both plots were patented March 18, 1647 by Gov. Kieft to Cornelis Jacobsen Stille, the ancestor of the Somerindyck and Woertendyk families, who was in New Amsterdam as early as May of 1639. He held other land, notably Sec. van Tienhoven's bouwerij in the Smee Vly, which he leased May 13th, 1643.

The original Stille farm house was situated at the head of Chatham Square, on the North West corner of present East B'way, the kitchen standing on the opposite side of that thoroughfare. His land was transferred to Augustyn Heermans prior to 1668, the parcels containing respectively, the southern 22 acres and the northern, being Bowery 6, theretofore in the possession of Wolfert Gerritse, 57½ acres. Heermans was a Bohemian who was quite a figure in the history of his time. Appointed one of the Nine Men, September 25th, 1647, he was reappointed in 1650. This body of men represented Manhattans, Breuckelen, Amersfoort and Pavonia and were the immediate predecessors of the Burgomasters and Schepens and of a municipal form of government in the city of New Amsterdam. (*New Netherland Register*). He married in Dec. of the latter year, Janneke, sister of Mrs. Casper Varleth, who became, 1666, the wife of Nicholas Bayard (*Ct. Mins. N. Amst.*, Vol. I, 326) and lived in the Smee Vly (Smith's Valley) i. e. the West side of Pearl Street, between Wall Street and Franklin Square. (*Ibid.*, Vol. 5, 225). In 1653 he sued a carpenter concerning the building of his house which we find was, in 1673, right under the walls of Fortress William Henry in New



Orange as the city was then known. On October 17th, of that year, in furtherance of the defences of the city, he was ordered to demolish and remove it to a lot, which would be given him, of the same valuation in lieu of his loss. (*Ibid*, Vol. 7, 13). Other services he rendered his city were as Selectman (*Docs. Col. Hist.*, Vol. I, 421); Ambassador to Rhode Island, April, 1652; commissioner to treat with the Esopus Indians, 1658 (*New Neth. Register*) and Ambassador to Maryland, Sept., 1659 (*Docs. Col. Hist.*, Vol. II, 84). His sketch of New Amsterdam is engraved on Nicolaes Jan Vischer's map, published 1650-6. In consideration of his preparation of a map of Maryland he was granted a patent by the first Lord Baltimore, which manor, situated in Cecil Co., he named New Bohemia. Here two brethren, followers of John de Labadie, finally located a colony of the sect called Labadists. They came from Friesland to New York in 1679 where they sought proselytes. Professing the doctrines of the Dutch Church they adopted also some peculiarities, more of practise than of faith, not very dissimilar to those of the Shakers of modern times. Ephraim, a son of Heermans, became one of the principal converts and through him they obtained the lands of Maryland. (*Anthology of New Neth.*, 95).

The 22 acre piece was transferred by Heermans, July 9, 1672, to John Payne of Boston (*L. A. N. Y. Records*, 141) and by Thomas Fayerweather, grandson and heir-at-law of the latter, to Hermanus Rutgers, June 20th, 1732. (*L.* 23:28). The 57½ acres passed from the Heermans' control by conveyance dated Jan. 10th, 1685, to Wolfert Webber and Hendrick Cornelissen (van Schaick) the former being the publican whose tavern stood on the land "beyond Fresh Water" which Stuyvesant patented to him April 2nd, 1650, and of whom Washington Irving wrote so entertainingly. Webber's house was built in 1648 and was the centre of many scenes of stirring incident, having been frequently assaulted and robbed in times of Indian troubles. (*Valentine's Hist.*, 69). Through the van Schaicks, Rutgers acquired title June 9th, 1728 (*L.* 33:21) and these two plots, one a plantation and the other a bouwerij, be-

came the famous Rutgers farm. This land supplied his breweries with barley.

In 1728 the van Schaick farm house stood on the Bowery Road at about where is now the South East corner of East Broadway and Oliver Street. The barn was near the present South East corner of Catherine and Division Streets. On this farm Hendrick Rutgers, second son of Harman took up his residence and had a brew house, during his father's lifetime. In 1731 the N. Y. Assembly met "in the house of Mr. Rutgers near the Bowery road" on account of the smallpox which was prevalent in town. (*Mrs. Lamb's Hist.*, Vol., I, 536). He died in August, 1753. *The Gazette* of August 13th, contains this paragraph: "Thursday last departed this life in an advanced age Mr. Harmanus Rutgers, a very eminent brewer of this city and a worthy, honest man." He left his dwelling, malt house, brew house, negro kitchen, malt mill and mill house in Maiden Lane and Rutgers Street to the widow of his son Harman for life (L. 18 wills, 347) who was Elizabeth Benson. She appears to have carried on the brewery herself for some time. (*N. Y. His. Soc. Colls.*, 1881, XIV, 12). In her old age she became noted as the plaintiff in the suit of Elizabeth Rutgers vs. Joshua Waddington. She had fled from New York at the opening of the Revolution and defendant Waddington had occupied her house under British military authority. The Legislature of New York passed an act giving a right of action for trespass to the former owner against the occupant in such cases. This suit was tried in 1784 and made a test case. Alexander Hamilton appeared as counsel for the defendant. The Court disregarded the statute and decided in favor of Waddington. This decision, rendered in the Mayor's Court, August 7, 1784, affected many similar actions and was regarded as a great Tory victory. A mass meeting was held to protest against it. (*N. Y. Packet*, Nov. 4th, 1784).

Harman, having left the greater part of his Maiden Lane property to the family of his deceased son Harman, provided for his younger son, Hendrick, by leaving him in his will the Bowery farm which he had bought of the van Schaicks and others, "where he, my said son, now lives." This devise in-

cluded a brew house which stood on that part of the farm now bounded by Henry, Madison, Jefferson and Clinton Streets. (This latter street was originally known as Warren Street. The name was changed to Clinton in 1795, *Ms. Mins. Com. Coun.*, Vol. 11, 241). On January 9, 1732, Hendrick married Catharine, daughter of Johannes de Peyster, quondam Mayor. Soon after his father's death in 1753 he built a residence for his own occupancy, of brick brought from Holland, on the East River farm near the brew house. Just west of the brew house was a fish pond which emptied into the river between the present Rutgers and Jefferson Streets. A garden east of the house remained unchanged for over a century and another garden and various outbuildings occupied the land between the house and the brewery.

The city in time grew towards Hendrick's farm and he had a portion of it laid out in streets and lots. He agreed with James de Lancey on a boundary line in which Division and Little Division Streets were named. Hendrick named Catharine Street after his wife and Bancker and Bedlow Streets for two of his sons-in-law. Henry Street bears the name of one of his sons. Harman Street has become East Broadway. The present Rutgers Street was so called on Ratzer's map of 1766-7, where also some of the above streets are laid down. Oak Street once bore that name but it became so disreputable that it was changed in deference to the family. George and Charlotte Streets have dropped their royal titles and are today plain Market and Pike Streets. (*Post's Old Streets*). The property owners on Bancker Street petitioned in 1826 that its name be altered because a notorious class of degraded people lived there, thus rendering the name odious. One of the Aldermen facetiously suggested Rose Street but on the recommendation of the Street Commissioner, to whom the matter was referred, Madison Street was selected October 23rd, of that year. (*Original Ms. Mins. Com. Coun.*, Vol. 58, 343).

When the war broke out Hendrick with other patriots was obliged to leave the city and took up his residence at Albany. There he died in 1779. This event is noted in Rivington's *Royal Gazette*, August 7th, as follows: "On the 13th instant,



died at Albany, in his sixty-ninth year, Hendrick Rutgers Esq., a member of the Dutch Reformed Church and a gentleman of very large estate in this city." In his will he gave 200 pounds a year to his widow. To his son, Henry, he bequeathed all his land between Rutgers and Clinton Streets, including his house, brew house and other buildings. His other property he divided among his children. His eldest daughter, Catharine, married William Bedlow, grandson of Isaac Bedlow of Bedlow's Island. His second daughter, Anna, became Mrs. William Bancker and his two younger daughters married respectively Gerard de Peyster and Dr. Stephen McRae.

The only son of Hendrick who survived him was Hendrick (Henry) Rutgers. Born 1745, he entered the Continental Army at the outbreak of the Revolution. The Rutgers house during the British occupation was used as a hospital. The marks of confiscation on its doors were visible in 1830. The brewery was first used as the hospital kitchen and afterwards a repository for naval stores. (*Vide* order of Major General Pattison, *N. Y. His. Soc. Colls.*, VIII, 233). He was an officer of militia after the war. On October 24th, 1788, the *New York Gazette* of October 30th, announced that the 1st Reg. N. Y. Militia, under Major Henry Rutgers, was reviewed by Brigadier Gen. Malcom. The parade ground was on his own land.

During all these years his property was increasing in value. He remembered the time when his father could stand at his door and call his men working on the farm where Chatham Sq. now is and he lived to see his private grounds reduced in size to the two blocks bounded by Madison, Cherry, Clinton and Jefferson Streets. The entrance was on the latter street. The rest of the farm was rapidly covered with houses but the work of building was not completed until after his death. Meanwhile his transactions in real estate were very extensive. He was accustomed to rent his lots on long leases to tenants who built their own houses. Over four hundred deeds and leases of his are on record in the Register's Office. He donated seven lots in 1790 for a Dutch Church, four lots to the Scotch Church and two to the Second Baptist. In 1797 he made a gift of five lots on the North West corner of Henry and Rutgers Streets



to the First Presbyterian Church and he added two lots at another time. He contributed a large amount toward building the edifice and was one of its elders. This edifice was sold and the congregation moved up town and is now the Rutgers Presbyterian Church at the South West corner of Broadway and 73rd. He also gave ground for the Market Street Dutch Reformed Church at the North West corner of Market and Henry Streets. He contributed largely to its funds and was an elder to his death. He was always interested in the College at New Brunswick, N. J., which was founded in 1770 as Queens College by the Dutch Church. After the Revolution it lay dormant until Col. Rutgers aided in calling it to life. It received the name of Rutgers College from the trustees "as a mark of their respect for his character and in gratitude for his numerous services rendered to the Dutch Reformed Church."

In 1806 Col. Rutgers donated two lots on Henry Street near Pike to The Society for Establishing a Free School in the City of New York. At that time the land was estimated to be worth some \$2,500. The school erected thereon was then known as "the old Seventh Ward School" and is now Public School No. 2. It is the second edifice on the site and celebrated its centenary on Nov. 13, 1911. In those early days the region was not the conglomerated district that it is to-day and Montgomery, Henry and Pike Streets were lined with neat brick dwellings with carved doorways and knockers and all that distinguished the houses of substantial citizens. Now about the only English heard in its vicinage comes from the classrooms of the school. Alien languages are heard almost exclusively outside its walls and crowded tenements, occupied largely by Russians, now surround it on every side. A tablet, erected by the Alumni Association to commemorate the One Hundredth Anniversary of the Founding of the School, was unveiled May 25th, 1912. The newspaper accounts stated that Henry Street was crowded. The tablet was covered with American flags and all eyes were upon it, from the windows of the tenements across the way, from the little children and pushcart men and lemonade vendors who jostled in the streets below. School No. 1 was begun in 1806 in Bancker Street and after a number of removals is

now located in Henry Street, near Oliver. This school cost \$13,000 and took all the funds the society had to erect. Consequently when Col. Rutgers gave his lots and fixed as a condition that a new school should be erected there by June, 1811, it caused some anxious moments to finance the enterprise. Public subscriptions were obtained in due season and the cornerstone was laid on November 11, 1810.

The Rutgers Female Institute was another of the beneficiaries of the Rutgers' bounty. In 1838 the Col. gave the lots in Bancker Street on which its original building stood. The Rutgers Fire Insurance Co. was organized in 1853 and took its name because its principal office was on Chatham Square near the farm. For further interesting particulars relative to the Rutgers family *Vide The N. Y. Genealogical and Biographical Record*, 1886.

No. 49 on the Grim map. The Minthorne tract at Chatham Sq. was patented by Gov. Stuyvesant in two parcels; on Oct. 16th, 1653, two morgen and a half (5 acres) to Paulus Schrick, and on June 20th, 1656, land adjoining to Willem Beekman. The entire plot was conveyed to Domine Megapolensis by these parties during 1661 and 1662 and confirmed by the English Governor Nicolls Jan. 15th, 1667. Six years later it became vested in P. Wolfert Webbers, who transferred part of it to Philip Minthorne, July 22, 1699, and part to Jacques Fontaine the same year. The latter parcel was deeded to Minthorne in 1715. *Vide* map, Hoffman, Vol. II, 212. The Webber homestead near Chatham Sq. became the property of said Minthorne under the will of Wolfert Webber, who Valentine says was probably the earliest settler on the Bowery Lane. Therein he nominated his "well beloved son-in-law, Philip Minthorne of the Outward, Wheelwright, executor," and left to him and his wife Hillegarde "all that my dwelling house and lot, orchard and pasture, with all that certain parcel of land at the Bowery on the south side of Captain Blagge, joining the Kings Farm commonly called the Negroes farm, about 32 acres, with all appurtenances." Will dated April 15th, 1715, was proved Feb. 5th, 1717, and is unrecorded. (*Hist. Soc. Coll.*, 1902, 33). We are satisfied that the note thereto errs in the location of the

farm. Minthorne was elected Assessor of the Bowery Division of the Outward at a session of the Common Council held Sept. 29th, 1704, and was reappointed in 1710. (*Mins. C. C.*, Vol. 2: 272, 416). He was assistant from Sept. 29th, 1718, and in that capacity served on numerous committees of the Board. He died in office about 1727. (*Ibid*, Vol. 4, 464).

His son, Philip, succeeded him as Assessor and later as Assistant. In 1751\* he sold between 12 and 13 acres of his inheritance for £900 to John Kingston, a blacksmith and Jacob Read, a tailor, which land lay on the west side of present Chat-ham Sq. and covered parts of the territory through which Mott, Baxter (Orange) Mulberry and Park (Cross) Streets run *Vide* map in Valentine's *History &c.*, under No. 22 for location. Philip Minthorne Jr.'s will, dated Aug. 18th, 1732, was not proved until March 10th, 1756. (L. 19 wills, 380). He styles himself "a yeoman of the Bowery" and grants power to his executors to sell "all my right and title to a certain piece of land on the Island of Manhattan, near the Bowery, commonly called and known by the name of the Negroes Cagee." Two certain tan yards next adjoining to the other tan yards at the Fresh Water he devised to his three sisters. The Kingston property was at once divided into lots and ready sale was found for them. A map was prepared on which these lots were designated by number. No. 58 thereon, bounded in front by Mulberry St., was sold to John Martin (Koper). On August 23rd, 1757, his wife Elizabeth released her dower therein to David Provoost, merchant. (*Calendar N. Y. Hist. Mss.*, Vol. LXXXV, 6).

The United Brethren's Church, the certificate of incorporation of which was filed April 18th, 1794 (L. I, Rel. Incorp., 20) owned part of this farm comprising seven lots, fronting 177 ft. on Mott and including the corner of Pell street. The land was later leased by the church to Samuel W. Disbrow, for

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\*To be sold. A small plantation in the Outward, bounded on the east side of Fresh Water and pleasantly situated on the High Road belonging to the Estate of John Minthorne, late deceased. There is on it a good Dwelling House, Barn and Orchard and contains about 15 acres of Land. Any person wishing to purchase may apply to John van Dursen in Broad Street, one of the Executors of the said Deceased. And indisputable Title will be given. (*N. Y. Gazette*, revived in the Weekly Post Boy, March 11th, 1751).



twenty-one years, from May first, 1817 (L. 286: 158) at a rental of \$110 a year with two renewals of twenty-one years each. On March 8th, 1884, the trustees petitioned the Supreme Court for leave to sell the lots for \$86,500; \$16,500 in cash and the balance on mortgage. It was stated in the petition that the buildings thereon had stood for many years and were greatly out of repair and that the largest net income derived therefrom in any year had been \$4,800. The prayer was granted March 10th, and deed, dated April 21, 1884, delivered to Benjamin Sire. (L. 1801: 84). The street numbers included in this transaction 24, 26, 28, 30, 32, 34, 36, 38 Mott Street and 31 Pell Street. The Moravian Church used this property for burial purposes. Their first church was erected on two lots on Fair (Fulton) Street which they purchased in 1715. This plot was later sold when the church removed to the corner of Mott and Houston Streets and opened a house of worship on June 29th, 1845. (*Greenleaf's Churches of New York*).

A contiguous strip was purchased April 30th, 1793 (L. 55: 26) by Hendrick Doyer, being one-half of a certain plot of ground which the Commissioners of Forfeiture conveyed to Comfort Sands and James Dunlap, August 16th, 1784 (L. 44: 374) consideration £1,700 under this description: Beginning on the west side of the Bowery Lane at the south west corner of a certain lot in possession of Peter Webber and running along the said Bowery Lane 200 ft., thence along the lot of ground in possession of John Vaugh 154 ft., thence along the rear of said lot 12 ft., thence along the Moravian Burying Ground 202 ft., thence along Pell Street 169 ft., thence along the lot of Edward Money, 93 ft., thence along the rear of said lot 50 ft., and thence along the lot of said Peter Webber 100 ft., to the place of beginning. Sands and his wife Sarah conveyed one-half of this land to Dunlap, Oct. 1st, 1787, (L. 44: 375), consideration £700, who in conjunction with his wife, Jane transferred title to Doyer on the date above mentioned, consideration £2,200. Doyer caused the premises to be divided into city lots and a map to be made by Charles Loss, C. S., March 14th, 1805. (No. 482 in Register's office). Lot. No. 20 on this map became the property of Thomas R. Mercein, who was Comptroller of the



city and Treasurer of the Committee of Defense during the war of 1812, by deed dated Aug. 1st, 1827 (L. 226: 305) consideration \$5,000. He died seized thereof Oct. 24th, 1843. His will, dated Dec. 14th, 1842 (L. 89: 77) bequeathed all his estate to his wife Mary for life, which on her demise should be sold and avails divided between his children, viz: Imogene, Rosalie, Isabella, Eliza Ann and T. Fitz Randolph and his granddaughter, Mary Araminta Swain. Letters issued to his wife as executrix Dec. 29th, 1843 (L. 6: 114) who transferred this lot to James P. Swain July 22nd, 1844 (L. 449: 476) for \$3,510.

The tract which Doyer bought was a prettily wooded piece of land. Thereon he kept tea gardens to which numbers of the gentry used to resort. In addition he carried on a distillery and likewise a grocery store. This distillery, says Valentine's *Manual*, 1866, 583, was one of the most ancient edifices on the line of the Bowery Lane and probably dated from the Dutch era. Situated at the junction of Doyer Street it was a landmark when Doyer purchased its site, which embraced the triangular piece of ground bounded by Doyer and Pell Streets and Bowery Lane. The house was a double one of one story, facing Chatham Sq. on Doyer Street, with the distillery standing in the rear. The *Manual* quotes "the publications of the day" as stating that this house was originally owned by Domine de Riemer, who also owned property of 70 acres on the opposite side of Bowery Lane extending to the East River, which was sold for \$1,400 to James de Lancey. In this statement Valentine has erred. There was no Domine of the Dutch Church named de Riemer. He was evidently confused with the fact that Isaac de Riemer's daughter, Margharetta, the widow of Hon. Cornelis Steenwyck, Burgomaster (*N. N. Register*) Member of the Council, 1674, Mayor of New York 1688, to mention but a few of the posts he filled, married Oct. 20th, 1686, Domine Henricus Selyns, pastor of the Church in the Fort and later of the Garden Street Church (*N. Y. Col. Mss.*, Vol. III, 646) who owned a farm nearby. The distillery was demolished in 1796. Doyer died in Jan., 1815; will dated Sept. 17th, 1798. (L. 52: 118). He left him surviving his widow Antonia and three children, viz: Anthony H. Doyer, who died in 1818, Tanneke Eliz-





ANCIENT VIEW OF CHATHAM SQUARE

A, Catiemuts Hill; B, The Fresh Water; C, The Fresh Water Bridge; D, The Jews' Burying Ground; E, Rutgers Farm House; F, The Bowery Road; G, Ferry Road (present Pearl Street); H, Road to the City; I, Road to Ralph Pond; J, Commons; K, Meadow

abeth, wife of John Larocque, and William Doyer. (Original abstract).

Previous to the Revolution "the street leading from the Goal to fresh water" (Chatham Street) was regulated agreeably to the order of the Corporation. Certain damages had been awarded and paid to the abutting owners because thereof. Mangle Minthorne, a son of the above, Philip, born after the execution of his will and so not named therein, and who had not been compensated as were the others, petitioned Mar. 11th, 1784, for the repayment of expenses incurred by altering his house at No. 112 Chatham Street which became necessary by reason of such work. No success attended his effort at this time. Another petition of date Oct. 26th, 1785, met with better treatment and was referred to Aldermen William W. Gilbert and Abraham van Gelder and Assistant William Malcom, whose report dated Jan. 17th, 1787, recommended that a warrant for £32 be drawn in his favor for such damage, that being the same amount paid to his neighbors some years previously. (*Ms. Mins. C. C.*, Vol. 8: 26, 353, 519).

An ordinance for digging out "the Head of Chatham Street," adjoining the Bowery Lane, the lots of Hendrick Doyer and the ground purchased of Mrs. Bancker by the Mechanics Society, was read and passed by the Board Sept. 16th, 1793. (*Ibid*, Vol. 11: 63).

No. 47 on the Grim Map. James de Lancey, the eldest son of the Lieut. Gov. and grandson of Etienne, the pioneer, acquired his immense Bowery farm by inheritance in 1760. The Chief Justice, his father, obtained the pieces of land which finally composed it in separate parcels and from different owners. In 1734 he began the acquisition by purchasing a small plot which fronted on the East side of the Lane and was bounded North by land of Isaac de Peyster and South by that of Isaac Gouverneur. It had been patented to Hans Kierstede in 1645, whose city residence was on Broad Street, near Exchange Place. He was a physician and surgeon in the employ of the West India Company, having come from Maegdenberg with Gov. Kieft in March, 1638. He married June 29th, 1642, Sara Roelofs, the daughter of Roelof Jansen and Anneke Jans of Trinity Church



celebrity. In 1741 de Lancey took three adjoining parcels, the first extending from the Bowery Lane to the East River. This tract, containing about 91 acres, had been granted by Gov. Kieft, February 17th, 1646, to Garret Jansen van Oldenbach and was originally known as the Pannebacker's (i. e. Tile Baker's) Bowery. It extended "along the wagon road till Hans Kierstede's plantation and further on straight through the woods to the division line of Laendert Aerden" which bounded it partly on the North. It belonged to Isaac Gouverneur, 1728.

The second acquisition that de Lancey made in 1741 was a plot of 25 acres, near Corlear's Hook, just Southeast of the Pannebacker's Bowery and forming part of its southern boundary, which had been granted by Kieft to Claes van Eslandt, who came hither in the service of the West India Company as a clerk. He used this property as a plantation and when conveyed by him to Jan Cornelissen came into possession of Wolfert Webber in 1647. Gov. Lovelace confirmed this land, June 17th, 1670, to Annecke, widow of said Webber. On Nov. 11th of that year she transferred title to A. Moll (L. A.: 122) with other land. Cornelis Steenwyck and Oloff Stevensen van Cortlandt purchased the plot in 1671 and received a deed bearing date March 17th. Before 1728 it became vested in Isaac Gouverneur and in 1741 was acquired by Col. de Lancey.

The third parcel, containing 22 acres, adjoined Jacob Corlear's plantation and belonged to Cornelis Aartsen, who was a farmer, an Overseer of the Common Fences on the Island in 1655 (*Court Mins. N. A.*, Vol. I: 320) and tenant of Stuyvesant's Bouwerij, then in the name of Jan Jansen Damen. In that capacity he had long supplied the families of the city with country produce. (Valentine's *Hist. of N. Y.*, 105). While in charge thereof he had engaged one Cornelis Jansen, a wood sawyer, to remain there with him during the Indian troubles. He was sued by said Jansen, May 1st, 1656, for wages and, while acknowledging the hiring, he set up that he was not responsible because Jansen was engaged during the absence of the Honorable General by direction of the Fiscaal Cornelis van Tienhoven and not by him. He offered, nevertheless, to pay

him if he could deduct the amount from the rent of the bouwerij. The Court decided against him and ordered payment. (*Ct. Mins.*, Vol. 2: 91). The 22 acres were confirmed in Aertzen's heirs by Gov. Lovelace Sept. 16th, 1669. These, viz: Arien, Hendrik and Lysbert Cornelissen conveyed it to John Berry, Jan. 16th, 1669-70. In 1765 de Lancey also became possessed of Bowery No. 5, which fronted on the Lane and lay between Bowery No. 6 (the Stille plantation) on the South and Pannebacker's Bowery on the North. This comprised 50 acres and had been granted by Kieft to Cornelius Claesen (Swits) Dec. 13th, 1645 and became the property of Willem Beekman on March 22nd, 1653, in whom it was confirmed by the English Gov. Nicolls, Aug. 10th, 1667. (L. 2: 91, Albany). This was likewise vested in Isaac Gouverneur before 1728 and in de Lancey prior to 1741. In an agreement between Hendrik Rutgers and said de Lancey, Oct. 31st, 1765 (L. 48: 304) the settlement of the division line between their lands was affected and two streets arranged to be opened, which streets are laid down on Ratzer's map of 1766-7 as Division Street and Little Division (now Montgomery) Street. *Vide* Diagram 10, Hoffman, for the relative location of these plots.

This land ran East of the Bowery, between Division and Canal Streets on the West and on a line between Clinton and Attorney Streets on the East to a North point there between Broome and de Lancey Streets. Wolfert Webber owned land East by North which extended as far as Sheriff Street, which received its name from Col. Marinus Willett, a leading spirit among the Sons of Liberty and one of the most efficient officers in the American Army of the Revolution, who was Sheriff of the city from 1784-7. The Court Minutes of April 2nd, 1667 (Vol. 6: 66) tell of a controversy concerning the boundary of this Bowery No. 5. At the request of Webber, arbitrators were appointed to decide the matter between him and Willem Beekman, represented by Thomas Hall and Jan Vinje, attorneys. It was ordered that as soon as Jacques Cortelyou, of Long Island, a surveyor, was again in town, the land should be measured by him in presence of Jacob van Couwenhoven, Egbert Woutersen, Cornelis Aartsen and Albert Leendertsen and three

commissioners from the Bench, viz: Jan Laurens, Cornelis Steenwyck and Johannes de Peyster, who should decide the issue or render an account to the Court.

James de Lancey, the son, was born in New York in 1732, educated at Eton and Cambridge and entered the army on his return to his native city at the outbreak of the French war. He served in the Niagara campaign of 1755 under Sir William Johnson and commanded the detachment that, aided only by a small reinforcement under Col. Massey, defeated the French force sent to succor Fort Niagara and compelled the surrender of that work on the day following. He also served as aide-de-camp to Gen. Abercrombie in the expedition against Ticonderoga in 1758. On succeeding to his father's estate on the latter's death, July 30th, 1760, thereby becoming the richest man in America, he took a prominent part in public life. While Member of the Provincial Assembly during 1768-1775 he assumed the leadership of the conservative party and refused a seat in the Council lest it might hamper his freedom of action. He was the author of the resolution, adopted March 25th, 1775, ordering that a petition be sent to the King, a memorial to the Lords and a remonstrance to the Commons demanding redress of the grievances of the Colonists. These were subsequently presented by Edmund Burke but contemptuously refused and voted down. The remonstrance to the Commons was drafted by de Lancey. In May, 1775, he sailed for England to urge the views of the New York Assembly on the home government. But he was unsuccessful and as hostilities had meantime begun he decided to remain abroad and in the following year sent for his family. He never returned to this country. (*Appleton's Cyclopaedia of Amer. Biog.*) He married Margaret, daughter of Chief Justice William Allen, of Philadelphia, by whom he had two sons, one of whom was in the British Navy and the other in the army, who died bachelors, and three daughters, the eldest the wife of Sir Jukes Granville Clifton, Bart. De Lancey died in Bath, England, 1800.

The Bowery Estate in 1775 comprised what were, in 1877, says Edward Floyd de Lancey, the 10th, 13th, nearly the whole of the 11th, one-third of the 7th, and nearly one-quarter of the



17th, Wards, with a water frontage of over a mile on the East River. On page 544 of Jones' *Hist. of New York*, Vol. II, the same authority states that the Mansion House was a large double brick edifice with extensive grounds and a drive leading to it, under large trees. It fronted on the Bowery and stood back nearly on the line of First Street, between de Lancey and Rivington Streets. It was occupied as a hospital for American troops in the summer of 1776 and subsequently and during the war by British troops for the same purpose, say the de Lancey notes. On First Street stood de Lancey's running stable and in Second Street a paddock for horses and near it a private half-mile track to train them.

One of the early acts (May, 1665) of Col. Richard Nicolls, the successor of Stuyvesant, was to establish a race course on Long Island, name it Newmarket, after the famous course of that name in England and direct that a plate should be run for every year. It was laid out on Hempstead Plains and was the first course in America. He was moved thereto in order to encourage the breed of horses, which through great neglect had been impaired and "not so much for the divertisement of youth." (*Hist. of Queens County*, 57). In April, 1669, Gov. Lovelace ordered the justices of Hempstead to receive subscriptions from all such as were disposed to run for a crown of silver or the value thereof in good wheat "for the purpose of improving and encouraging a good breed of horses." (Thompson's *Hist. Long Island*, Vol. I: 271). The description of the ground on which this sport was inaugurated is given in a *Brief Description*, London, 1701, by Daniel Denton, writing as of 1670, who says: "Toward the middle of Long Island lyeth a plain sixteen miles long and four broad where you shall find neither stick nor stone to hinder the horses' heels or endanger them in their races; and once a year the best horses in the Island are brought hither to try their swiftness and the swiftest rewarded with a silver cup, two being annually procured for that purpose." A London book, 1776, says: "These Plains were celebrated for their races throughout all the Colonies and even in England. They were held twice a year, for a silver



cup, to which the gentry of New England and New York resorted." (*Hist. of Queens County*, 58).

Bradford's *New York Gazette*, Sept. 20th, 1736, announced a turf event in New York which is the earliest advertisement of the kind that has been traced:

"On Wednesday, the 13th, of October next, will be run for, on the course at New York, a plate of twenty pounds value, by any horse, mare or gelding, carrying ten stone, saddle and bridle included, the best of three heats, two miles each heat. Horses intended to run for the plate are to be entered the day before the race, with Francis Child, on Fresh Water Hill, paying a half pistole each, or at the post on the day of running, paying a pistole. And the next day being the 14th, will be run for, on the same course, by all or any of the horses that started for the twenty pound plate (the winning horse excepted) the entrance money on the conditions above. Proper judges will be named to determine any disputes that may arise. All persons on horseback or in chairs coming into the field (the subscribers and winning horse only excepted) are to pay sixpence each to the owner of the grounds."

Fresh Water Hill was the commencement of the Bowery Lane but just where "the course at New York" was cannot be definitely told. Perhaps it was the private training course above mentioned. The de Lancey racing stable was the most expensive of any at the North. In Oct., 1769, he imported horse, Lath, brought home from the Centre Course, at Philadelphia, the £100 prize and from this period to the Revolution his colors were on every track of note. There is no record, however, of a race of any horse belonging to this stable on local courses. The newspapers are curiously silent concerning sporting matters. Doubtless such events were advertised in the taverns of the time and newspaper comment was needless or else deemed *infra dig*.

(*End of Part One*)

# Recollections of the Prison Life of Jefferson Davis at Fortress Monroe, Virginia

By LEMUEL SHIPMAN

Contributed to AMERICANA by William J. Dietrich

WITH AN INTRODUCTION BY JOHN HOWARD BROWN

**L**IEUT. LEMUEL SHIPMAN, was the officer in charge of the artillerymen assigned to guard, as prisoners of war: Jefferson Davis, President of the Confederate States of America; Clement Claiborne Clay, Confederate States Senator and secret emissary of the Confederate government to Canada, who on learning that a reward was offered by the Federal Government for his capture, voluntarily returned to the United States and surrendered his person to the Government; and John Mitchel, the Irish Patriot and editor of the *Richmond Examiner*, charged with treason.

What he saw and heard, and his impression of the scenes incident to the transfer of these notable prisoners to the casements of the fortress, Lieutenant Shipman recorded in his diary at the time, but never before made public. In 1910 while William Joseph Dietrich was pursuing historical and biographical research in Northumberland County, Pa., he met Lieut. Shipman and heard the story of his connection with the imprisonment of Jefferson Davis, and Mr. Dietrich as a historian at once detected in it much new matter bearing on the question of the treatment of the leader of the secession movement after his capture. At his earnest solicitation the aged Federal officer dictated from his diary the following story and it was taken down in the narrator's own words and is now added to the

unwritten history of the Civil War through the pages of the *AMERICANA*. The reliability of the narrator is vouched for by Mr. Dietrich, and the editor of *AMERICANA* feels it due to the public that its readers should know more of the finder, preserver and propagator of this valuable historical data:

William Joseph Dietrich, a descendant in the fifth generation from Adam Dietrich<sup>1</sup> (1740-1817) and from John Ludwig Seaman,<sup>1</sup> both natives of Southern Germany on the upper Rhine; through John Michael,<sup>2</sup> Henry B.,<sup>3</sup> William J.,<sup>4</sup> and Susan F. (Seaman<sup>4</sup>) Dietrich, was born in West Hamburg, Upper Berne Township, Berks County, Pa., May 12, 1875. He was brought up on his father's farm, attended public and private school and was graduated in pedagogy at the Keystone State Normal School in 1898. He taught both day and night school in his native county and became an active member of the Berks County Historical Society to which society he contributed valuable historical and genealogical data as the result of painstaking and indefatigable research in the archives of the historical society of the state and in the homes of Colonial families who gave him access to priceless family records.

He founded the Dietrich Family Association in 1903 along original lines and in 1904 called together, as its secretary, the first reunion held Aug. 13, of that year to which 2,500 accredited members of the family attended and a still larger number in 1906. He also furnished information to others as to his methods used in arousing interest in family history, and of the Dietrich Family he compiled after painstaking research complete records of twenty ancestors of the name, related in the fatherland but unknown to each other in America up to the time he began his research. He was also employed in the compilation of exhaustive histories of Berks and Northumberland counties and introduced to them a new feature; an instruction guide to the organization of family reunions, a subject of growing importance and intense interest to the owners of the works. He was one of a committee of four historians entrusted to write the anniversary history of Lehigh County and proved to be the most helpful and valuable member of the committee, as he added to his skill



as a historian his valuable business experience in making the work popular and greatly increasing its circulation.

As a publisher, the responsibility of which business he assumed in 1912, he made an instant success and bids fair to become a leader in historical research in Eastern Pennsylvania and in the portions of New Jersey, Delaware and Maryland settled by the immigrants of the Upper Rhine who first introduced progressive agriculture in America as practised in the Fatherland for generations, especially on the fertile soils of the Rhine and made the section known as the garden spot of Europe before the ruin of the thirty years wars so devastated the agricultural and vine growing industries, and which led to the depopulation of the Palatinate, and caused an exodus of the ruined farmers and vine dressers to England and then to the Hudson and Schoharie valleys in 1709 and later to Pennsylvania, through the generous inducements offered by William Penn.

Mr. Dietrich was married May 20, 1899, to Sallie M., daughter of James M. Merkel, of Berne. They reside in Allentown, Pa., with their three children, Naomi Evangeline, Ruth Emily and William Joseph Dietrich, Jr. He became an active member of the Berks County Historical Society, of the Pennsylvania German Society, and the Lehigh County Historical Society to each of which he was a valued contributor to its archives, on genealogical and biographical subjects. He is the author of "Caves of Richmond and Pennsylvania Township, Berks County," published in pamphlet form and largely distributed. His contribution to the pages of *The Penn Germania*, published monthly at Litiz, Pa., and edited by H. W. Kriebel, are an interesting feature of that valued magazine.

\* \* \* \* \*

Lieut. Lemuel Shipman's Recollections of the Prison Life of Jefferson Davis and Clement C. Clay at Fortress Monroe in 1865 are as follows:

During the Civil War (1861-65), I was a member of, and served as First Lieutenant of Battery D, Third Pennsylvania Heavy Artillery. In consequence of the constant illness and ultimate convalescence of my Captain Edwin A. Evans, before and during the time of this imprisonment of Jefferson Davis, Clement



C. Clay, Jr., and John Mitchel (The Irish Patriot), I was on duty with the Regiment and for a long time Commanding Officer of my Battery until the final muster out on Nov. 9th, 1865. At this time, my signature was attached to the final discharge of all the 142 enlisted men of my Company. Of this number of men, my recollections are, that through loss from death, desertion and transfer, only forty-four of the original number remained for final muster out after three years and eight months of active service.

With a lingering memory of forty years ago, the deep friendship formed for these true and tried comrades, words fail me and would be inadequate to express my lasting gratitude for them.

The following account is written from my own diary and recollections:

It was on the nineteenth day of May, A. D. 1865, that the propeller "William P. Clyde" dropped anchor in the Hampton Roads, Va. The calm approaching waves in Chesapeake Bay, reflected the bright rays of the noon-day sun. The presence of statesmen and the unusual military display of high and low ranking officials, gave notice to the uninformed, that a great event was soon to occur. On the twenty-second day of May, anticipations and doubts were set at rest. The breaking of the news, that, this frail craft had aboard as prisoners, the captured chief Jefferson Davis, President of the Southern Confederacy, Clement C. Clay, Jr., of Huntsville, Ala., John Mitchel (The Irish Patriot), and other officials of the ill-fated cause, gave great rejoicing and gladness to the Union soldiers. The thought with them, that the great strife would now soon end and they would soon see their loved ones at home, almost swept these grim faced and courageous soldiers from their feet.

I shall now depict as much as was revealed to the writer during his personal experience with President Jefferson Davis and Senator Clement C. Clay, Jr.

On May 22nd, 1865, I was detailed as officer in charge of the guard to receive and convey the prisoners, Messrs. Davis and Clay, from the landing on the wharf under guard to their un-

known fate—the prison casement inside Fortress Monroe, Va. The march to the Fort was simply plain; first, came General Nelson A. Miles with Mr. Davis, who was dressed in a suit of Confederate gray, wearing a gray slouch hat. His firmness was to be admired, although a trace of nervousness and worry was visible. Next came Col. Pritchard of the Michigan Cavalry and Mr. Clay. The latter appeared thin and slightly worried. Next came myself and guard of soldiers. The march to the Fort being over, Mr. Davis, myself and four soldiers were shown into casement No. 2, and Mr. Clay into casement No. 4. Both casements had been previously prepared for them. They had arched ceilings, whitewashed walls, with ventilation and cleanliness having been especialy provided. On entering, the heavy iron door clanked behind us, and was securely locked. The key was carried by the officer of the day until our relief guard came on duty the following morning, he being present on the outside every two hours to post 1st, 2nd and 3rd reliefs.

These casements and gun rooms had been previously occupied by officers of our regiment, but were now converted into strong prisons, iron bars being placed across the doors and windows. The prisoners were placed in the gun rooms with two sentinels locked in with each. The front or casement rooms were occupied by the officer of the guard and two sentinels. Four sentinels were placed, two outside and two inside of the two middle or partition doors on the right and left side of fire place, with instructions to be on the alert, and forbidden to hold communication with the prisoners or with each other while on duty. The prisoners were in separate rooms and only allowed to communicate with the officer of the guard or his superior officer. Later on this order became modified.

About five o'clock P. M. May 22nd, a supper, if it may be called such, was handed to me for Mr. Davis. It was as follows:

A tin quart cup full of coffee and about one-half loaf of dry bread which was laid across the top of the cup, without plate, knife, fork or spoon. I unlocked the middle door and addressed Mr. Davis pleasantly, informing him that his supper had been sent in. Sitting upon his cot he signified to me by a gesture of

the head and hand to place it on a small stand in his room, which I did. He addressed me with the inquiry, "What is it, bread and water?" I replied, "No, Sir, it is bread and coffee, a soldier's ration." Of this he ate and drank sparingly during my twenty-four hours stay with him. I ascertained afterwards that his slumbers were much broken during the first night.

Then about seven o'clock the same evening, I received an order from headquarters, with a full suit of clothing from his own trunk (at headquarters) including undergarments, with instructions to have Mr. Davis divest himself of all the clothing he had on, and return the exchanged suit with the contents of his pockets to headquarters, which I did. I again approached him pleasantly, informing him of my unpleasant duty as a soldier. He complied with my request unhesitatingly, having placed the contents of his pockets upon his cot, beside his clothing.

When the exchange was made in my presence, he turned over to me, the suit and contents of the pockets, excepting a small package folded in a piece of newspaper which he held in his right hand stating to me, "Here is a package containing a broken breast-pin, the property of Mrs. Davis, my wife, I desire to keep this." I replied that I would say to General Miles that Mr. Davis desired the return of his breast-pin. He then picked up a neat pocket comb with the remark, "Will you allow me to retain this?" I also stated to him that I would request General Miles to return this to him.

The contents of his pockets consisted of a high grade gold watch, an extra fine well colored meershaum pipe, a five dollar gold coin, a roll of confederate money, a good pocket knife, the broken breast-pin and the pocket comb. A small lot of cigars on the stand I did not request from him as they were not with the contents of his pockets.

I must confess had it not been for the two sentinels present, my sympathies would have prompted me to grant his reasonable requests for the breast-pin and pocket comb. These articles were afterwards returned to him. The fine pipe was eventually presented by Mr. Davis to Dr. Craven, his physician.

In the room in addition to his table already mentioned was a

hospital cot and an ordinary chair. A light was always kept burning on the table during the night. His only reading matter was his Bible and prayer-book.

In the morning of May 23rd, I delivered to him his breakfast which was the same as his supper, with the addition of a piece of beef on a tin plate. Thus ended my first day's duty as officer of the prison guard, 10 o'clock A. M., May 23rd, 1865. Then came my relief for rest and drill. It was between this time and the morning of May 27th, 10 o'clock A. M., when I again assumed charge as officer of the guard, and between these two dates, in the same casement, the act of shackeling and unshackeling Mr. Davis occurred. I did not see him in irons but in the morning of May 27th, I picked up from the floor of his room an iron rivet broken out and dropped by the blacksmith when releasing Mr. Davis from the irons from his ankles during the term of the former guard.

Meals were now furnished Mr. Davis from Dr. Craven's own table, including tea and toast, also medicine from the same source. He plainly stood in need of much needed repose yet he seemed not to desire it. About this time the fine pipe had been returned to him. The best information I have, he was in irons about fifty hours.

To digress a little, history is not entirely clear on the order to shackle Mr. Davis. Many believe the order emanated from the Secretary of War, others that it was given by Major General Halleck, commander of the military division of the James, while the whole South believes Brigadier General Nelson A. Miles, individually, responsible for the order. Silence on his part seems to verify the latter belief.



## Josiah Collins Pumpelly, A. M., LL. B.—An Estimate

BY JOHN HOWARD BROWN

**I**N the editorial office of AMERICANA we welcome an old contributor to the magazine, whose pen has recorded rare bits of history, valued reminiscences of travel, enchanting stories of Revolutionary days, and excellent transcripts of family history that have greatly enriched our pages for the past two years. It is certainly due to our learned associate that a brief retrospect of his life and work should accompany his presentation to our readers as an editor selected from the ranks of our learned contributors.

Josiah Collins Pumpelly was born in Owego, Tioga County, New York, August 16, 1839; third son of George James and Mary (Pixley) Pumpelly. He was sent from the home of his parents with an excellent secondary education to a military school in New Haven, where he obtained the disciplinary training necessary to a boy who had been carefully bred and brought up in the atmosphere of a refined and indulgent family. Then followed matriculation at Rutgers College, with entrance to the class of 1860. Here he was somewhat at home, as his aunt was the wife of President Theodore Frelinghuysen, from whom he received helpful advice and counsel which he recalls with gratitude. He received his A. B. degree on commencement day and his master degree in course in 1863. From Rutgers he passed to Columbia, where he was graduated bachelor of laws the same year that his *alma mater* conferred on him his A. M. degree.

While at Columbia, the Civil War was at its height, and in vacation time spent in Owego, he used the skill he had acquired at the military school in training new recruits encamped in his native town, preparatory to marching to the front to put down the rebellion.

The young lawyer opened an office in Owego, and before he had secured many clients he was persuaded to accept a position in New York City in the department of finance under Alexander H. Green, city comptroller. His vacations were devoted to travel and he visited all the points of interest in England, France, Germany and Italy, and passed one winter in the Bible Lands of Palestine and the valley of the Nile. He made a highly interesting and instructive trip on board a yacht along the Labrador coast, and the letters written by Rev. D. A. Wasson on this expedition and printed in the *Atlantic Monthly* gave much information of interest to travellers and lovers of nature. He sojourned many days in the mountains of Colorado, and on the Pacific coast of California, returning home through the Gulf and Southern Atlantic states. His letters home on these various pilgrimages were not only read at home, but printed and recopied in various large circulating newspapers and magazines. These letters breath his energy of mind and genuine enthusiasm roused by personal observation made by an earnest lover of nature and art, and penned by one well versed in literature.

He lived in the formative period of patriotic societies and became one of the original members, by right of descent, of the Huguenot Society of America; of the National Society of the Sons of the American Revolution, and of the New Jersey State Society, of which latter society he was one of the early presidents. He helped also to organize the New Jersey State Charities Aid, and Prison Reform Association, and for the first several years of its existence was a member of its executive committee. He aided in founding the Christian Workingmen's Institute; the Patriotic League, from which sprang the famous School City; the first Washington Memorial Association; the Peace Society of New York; the City Improvement Society; the Cedar Lake Park, Incorporated, and the Optimist Society of America. The Union League Club of New York City includes him among its oldest members.

He was necrologist and is a member of the publication committee of the New York Genealogical and Biographical Society, and his addresses illuminate many of the pages of its valuable *Record*. His membership in the National Council of the Church As-

sociation for the Advancement of the Interests of Labor, in the Actors' Church Alliance, and his acceptance of the presidency of the Immigration Restriction League of New York State, indicate his concern for humanity, as do his addresses in the cause of the wage-earner against the sweat-shop abuses, and his denunciation of the iniquities of child labor. He also urged the introduction of trade and agricultural instruction in the public school system, the multiplication of small parks, and the improvement of tenements occupied by the very poor.

We leave for another number, the family history of our associate outside his direct line of descent from Jean Pompilie, as in it we have to include much matter of historic interest, both in America and Europe, relative to his maternal ancestors, the list of whom include many notable families of France, England, and Colonial America.

The first to bear the name in America was Jean Pompilie, born in France about 1680, who was a Huguenot refugee from France to Holland, and thence to America, with his son Jean Pompilie, Jr., born about 1710, who was a sea captain residing at Plymouth, and was drowned by being thrown in the sea by the boom of his vessel a short time before the birth of his only child, John Pumpely, Pumpelly, or, as his father spelled the name, Pompilie, who was born about 1735. Jean Pompilie married a Miss Monro and after the death of her husband at sea, she married a Rev. Mr. Glover.

Evidently the step-son received but little encouragement to remain on the farm, as before he was fifteen years of age, he ran away from home and enlisted as a drummer, September 15, 1755, in Captain John Loring's Company of His Majesty's Foot, and he served to December 17, 1755, when he was discharged. We next find him in the enlistment records as having entered in the same company, April 22, 1756, and serving up to November 5 of the same year. His patriotism and evident fondness for military life is evidenced by his frequent re-enlistments.

He made the entire campaign against the French and Indians during which he was given the promotion to sergeant for distinguished bravery, while a member of Captain Samuel Thaxter's Company, in carrying dispatches alone through a decidedly



wild and hostile country, where the forest wilderness was practically filled with bloodthirsty savages, to Fort William Henry, at the time being defended from the Indian attacks by Colonel Munro, but finally carried by storm by the French and Indian army under Montcalm late in 1757, and the few escaping death or capture finding shelter, after a long march to Fort Edward on the Hudson river. We next find him as Sargeant Pumpelly in Captain Abel Keen's Company at Lunenburg, March 30 to November 1, 1758. He was also with the Crown Point expedition in 1756 and at one time a member of the Rogers' Rangers. He was a messmate of Captain Ebenezer Webster, father of Daniel Webster, in the French and Indian War. At the siege and fall of Louisbourg, July 27, 1758, he was likewise engaged in the battle when General Wolfe fell on the Heights of Abraham in 1759. It was said he was by his side and assisted in carrying the brave general beyond the firing line, where he died.

In the American Revolution he served as a commissary with the rank of third lieutenant under General Israel Putnam at the battle of Saratoga, and was present at the surrender of Burgoyne, October 17, 1777. He took the oath of fidelity to the state of Connecticut, January 25, 1778, and he was made superintendent of the Connecticut Iron Mine and Furnace, with a corps of fifty sworn men under him, engaged in casting cannon for use in the Revolutionary War. He afterwards left the government service to engage as an architect and builder. In 1803 he removed with his family to Danby in Tompkins county, New York, near Owego, Tioga county, where his son, the Hon. James Pumpelly, had settled and became a man of wealth and social standing. The last days of his eventful life, Lieut. John Pumpelly was a farmer and surveyor, and he died in Danby, New York, July 11, 1819.

He married twice, his first wife being Eppen Hillebranz Meijer (Appy Myers) of Dutch ancestry, who died in 1809, aged sixty-three years. She was the mother of his first six children, as follows: (1) Bennett Pumpelly, sergeant major in the Continental army in Colonel Weisenfield's regiment, serving under Lafayette. He married Eliza Merrill. (2) Bennet Pumpelly, who was also a soldier through the American Revolution. (3) Elizabeth



Pumpelly, who died young. (4) John Pumpelly, who married Mary French. (5) Eppen Pumpelly, who married Seth Sampson. (6) Samuel Pumpelly, who married Sarah True.

By his second wife, Hannah Bushnell of Salisbury, Connecticut, born in 1756, daughter of Capt. Samuel,<sup>5</sup> Jonathan,<sup>4</sup> Samuel,<sup>3</sup> Lieut. William,<sup>2</sup> Francis Bushnell,<sup>1</sup> the immigrant, he had seven children: (1) James, of whom forward. (2) Charles, born in Salisbury, Connecticut, 1776; removed to Owego, New York, 1803; married, September 2, 1803, Frances Avery, born January 9, 1775, and had ten children. He died in Owego, New York, 1855. (3) Jerusha Pumpelly, died without issue. (4) Maria Pumpelly, born 1786; died 1855; married Abner Beers, and had ten children. (5) William Pumpelly, born in Salisbury, Connecticut, June 17, 1788; was president of the Bank of Owego; married, first, Sarah Emily, daughter of Dr. Samuel and Mary Tinkham, and had Sarah Emily Pumpelly; married, second, October 24, 1824, Mary Hollenbeck, daughter of George and Prudence (Talcot) Wells of Athens, Pennsylvania. She was born May 6, 1803, and died in Paris, France, December 4, 1879. They had issue, John Hollenbeck, Susan Mary, Marie Antoinette, Joseph and Raphael Pumpelly, who was born in Owego, September 8, 1837, and became a noted geologist and metallurgist. (6) Harriet, born 1791; died August 25, 1863; married David Quigg, of Ithaca, New York, and had seven children. (7) Harmon, born in Salisbury, Connecticut, August 1, 1795; died in Albany, New York, September 28, 1882; married, first, Delphine Drake, and second, Maria, daughter of Peter and Elizabeth (Bleecker) Brinckerhoff of New York city, and had two children: Adeline Jerusha (Pumpelly) Kidd of Albany, New York, and Delphine Pumpelly, wife of Gen. John Meridith Read, son of Chief Justice John Meridith Read and Priscilla (Marshall) Read of Pennsylvania.

James Pumpelly, eldest son of John and Hannah (Bushnell) Pumpelly, was born in Salisbury, Connecticut, December 20, 1775, died in Owego, New York, October 4, 1845. In 1805 he removed with his father to Tompkins county, New York, making the journey on horseback. Like his father he was a surveyor and with his brothers, William and Harmon, surveyed a large por-

tion of the territory forming the southern tier of counties of New York state. He established a land office at Owego, where he purchased large tracts on his own account, selling at a reasonable profit to new settlers, then coming into the territory in large numbers. He assisted Joshua Ferris in surveying the Watkins and Flint purchases, comprising 363,000 acres.

In 1829 he built a large brick mansion in Owego at the time the most pretentious and costly house in the section, built after the style of the Van Rensselaer mansion in Albany. He was made president of the Owego Bank; treasurer of the Owego and Ithaca Turnpike Company; president of the Owego Turnpike Company; of the Ithaca and Owego Railroad Company, and of the Susquehanna Steam Navigation Company. He was founder and president of the board of trustees of the Owego Academy; first president of the Village of Owego, 1827-32; member of the state assembly in 1810, and a member of the first Board of Directors of the Erie Railway.

He married, April 7, 1805, Mary Pixley, daughter of Colonel David and Lydia (Patterson) Pixley, and widow of Dr. Samuel Tinkham, born in Stockbridge, Massachusetts, May 11, 1777, died in Owego, New York, June 4, 1848, and of their four children, George James Pumpelly, father of Josiah Collins Pumpelly, was the eldest. He was born in Owego, New York, December 11, 1815, and died there, May 9, 1873. He was graduated at Yale, A. B. 1826, A. M. 1829. He was a lawyer but devoted his time to the care of his father's extensive estates, making his home in the paternal mansion, where he dispensed a generous hospitality, his guests including the leading citizens of Central New York, including General Wadsworth, Horatio Seymour, Millard Fillmore, Theodore Frelinghuysen of New Jersey, Horace Greeley of New York, Goldwin Smith, the noted English author, and numerous other celebrated men. He married, April 24, 1832, Susan Isabella, daughter of Charles and Frances (Avery) Pumpelly. She was born April 24, 1809, and died July 30, 1864. Of their five children, Josiah Collins Pumpelly was the third son.

# Letters of General Edward S. Bragg to Senator James R. Doolittle

FROM THE DOOLITTLE CORRESPONDENCE

CONTRIBUTED BY DUANE MOWRY, MILWAUKEE, WIS.

**T**HE author of these letters was the idol of his soldiers. Few men were in the union army who more fully and completely held the love and respect and admiration of those who served with him and under him.

In some of the letters he complains quite bitterly at the slowness of the government to recognize effective service at the front. But General Bragg's loyalty to the union cause was never doubted and was of the herculean order. He was a part of the famous "Iron Brigade," General John Gibbons, commanding.

Edward Stuyvesant Bragg was born February 20, 1827, at Unadilla, New York. He died in Fond du Lac, Wis., in 1912. He was admitted to the bar in 1848, and was married to Miss Cornelia Colman, of Fond du Lac, January 2, 1854. He settled in Fond du Lac in 1850. He was District Attorney of Fond du Lac County from 1854 to 1856; was a member of the Charleston Convention in 1860; Captain in the 6th Wisconsin Infantry July 16, 1861; was Major September 17, 1861; Lieutenant Colonel June 21, 1862; Colonel March 24, 1863; Brigadier General of Volunteers June 25, 1864; honorably mustered out October 9, 1865.

He was a delegate to the Democratic National Conventions in 1861, 1872, 1884, 1892 and 1896; and was also delegate to the Union Convention which met in Philadelphia in 1866.

He made a speech seconding the nomination of Hon. Grover Cleveland for president in 1884. He used at that time and was the author of the famous phrase: "We love him for the enemies he has made."

He was a representative from Wisconsin in the 45th, 46th, 47th and 49th congresses, from 1877 to 1883 and from 1885 to 1887. He was U. S. minister to Mexico in 1888 and 1889, and was a prominent Gold Democrat in 1896. He supported William McKinley for president in 1900, and was consul general at Havana from May 19 to September 15, 1902, holding a similar position at Hong Kong, China, from 1902 to 1906.

General Bragg was essentially a positive character, easily aroused into an aggressive attitude. He remembered his friends as well as his foes. He was alike a good lover and a good hater. But he also was a good citizen and an honest man.

\* \* \* \* \*

HON. JAS. R. DOOLITTLE,  
Washington.

MY DEAR SIR:

Will you do me the kindness to present my papers herewith handed to you, to the President of the U. S. and request their favorable consideration?

Mental & physical vigor are at a discount with the Government, and Jackdaws strut in borrowed or stolen plumes, without fear of detection.

It is time I listened to the calls of my "bairnes" and seek a sphere, where I can help myself & them.

I have the honor to be

Very respectfully

Your obdt Servt,

EDW'D S. BRAGG.

Tuesday, March 10, 1863.

(A cross section note reads as follows):

JUDGE:

Will you be kind enough to return to me the request from the officers of this Reg't, which was forwarded you in December?



MY DEAR JUDGE:

Enclosed I send you copy of a note, that I have just rec'd. It came from my old commandant, who now commands a Division in the 2d Corps. It was unexpected & unsolicited & speaks for itself.

This Corps has just been reviewed by the President & Gen'l Hooker. My Reg's superiority, in soldierly appearance & discipline, excited universal comment, and seems at last to have opened Gen'l Gibbons eyes, to a consciousness of his heretofore neglectful silence. Better late than never—is a good rule. But if one gets killed—waiting for past deserts—his family is likely to be in a bad fix.

We are under marching orders—and as it seems fated that I must remain here, my three years—I feel that if all the “old fogies” are provided for—I shall not be considered importunate, if I desire a promotion.

Respectfully,

Your obd't Serv't,

EDW'D S. BRAGG,  
Col. 6th Wis. Vols.

Camp near Belle Plain,

April 13, 1863.

\* \* \* \* \*

IN FRONT OF PETERSBURG, .  
Tuesday, June 28, 1864.

MY DEAR JUDGE:

News of my promotion reached me yesterday, and I hasten to tender you my warmest thanks for the kind interest which you have so potently exercised in that regard.

It seems too cruel to remain away from my wife & little ones for a longer term than three years, but I shall not give up my new rank until I demonstrate my ability to sustain, what I have sought, & through the partiality of friends, have rec'd.

Our status here has but little change. Day after day, & night, night—the same monotonous sound at points along the line.

The weather is intensely hot, and campaigning by day, must, of necessity, be dispensed with for some time.

Our lines are within musket shot of the enemies works, and my outer pickets are within 100 yards. Men are killed & wounded daily, but the troops keep cheerful—the spires of the city are in sight and we expect to go in early some fine morning, to the astonishment of our “wayward brethren” of the Southern persuasion.

Again thanking you for your kindness & good feeling

I am very truly yours,

E. S. BRAGG.

\* \* \* \* \*

(Private)

ANNAPOLIS, MD.,

Feb'y 14, 1865.

DEAR SIR:

I shall be at Baltimore to morrow & ship my troops as directed by the Sec'y of War—then I shall await orders for myself.

Will you not call at the Depart. & assist me in being assigned to duty at Milwaukee? If that post is not vacant, get me sent anywhere except to the Army of the Potomac. I fought in Old Virginia long enough.

It seems as if it were easy, now I am out, to keep out of that Army.

I regret that I cannot come & see you, but it would be a violation of orders & I cannot.

Very truly yours,

EDW'D S. BRAGG.

Will you write me care of Eutaw House

& oblg

E. S. B.

\* \* \* \* \*

FOND DU LAC, WIS.,

March 8, 1866.

HON. JAS. R. DOOLITTLE,

U. S. Senate.

DEAR SIR:

By the favor of friends I have been furnished a few names, hastily obtained today, favorable to my appointment as Post

Master at this place, which I herewith enclose to you, earnestly hoping that your associations & political relations are at present such, that you may not feel it inappropriate to present my name for the desired position.

The names upon the petition comprise very nearly all the business men upon our street—additional ones will be forwarded at an early day if desirable.

I have had much hesitation in making the application, and but for the apparent rupture between the President and a portion of the Party that placed him in office, would not have done it.

I have no claim that I know of superior to that of any of my neighbors, perhaps, personally, not as great. But I am poor, miserably poor, struggling along under an enormous load of debts, contracted mostly during the last four years as a sequence necessary, perhaps, to my absence. In this view the gift should come to me & my family like manna to the children of Israel. Besides, I believe with almost one accord the appointment would be received here with approval. My vanity, 'tis true, may lead my judgment astray in this particular.

But there is another point of view, in which my appointment may be deemed worthy & desirable to be made.

In the impending struggle between the different branches of the government, it is desirable that an office like this one, should be in the hands & under the control of a friend, that its weight may be felt in the next fall elections. If I may be pardoned in making a suggestion—the President wants, you want a man here, who can strike strong, often & with judgment, and who has the nerve & the will to do it. A close observer of the history and lives of the different aspirants for the place will show you, that neither of them possess the power, the nerve, nor the disposition, unless they can be found in me.

The President's views, his course from the breaking out of the war to the present time are identically my own. Whether I possess the nerve & ability necessary, those who know me best are more fit to judge than I.

I have written thus freely & hastily in introducing this subject to you, that there may be no concealment, on my part, of

any of the reasons which actuate me in the matter, & by which my future actions will be controlled.

This is the first time for more than a week past that I have endeavored to use my eyesight at all. I have been suffering from inflammation of the eyes, and am not yet permitted to use them, although I have violated my physician's injunctions for this once, for which I should be compelled to give as an excuse, Antony's homily about the ring.

Hoping that this government may soon be turned to the promotion of the interests of the white as well as black men, and that all may result prosperously,

I am, very respectfully,

Your obd't Serv't,

EDW'D S. BRAGG.

\* \* \* \* \*

FOND DU LAC, Wisconsin,

May 6, 1866.

HON. J. R. DOOLITTLE.

DEAR SIR:—Judge Flint reached home safely this morning, & found himself heralded in advance, by Rublee as Post Master. He has survived it & bids fair to live through. He says it may be advisable for me to furnish you some data on the McClellan question. The official records will show, and you must know, if you reflect, that I was not absent from my command from the time we crossed the Rapidan until the 22d December following—so that I could not have been out at work for him.

The Wisconsin troops voted in the field. I was in front of Petersburg, and my Brigade gave a large majority for Mr. Lincoln. I did not vote at all. The Act conferring the right to vote, gave it to soldiers & officers of Wisconsin troops, and did not cover the case of a Gen'l officer, nor define where he could vote. This at least was my construction of it, and I have now no doubt of its correctness. A Poll list from my command was returned officially to Madison, as a part of the canvass, which will show that I was not recorded.

The story may grow out of a statement that was published in the Fond du Lac Press in the fall, preceding election, that I was for McClellan.



To be frank with you, Sir, I may say, that had Valandigham & Co., kept clear of the Chicago Convention, & they had placed themselves on a war basis, by the act of men, who intended what they said, without mental reservation, I should have cheerfully supported McClellan to the extent of my power, without compulsion to my command.

As it was, such action would have given the lie to my previous declarations of principles. I supported Mr. Lincoln, as a man takes medicine, not from love of it, but from the necessity to break the disease. And now the disease is broken, I want to rally the system to purge it from the poison of the dose.

Very respectfully,

Your obd't Serv't,

EDW'D S. BRAGG.

P. S.—Should I be charged with being a relative of Braxton Bragg—which is the only charge overlooked—my parents are still living, & I can show that my father was born in the home of the Puritans—but so high up in Vermont as not to be affected with the miasma that prevails lower down.

E. S. B.

\* \* \* \* \*

FOND DU LAC, May 14, '66.

HON. J. R. DOOLITTLE.

DEAR SIR:—I have the honor to acknowledge the receipt of your note of the 8th inst. And express to you my sincere thanks for your endorsement of me for the office of U. S. Dist. Atty.

If the appointment should be approved in the Senate, it will be my greatest pleasure to fill the office & discharge its duties in a manner so unexceptionable, that no censure will attach to those by whose favor I am the recipient of it.

Upon the McClellan question I wrote you fully some days since. I may be charged with having united with Copperheads since my return. The gravamen of the charge will be that I attend a Democratic Convention as a delegate.

The facts are, that the convention was a call for all who endorsed the President's policy. And I participated, to defeat the nomination of a ticket dictated by the Extremists on the Democratic side—and thus weaken their power—I succeeded in.

procuring the nomination of a war Democrat for Mayor—which so disgusted some of the *Simon pure* leaders that they did not go to the polls of election.

And between them and me, there is a “great gulf fixed,” which can never be filled up, so that we can act in hearty co-operation, until they confess their sins, & show works meet for repentance.

Upon the other question have no fears. My office will be at your disposal, whenever my conduct is distasteful to you.

Upon the question of Hatch’s course, I can only say to you, that there can be no question that he is of the Radicals—one of the most Radical. Everybody knows it. He will not & does not deny it. His friends will not claim or pretend otherwise. I will say for him, however, that since his removal has been agitated, he does not openly oppose the course of the President, but keeps silent. He denies still, that Gillet is an administration man, or has ever confessed himself to be.

I have very good authority for saying that in the early history of the division between the President & Congress, he expressed himself “that somebody ought to kill him.”

I send you herewith a recommendation of Col. Conklin for that office. Mr. Galloway is confined to his room & yesterday was unable to converse with any one. Will send down to him today for his signature, and if it not obtained, it will be because illness prevents.

Mr. G. thinks Hatch would sign it!!

Judge Flint is just recovering from a severe cold, otherwise he is well.

Our Court commences its sessions this morning, and I am necessarily a good deal hurried.

Yours respectfully,

EDW’D S. BRAGG.

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NOTE—The reference to Col. Conklin concerns that gentleman’s appointment as assessor.

\* \* \* \* \*

(No other date given) Saturday, 9. P. M.

MY DEAR SIR:

Your favor is rec’d. I am weary in body & mind from a constant exercise of both for two weeks in Court. But as our

term still continues through the next week, I take this time, all that I have unengaged, to answer you fully & fairly, and am content with this to let future events care for themselves.

I was educated a Democrat, have ever been one, & ever hope to be. I went into the war as such, have never changed from the faith of my fathers & hope I never may.

In my view of democracy, it became my duty to sustain the integrity of the Government, cost what it might. And I believe then & now, that he who would do ought to injure or embarrass it in the struggle was a traitor at heart.

Men constituted themselves leaders of the Democratic party, who, in my opinion, never represented in one cardinal point, any of its old creed. Such men I have condemned; & in turn have been denounced by them. There is no unity of feeling between us, either upon men or measures. They scout the idea that I am a Democrat & I most heartily concur with them, if they are to be the exponents of the faith.

Enclosed I send you the call for our charter election, in which there was nothing but local issues at stake.

At the request of a soldier, who sought to be made marshal of the City, I was elected a delegate to the City Convention to represent him. The Copperheads proper, denounced the appointment in most strenuous terms. I went to the Convention, and succeeded in overthrowing their men, and in placing in nomination men, who had sustained the government in the war. The Copperhead leaders would not vote the ticket, because it was not of their sort.

Since that time, the Repub. papers here accuses me of "having gone back on them." The Demo. papers accuses me of the same thing, and in addition call my doctrines damnable heresies—which is Scylla & which Charybdis, I leave you to judge.

When in Washington, I was guilty of many improprieties. No cause was ever assigned to me for my removal from the Wirz Court Martial. I presumed at the time it grew out of a difference of views between myself & the President of the Court, whom I knew disliked me thoroughly—With those feelings for a

starting point, he had my improprieties out of Court to support him in accomplishing his purpose.

I believe that every member of the Court save himself regretted my being relieved, and I have his note to me expressing the same feelings.

On this subject all is conjecture, for as I said no charge was ever made to me, or brought to my knowledge, and I asked to be mustered out, because necessity demanded that I should return home & resume my profession and care for my children.

Senator, I am too proud to be an abject applicant for anything. I served the country long, and I am not over vain, when I say well. By night & by day for four years I did my duty in a manner that I am not ashamed to speak. And that man does not live, who dare say I ever failed when the guns were sounding in the front. I had fondly hoped, that such a record might be of service to my children, when I should have run my race & been gathered to my fathers.

But I find it has made me the object of attack, for every petty malignant, who envies me for what I possess, that he fain would have.

Judge Howe has known me long. He knows my capacity, and if it should be his pleasure to make a personal attack on me, the glory of the fight shall be exclusively his. I will not participate, nor seek to steal away any of his precious spoil.

I have rec'd letters from Washington urging me to write to him on the subject. Knowing me as well as he does, I feel that if he stoops to conquer, it would be beneath me to ask him as a mendicant to spare the blow. I am ready for the sacrifice.

If your judgment approves, you may show this letter to Senator Trumbull, that he may know who I am, and what my feelings are on this subject.

I thank you very kindly for the favor you have done me in procuring my nomination. And regret to trouble you with this letter. But as I have never explained myself fully, I thought it justice to you, that it should be done.

Very respectfully,

Your obd't serv't,

EDW'D S. BRAGG.



I was not at home last fall until after election, but was at my father's in New York; so much for last fall—interference in politics.

E. S. B.

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NOTE—This letter would seem to closely follow those of May 6, and May 14, 1866. The latter refers to the opening of Court, which, undoubtedly, means the term of the Circuit Court in his home city. The same letter mentions with thanks Judge Doolittle's effort to secure General Bragg's appointment as U. S. District Attorney. This letter mentions the fact that the Court is still in session. It will be agreed that the letter is both interesting and decidedly characteristic of the doughty hero of the Iron Brigade.

DUANE MOWRY.

\* \* \* \* \*

131 LA SALLE ST., (*evidently Chicago*),

Aug. 31, 1871.

MY DEAR JUDGE:

Yours of the 26th is just rec'd. I have been in Michigan since Monday, which accounts for the delay.

When news of my nomination was rec'd, I telegraphed to the Chair'n of the Convention *a declination*.

It does not seem to have been received, and leaves me in an unenviable position.

My business demands my exclusive attention through the month of October. I do not see how I can abandon it. A canvass with me means, constant, untiring labor, and I cannot be a candidate, and look on the fight without participating in it.

I agree with you as to the importance of the questions at issue, and the interest dependent on the result.

And what I can do to advance success to the party I will most cheerfully do. And to secure success to you, will work with my whole heart.

But, if possible, I desire some one else substituted for myself on the ticket.

I will work with the candidate (if I am advised when & where) and consider this question.

My hopes have all centered on my being able to free myself the fetters of debt this fall. And this canvass will send me down deep into the mire again.

I do not have the confidence in the "Veterans of '98" that you have. They will sting quietly, while their professions of friendship are the loudest. I should say: Listen to all they profess,

but don't believe a word of it. And if ever you are able, do not do, as I may say, frankly, you have done, warm your enemies into life, at the expense of your own existence. "Love your enemies" is a Christian principle, but it was never intended to apply to politicians.

Very truly your friend,

EDW'D S. BRAGG.

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NOTE—This is a characteristic letter. Judge Doolittle was the candidate for governor on the Democratic ticket at the time of writing this letter. And General Bragg promises to do his utmost to promote his success at the polls.

## Property in Negroes: A Southern Slaveholding Woman's Plea to Sen. J. R. Doolittle

CONTRIBUTED BY DUANE MOWRY, OF MILWAUKEE, WIS.

**T**HE original of the following letter is in the possession of the contributor. It was discovered, with other interesting letters, among the private papers and correspondence of the late ex-Senator Doolittle, of Wisconsin.

It is not easy to understand how Senator Doolittle came to receive this pathetic woman's appeal. For he had no sympathy with the system that justified human slavery. Indeed, it was this institution which caused him to withdraw from the Democratic party in the early history of the Republican party and cast his political fortunes with this new movement in the fifties with Fremont and Dayton as its standard bearers.

It is known, however, that after the conclusion of the civil war, Judge Doolittle championed a pacific spirit towards the people of the South. He favored a policy which would bring back the erring brethren in full national fellowship with the victors of the North. He became, at once, a friend and supporter of President Johnson's administration. He could not and would not wage war against the confederates after the surrender of Gen. Lee at Appomattox.

This attitude of Senator Doolittle was an open book, both on the floor of the United States Senate, in the public press, and on the public rostrum. It may be, therefore, that Mrs. Marshall, knowing of Judge Doolittle's large-heartedness and fair-mindedness, was induced to expose her troubles to him in the letter which follows. Be that as it may, and no one can now tell what induced her to write to him, the letter has an historical signifi-

cance far beyond the troubles which she chose to tell to her supposed Northern friend and sympathizer. It emphasizes, in a most practical way, the intense abhorrence of the institution of human slavery.

CHARLESTON, SO. CA.,  
Feby. 12th, '67.

*To the Honorable James R. Doolittle:*

RESPECTED SIR:—I have presumed to address you on a subject of vital importance to myself & one which is anxiously thought of by many others— I am deeply interested on the settlement relative to negro bonds— My husband was a Scotchman, myself an English woman, both for many years Citizens of U. S.— The year that the unhappy war broke out my Husband died leaving a valuable Estate chiefly in Plantations & Negroes. One lot of Negroes had been purchased but a short time before his death in the year '60, one third cash, balance, in 1, 2 & 3 yrs, with interest from date, bond & mortgage given on the Negroes purchased— 1st installment was paid, 2nd also, now this was fully half, but when 3 installment became due, Executor of Est. from whom the Negroes had been purchased, refuses to accept Confederate Currency when it was nearly on a par with gold, & what had I, a Widow, a non-combatant & a Foreigner to do with the change of Currency—nothing but to see & submit, but at the same time, said Executor willingly receives interest in Confederate currency, & is willing to continue doing so, thereby deriving a comfortable support from my hard exertions, & thus keeping the debt hanging over my head as Executrix of my Husband's property. I a Woman acting for myself & Daughters he a Man & a Bank Officer, not daring enough to risk the investment of the money, which could easily have been done in Cotton, Real Estate, & a thousand other ways had he chosen to have taken the risk, but preferring to cast the responsibility on my side, he refuses to rec payment, thus warding off a complete settlement of the debt. The war progresses. By Confederate forces I am compelled to abandon my beautiful homes on the Coast, elegant House, Mills, Barns, Etc., all burned a complete desolation of a magnificent property ensues, I find a home with my Family & Negroes about 70 miles from the Coast, strenuously endeavor to support Clothe & feed the Negroes, when located there a sufficient time to begin to get comfortable, we prove to be in the line of March of Sherman's Army, we were again forced to leave houses, Barns etc all again devastated burned & destroyed & from affluence & luxuries, I am



comparatively without means, only the remains of once valuable Plantations, and a portion of City property saved by strenuous exertions, which now afford myself & children a support & home.

My Question now arises, Can this remnant of property be wrested from me? By an act of Legislature of South Carolina, the Negroes were declared free. Can it not be made a Question in Congress so that we can be justified I hold a Bill of Sale of said Negroes, declaring them to be mine, they and their Heirs for life. the contract on their side is violated & again in my perplexity I earnestly ask of you Can I be made to pay this unjust debt?

To you I appeal for Council & advice on this momentious Question craving your assistance, & trusting that this communication may elicit from you a speedy reply, which I shall ever esteem a favor & honor—

Very Respectfully

RUTH MARSHALL.

NOTE.—This letter is interesting because it presents some of the hardships resulting from the war between the states, hardships, apparently, of innocent parties. It also illustrates the hard-heartedness and unfeeling attitude which the institution of slavery made possible. The letter is written in a woman's hand-writing and the penmanship is excellent. It is to be noted, however, that the spelling, punctuation and use of capitals are not above criticism. We do not know what was Judge Doolittle's reply to this woman's "appeal." We do not know that the Senator even replied to it. And, as an envelope directed to "Mrs. Ruth Marshall, No. 60 Tradd St., Charleston, So. Ca.," appears to be in Mrs. Marshall's own handwriting, the conclusion is drawn therefrom that no attention was given to the letter.

DUANE MOWRY.

# History of the Mormon Church

BY BRIGHAM H. ROBERTS, Assistant Historian of the Church

## CHAPTER LXXXVI

### THE MOUNTAIN MEADOWS MASSACRE

**H**ERE, in these chapters dealing with calamitous events of the period 1851-7, may as well be considered that event which is the most lamentable episode in Utah History. I refer to the *Mountain Meadows Massacre*. The writer recognizes it as the most difficult of all the many subjects with which he has to deal in this history. Difficult because it is well nigh impossible to sift out the absolute truth of the matter from the mass of conflicting statements made by witnesses and near witnesses of the affair; and equally difficult to reconcile the differences of contending partisans. Anti-Mormon writers have been determined to fasten the crime upon the Church of the Latter-day Saints, or at least upon her leaders; and also, as a rule, holding that in some way "Mormon" doctrine and "Mormon Church" polity was responsible for the crime. On the other hand, Church people who in all good conscience, and justly, resent this imputation against their Church and its leaders, have been naturally slow to admit all the facts that history may insist upon as reasonable and inevitable.

One of the most pathetic things connected with the case is that none of the Arkansas company of emigrants survived who were competent to relate the events as they saw them take place, since all were killed who could have had any certain memory of the circumstances, and it follows that the emigrant's story must be pieced together from the admissions and confessions of

their murderers, Indians and white men, told at different times and under varying circumstances; prompted some times by self interest, admissions and confessions alike made in the hope of escaping censure, some times in the hope of avoiding the just consequences of participation in the crime; sometimes told in despair; and then again in the bitterness of revenge against some fellow participant who had betrayed the secret deed of blood; sometimes told haltingly to shield those who may have been unwillingly brought into the wretched affair. And then some of these admissions, confessions, and relations have reached us only through second and third parties who have, in all probability, colored them to their own interested or biased views of the subject.

But at this point it is necessary to present, in outline at least, the main facts in the case, before proceeding to the discussion of it.

The emigrants attacked at Mount Meadows were a company made up chiefly of people from the state of Arkansas, and a few from Missouri, numbering in all about one hundred and forty souls, men, women, and children. They were reported to have been an exceptionally well-to-do company; with plenty of cattle, and horses and mules for teams, besides a number of loose cattle not subject to the yoke. Stenhouse, who describes the company from information supplied by a close gentleman friend<sup>1</sup> of his who traveled with them from Fort Bridger to Salt Lake City, speaks of them in highest praise. He declares that they were wealthy;<sup>2</sup> that in addition to the ordinary emigrant wagons

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1. This "gentlemen friend," according to Mrs. Stenhouse, was Eli B. Kelsey, "Tell It All: The Story of a Life's Experience in Mormonism," by Mrs. T. B. H. Stenhouse, 1878, p. 325. Mr. Kelsey was an apostate Mormon.

2. Mr. Jacob Forney, who succeeded Brigham Young as Indian agent for the Territory of Utah, reports that they had 600 head of cattle, 30 head of horses and mules. In Waite's Mormon Prophet, though upon what authority is not stated, puts the number of cattle at 800 head, 60 horses and mules, 40 wagons and 150 emigrants (pp. 65, 66). Forney in a letter to the commissioner of Indian Affairs at Washington dated from Provo, March, 1859, estimated that \$30,000 worth of property was distributed, after the massacre, "among the leading Church authorities;" an estimate in the one case, and an unwarranted assumption in the other. (Sen. Doc. 36th Cong. 1st Sess. ii. no. 42). Cradlebaugh estimated the value of the company's property at from \$60,000 to \$70,000. Beadle, quoting Dr. Brewer of the U. S. army, who saw this train at O'Fallon's Bluff on the Platte, on the 11th of June, confirms Stenhouse's account as to the ease and leisure with which the company traveled, referring to it as "probably the finest train that had ever crossed the plains," and that there seemed to be "about forty heads of families" ("Life in Utah,"

they had several riding carriages; that in the main they were a collection of families closely related by the ties of consanguinity; that one of their number was a Methodist preacher, and that they were close observers of religious services night and morning, as well as upon the Christian Sabbath. This authority, and for their character we have no other that speaks directly for them,—states that there was a company of Missourians traveling in proximity with the Arkansas company, who were “a rough-and-ready set of men, regular frontier pioneers; the other [the Arkansas party] a picked company.”<sup>3</sup> The Missouri contingent called themselves “Missouri Wild-Cats.”<sup>4</sup> Bancroft dismisses the theory that there were two distinct companies by saying that “the truth appears to be that there were a few Missourians in the Arkansas party, as stated in *Hutchings California Magazine*.”<sup>5</sup> It must have been that the “Missouri Wild-Cats” dominated the company as it made its way through southern Utah, and gave to it the general character it bears in Utah annals, which, as we shall see, is the very opposite to that given to it here.

This mixed company of Arkansas and Missouri emigrants arrived in Salt Lake City about the last of July and camped on the Jordan. It would appear that their arrival in the valley created no special interest as no mention of it appears in the *Deseret News* of the period, and Brigham Young declared that he only heard of its arrival by rumor.<sup>6</sup> They were encamped for some time on the Jordan, west of Salt Lake City, and were advised by Elder Charles C. Rich to take the route around the north end of Salt Lake, as being preferable to the southern road. The company was so far impressed with his advice that they went as far north as Bear river, then changed their minds

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p. 179). Major Carleton confirms the party being a wealthy one. “This train,” he remarks, “was undoubtedly a very rich one. It is said the emigrants had nearly 900 head of fine cattle, many horses and mules, and one fine stallion valued at \$2,000; that they had a great deal of ready money besides.” Carleton’s Report to Major W. W. Mackall from Mountain Meadows, May 25th, 1859. (*Hand Book of Mormonism*, pp. 67-69).

3. “Tell It All,” Mrs. Stenhouse, p. 325.

4. “The Rocky Mountain Saints,” Mr. Stenhouse.

5. Vol. LV. See Bancroft’s Utah, pp. 344-5, note 3.

6. Brigham Young’s Deposition read and accepted in evidence at John D. Lee’s second trial September, 1876.



and concluded to take the southern route.<sup>7</sup> In their journey the company passed through Provo, Springville, Payson, Fillmore and the smaller intervening settlements. No complaint is made against their deportment as emigrants until they reach Fillmore—a distance of about 150 miles south of Salt Lake City,—and at Corn Creek, in Millard county—about 15 miles south of Fillmore. At the former place “they threatened the destruction of the town,” says George A. Smith, “and boasted of their participation in the murders and other outrages that were inflicted upon the Mormons in Missouri and Illinois.”<sup>8</sup> At the latter place, Corn Creek, “they poisoned the springs and the body of an ox which had died. The carcass was eaten by a band of Píeds from the desert who were on a visit to the Pahvants”—the local tribe of Indians. “I was informed by the people living at Meadow Creek, the nearest settlers to Corn Creek,” continues our authority, “that ten Indians died from this poisoned meat, and that a considerable number of cattle also died from the poisoning of the water. Some of these cattle were fat, and the owners ‘tried them up,’ to save the tallow. A son of Mr. Robison of Fillmore, was poisoned from the handling of the meat, and died. Among the cattle that died of poison were several belonging to the Hon. John A. Ray. He being at the time in Europe, Mrs. Ray attended to saving the tallow, and was so poisoned as to endanger her life and permanently injure her hand. \* \* \* While passing through the lower settlements

7. See Mountain Meadows Massacre, by Elder (now, 1913, 2d Counselor in the First Presidency) Chas. W. Penrose, 1884, p. 7; also Bancroft's Utah, p. 547. Also Tullidge in Mill. Star, Vol. XXXIX, p. 785.

8. This, however, may have been mere bravado, as there is no evidence beyond their reported boasts that they were connected with those events, though, in addition to the above statement, both Laban Morrill and Joel White testified that the emigrants were alleged to have boasted that they had “killed old Joe Smith.” (See the testimony of Morrill and White at second trial of John D. Lee September, 1876. Bancroft quotes Lee as saying that the Arkansas emigrants had publicly boasted that they “had the very pistol with which the Prophet Joseph Smith was murdered and had threatened to kill Brigham Young and all the apostles.” Lee represents Isaac C. Haight as charging the emigrants with even more serious offences such as “that they had insulted, outraged and ravished many of the Mormon women;” that they had burned fences and destroyed growing crops; that at many points on the road they had poisoned the water springs; that it was their intention to return from California with soldiers as soon as possible and they would then “desolate the land and kill every G——d——ed Mormon, man, woman and child, that they could find in Utah,” etc., etc. See Bancroft's History of Utah, p. 549, note. Mormonism Unveiled, Lee's Confession, pp. 218-219. It should be remembered, however, that John D. Lee in his confession was seeking excuses for his own atrocious deeds.



*John H. H. H.*



the emigrants boasted of their participation in the expulsion of the Mormons from Missouri, and threatened to stop at some convenient point, and fatten their stock, that when the United States troops should arrive, the emigrants would have plenty of beef to feed them with, and would then help to kill every Mormon that there was in the mountains. This course of conduct on their part, coupled with the rumor which they spread, that some four or five hundred dragoons were expected through on the Fremont trail, whom they would join, caused them to be regarded by the settlers with a feeling of distrust."<sup>9</sup>

It is alleged that these emigrants could not purchase provisions in Salt Lake City, nor in the settlements through which they passed; that they were ordered by Brigham Young to leave Salt Lake City; that a courier, even, preceded them, through the southern settlements with written instructions for the settlers to have no dealings or intercourse with them.<sup>10</sup> This is contra-

9. It must be remembered by the reader that at this time—summer of 1857—a force of United States troops were en route for Utah to suppress a supposed rebellion against federal authority in Utah; and it was the coming of these troops the emigrants referred to, and whom they threatened to re-inforce by joining those troops that were expected from the south over Fremont's trail, to form a juncture with the Eastern force in demonstration against the "Mormons."

The quotations in the text of the history are from a letter addressed to President Brigham Young, by Geo. A. Smith, dated at Parowan, August 17, 1858, about one year after the massacre occurred, and is recorded in the History of Brigham Young under the entry for Sept. 9th, 1857 (p. 481-489), with the following explanatory note: "This is the day on which it is reported that the horrible Mountain Meadows Massacre by the Indians occurred [in reality it took place two days later], an account of which was written in a letter from George A. Smith to President Brigham Young, dated nearly a year after the terrible transaction." Then follows the letter in full. George A. Smith at this time was the representative to the council of the Territorial legislature from the council district in which the southern settlements were located; and it was in the capacity of council representative that he conducted his investigations, and made his report to Brigham Young. It is a most valuable historical document on account of its having been written within a year of the event which, in the main, it treats; and because it represents the view of the massacre reported to Geo. A. Smith, which those who had engaged in it were evidently desirous should be the accepted version; and lastly on account of the high character of George A. Smith and his official standing in the community—member of the Apostle's quorum in the Church, Church Historian, and member of the legislative council of the Territory.

10. "Rocky Mountain Saints," pp. 432-3. Though Stenhouse here quotes an anonymous writer, "*Argus*," in the *Corinne Reporter*, a Gentile paper, published at the town of Corinne, about sixty miles north of Salt Lake City, yet Stenhouse vouches for him, knows who he is and holds that the "Open Letter" of *Argus* to Brigham Young was written by one of such standing as to make it worthy to be admitted into a serious history, *Id.*, p. 430, note. See also for alleged treatment of these emigrants by settlers, letter of Jas. H. Carleton, Brevet Major First Dragoons, U. S. A., from Mt. Meadows encampment May 25, 1859. "Hand Book of Mormonism," pp. 67-69. Anti-Mormon.



dicted, however, as we shall see later by the sworn statements of men who sold grain to the emigrants until they were satisfied and would purchase no more. Attention has already been called to the partial famine in Utah in 1855-56, and the necessity it enjoined upon the people of Utah, in their peculiar situation, to husband their food supplies, especially their grain.<sup>11</sup> In addition to the possibility of the recurrence of drought and grasshoppers, there was now an army approaching the territory, with no very clearly defined purpose, with no official notification of its purpose at all, or the fact of its having started, served upon the civil authorities of the territory; and in what it might eventuate no one knew, except that on the part of the Latter-day Saints there was a strong determination not to submit to oppression, even though that should involve them in another exodus from their homes; and as a preliminary step to such an eventuality, word was sent throughout the settlement to the people to carefully husband their grain; to feed none to their own stock, to sell none to passing companies of emigrants for that purpose, and for food supplies only sufficient to see them through to where they could purchase of other communities.<sup>12</sup>

Elder George A. Smith who had been at the national capital and in the eastern states for about a year, urging the claims of Utah for admission into the Union, returned to Salt Lake City, in the summer of 1857, and as some members of his family lived at Parowan, and he had property interests in the southern settlements—it will be remembered that he was prominent in the founding of these settlements—he paid a visit to the south-part of the territory. In his capacity of an elder in the Church, and a member of the council of the Twelve Apostles, he gave counsel to the Saints respecting the care of their grain, and the necessity of being prepared for possible emergencies. But in as much as Elder Smith went south in advance of the Arkansas emigrant company, he is the “*courier*” of the anti-Mormon writers; the one who went to instruct the southern settlements in the policy

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11. See Chapter LXXXV.

12. See Deposition of Brigham Young, received as evidence in the second trial of John D. Lee, at Beaver, Sept., 1876, Court record; also affidavit of Geo. A. Smith. *Id.* These documents are also to be found in “Mormonism Unveiled,” where the court record of the Second Trial of John D. Lee is given in large part, Chapters XXI, XXII, and XXIII.

of non-intercourse with the emigrants, and refusal to sell them food supplies,<sup>13</sup> both of which charges Elder Smith by affidavit specifically denies, as he also denies that he knew even of the existence of the Arkansas company until he was returning from his journey to the south, and met them at Corn Creek, fifteen miles south of Fillmore.<sup>14</sup> President Young denied that the Arkansas emigrants had been ordered away from Salt Lake City either by himself or any one in authority under him; or that any order had been given by him not to sell grain or to trade with the emigrant trains passing through Utah at the time. "Council and advice," President Young explains, "were given to the citizens not to sell grain to the emigrants to feed their stock, but to let them have sufficient for themselves if they were out. The simple reason for this was that for several years our crops had been short, and the prospect was at that time that we might have trouble with the United States army, then *en route* for this place, and we wanted to preserve the grain for food. The citizens of the territory were counseled not to feed grain to their own stock. No person was ever punished or called in question for furnishing supplies to the emigrants, within my knowledge."<sup>15</sup>

13. "What had they [the Arkansas Emigrants] done \* \* \* that a *courier* should be sent ahead of them bearing your [Governor Young's] written instructions to the Mormons, on said company's line of travel to have no dealing or intercourse with them; thus compelling [condemning(?)] them to almost certain starvation on the deserts." *Argus*, quoted by Stenhouse, "Rocky Mountain Saints," pp. 431-2-3.

14. See Smith's affidavit, second trial of Lee. "Deponent further saith, that as an Elder in the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, he preached several times on his way south, and also on his return, and tried to impress upon the minds of the people the necessity of great care as to their grain crops, as all crops had been short for several years previous to 1857, and many of the people were reduced to actual want, and were suffering for the necessities of life.

"Deponent further saith, that he advised the people to furnish all emigrant companies passing through the Territory with what they might actually need for breadstuff, for the support of themselves and families while passing through the Territory, and also advised the people not to feed their grains to their own stock, nor to sell to the emigrants for that purpose.

"Deponent further saith, that he never heard or knew of any attack upon said emigrant train until some time after his return to Salt Lake City, and that while near Fort Bridger he heard for the first time that the Indians had massacred an emigrant company at Mountain Meadows." See also, in confirmation, affidavit of Jesse N. and Silas S. Smith, court record of John D. Lee's first trial, July, 1875, and *Deseret News* of Aug. 4th, 1875.

15. Affidavit Brigham Young at Lee's first and also second trial, court record; also *Deseret News*, for 4th Aug., 1875, where the deposition is given at length. This deposition was presented at both the first and second trial of Lee, but was only admitted at the second trial.

At Lee's first trial, July, 1875, Jesse N. Smith, for a number of years a member of the Utah Territorial legislature, a prominent pioneer in the southern settlements of Utah and later in Arizona, where he was elected a member of that Territorial legislature, and was President of the Snow Flake stake of Zion—Mr. Smith testified that he lived in Parowan in 1857, that he came to Utah ten years before. Saw the [Arkansas] emigrant train at the town above named [Parowan], *sold them flour and salt, had flour to spare and asked if they wanted more; they wanted vegetables, but witness had none to spare.* Saw George A. Smith in Parowan Aug. 8th; he came in from the north, went down among the settlements, witness accompany him. A meeting was held in every settlement. Witness attended them all. He [George A. Smith] deprecated selling grain and bread-stuffs to feed to horses and mules. Never heard him, in his public addresses, allude to this train.<sup>16</sup>

Silas S. Smith, brother to the above witness, corroborated, in the main the statements given by Jesse N. Smith. "Heard nothing said to discourage the sale of provisions to emigrant trains for food;" and heard nothing said by George A. Smith "against allowing emigrant trains to pass through the country."<sup>17</sup>

Accompanying Geo. A. Smith northward their party met the Arkansas emigrants at Corn Creek where they were encamped, and where the Smith party camped also. Some of the emigrants visited the Smith party and made inquiries. Some one asked if the Indians would be likely to eat the flesh of an ox that laid dead near the camp, and was answered that most

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16. Court Record Lee's First Trial, testimony Jesse N. Smith, Salt Lake Tribune report of trial, pp. 33-34. *Deseret News*, August 4th, 1875.

17. *Ibid.* Silas Smith was equally prominent, with his brother, in both the civic life of the territory of Utah, and in the ecclesiastical life of the Church. Elected to the territorial legislature in 1859, he served almost continuously in the house and council for twenty years, much of which time he was bishop of Paragona. In 1879 he led a party of pioneer settlers into what is now called San Juan county, southeastern Utah, and founded the city of Bluff and other settlements. Subsequently he removed to San Luis Valley, Conejose county, Colorado, where a number of Latter-day Saint settlements were being organized into a stake of Zion, of which he was made the President; and in which capacity and for the colonists he purchased some 20,000 acres of land at public sales, and secured titles for the people, and established them in prosperous settlements in the state of Colorado.



likely they would.<sup>18</sup> From Cedar Springs in Millard county, Silas S. Smith separated from his cousin Geo. A. Smith, and returned southward to his home in Paragoona. When returning he overtook the Arkansas emigrants at Indian Creek near Beaver, camped with and had supper with them. And heard the Captain of the company called "Mr. Fancher."<sup>18½</sup>

The Arkansas company passed through the Mormon settlements of Cedar and Pinto in the latter part of the first week in September and encamped at Mountain Meadows.<sup>19</sup>

The Mountain Meadows are situated about three hundred and twenty miles south and a little west of Salt Lake City. They are on the pleateau which forms the rim of the basin, the watershed separating the streams that flow to the Colorado river, and those flowing northward to lose themselves in the semi-desert of the Escalante valley. The "Meadows" are really a narrow valley about five miles in length by one mile in width, narrowing down to a few rods in width at the southern end, through which the old emigrant road passed. Near the south end of the Meadows is a large spring a short distance north of which the Arkansas emigrants went into encampment, expecting, accord-

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18. Elisha Hoops, who was a member of the Smith party when at Corn Creek, testified at the first Lee trial that he heard the inquiry respecting the likelihood of the Indians eating the dead ox; and also testified that just as the party he was with was starting out in the morning, he saw a German Doctor traveling with the Arkansas train stick a knife into the carcass of the dead ox in question in three places and pour something in the cuts out of a vial. (See Court record, Testimony of Elisha Hoop; also *Deseret News* of Aug. 4, 1875.) On the other hand it is alleged that the poisoning of dead cattle resulted from their having eaten a poisonous weed that grows in southern Utah. Jacob Forney, who succeeded Brigham Young as Indian agent for the territory, makes this as an explanation in his report to the government and cites the case of the ox of Mr. Ray (referred to by Geo. A. Smith in this chapter as being killed by drinking from the springs poisoned by the emigrants) as being so killed while the Arkansas Emigrants were in the neighborhood of Corn Creek (Sen. Doc. 36th Congress 1st Session ii No. 42, p. 76). Forney's Report was made in September, 1859). It is further asked what motive the Arkansas party could have for thus inviting the hostility of the Indians. The only answer, if any, would be the general contempt in which western emigrants held the Indians, the lightness in which they regarded the act of taking their lives, culminating in that most wretched of all aphorisms of the mountains and the plains—"The only good Indian is a dead one."

18½. *Deseret News*, Aug. 4, 1875.

19. There is some conflict in dates as to the time of the arrival of the Emigrants at the Meadows, and also as to the date on which the massacre occurred. For instance, "*Argus*," whom Stenhouse quotes, places the time of the massacre on the 15th of September, instead of the 11th. (*Rocky Mountain Saints*, p. 431.) And Josiah F. Gibbs, author of "*Lights and Shadows of Mormonism*," places the first attack upon the emigrants on the 19th of September (p. 223), saying, however, that the dates "are somewhat mixed."



ing to reported outgivings of theirs, to remain here sometime for the purpose of resting their cattle before commencing their journey through the desert and semi-desert country between them and Southern California.

Meantime the effect of the bad conduct of this emigrant company while passing through the southern Mormon settlements and the adjacent Indian tribes had culminated in a great excitement among the latter, and of anger and resentment among the former. It was customary for the local leading men at Cedar and from the smaller settlements in its vicinity to gather in a council meeting after the close of the regular Sunday services of the Church, to consider questions of local community interest. At such a meeting on the 6th of September the question concerning the conduct of, and what ought to be done with, the Arkansas emigrants then en route through southern Utah was brought up and debated. Some in the council were in favor of destroying them, and others were not. Finally, and largely through the influence of Mr. Laban Morrill, it was "unanimously decided" in that council to suspend all hostile action relative to the emigrants until a message could be sent to Brigham Young to know what would be the best course to pursue.<sup>20</sup> The next day James Haslem, a resident of Cedar at the time, was sent as such messenger to Governor Young. Word had come to Cedar before this express started for Salt Lake City that the Indians had the Arkansas emigrants surrounded at Mountain Meadows and John D. Lee (farmer to the Indians in southern Utah) wanted to know what should be done.<sup>21</sup> Haslem testifies that this was the substance of the message handed to him.<sup>22</sup> Haslem arrived

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20. Court record Second Trial of John D. Lee, testimony of Laban Morrill.

21. The message he was to carry was read to Haslem by Isaac C. Haight, then sealed up and the messenger carefully concealed it upon his person and began his journey. (Haslem's Affidavit, Mountain Meadows Massacre, Penrose, p. 86.)

22. See Affidavit of Haslem given 12th of January, 1885, before Joseph Howell, Notary Public at Wellsville, Utah. Mr. Howell is now (1913) representative to congress from the state of Utah. The testimony of Haslem is not given at length in the court proceedings in the second trial of Lee, but a synopsis only. See the court proceedings as reported in "Mormonism Unveiled," compiled and edited by Lee's counsel, William W. Bishop, containing Lee's alleged confession and a full account of his second trial. Haslem's testimony as recounted there stands as follows: "James Haslem testified that he went as a messenger from Haight to Brigham Young, and that Brigham Young sent back word that 'those men must be protected and allowed to go in peace.' He got back with the message Sunday after the massacre, and reported to Haight, who said, 'It is too late.'" ("Mormonism

in Salt Lake City in the forenoon of Thursday, the 10th of September. Governor Young after reading the message asked Haslem if he could stand the return trip, Haslem answered in the affirmative, and was then directed by the Governor to take a few hours rest and then return with the answer that would be prepared. After several hours rest, Haslem presented himself to the governor and received a written message, unsealed, the Governor saying to him as he prepared to ride away:—

*“Go with all speed, spare no horse flesh. The emigrants must not be meddled with, if it takes all Iron county to prevent it. They must go free and unmolested.”*<sup>23</sup>

The written answer to Haight is also of record in the letter files of President Young’s office. The part relating to the Arkansas emigrants is as follows:

*“In regard to the Emigration trains passing through our settlements, we must not interfere with them until they are first notified to keep away. There are no other trains that I know of. If those who are there will leave, let them go in peace.”*<sup>24</sup>

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Unveiled,” pp. 322-3). In the *Deseret News* daily report of the trial while in progress, the synopsis of Haslem’s testimony was more extended and contained the words to be used presently in the text. In consequence of the detailed testimony of Mr. Haslem not being given in full in the court record, an attorney, S. A. Kenner, Esq., took his testimony in the form of questions and answers on the aforesaid 12th day of January, 1885, as above cited. The testimony will be found *in extenso* as a supplement to “The Mountain Meadows Massacre,” by Charles W. Penrose, 1884.

23. Report of Lee Trial, while it was in progress, *Deseret News*, of Sept. 20th, 1876. Also Haslem Affidavit, Supplement to Penrose’s Mountain Meadows Massacre, pp. 94, 95. (Haslem also said he knew the contents of the written answer. *News* report, *Ibid*.)

24. Elder Penrose, now (1913) second counselor in the first Presidency of the Church, gives a certified copy of this letter in full in his “Mountain Meadows Massacre,” pp. 46-47. As the matter is of such importance I reproduce it here:

“PRESIDENT’S OFFICE,  
“GREAT SALT LAKE CITY, Sept. 10, 1857.

“Elder Isaac C. Haight:

“DEAR BROTHER:—Your note of the 7th inst. is to hand. Capt. Van Vliet, Acting Commissary, is here, having come in advance of the army to procure necessities for them. We do not expect that any part of the army will be able to reach here this fall. There is only about 850 men coming. They are now at or near Laramie. A few of their freight trains are this side of that place, the advance of which are now on Green River. They will not be able to come much if any further on account of their poor stock. They cannot get here this season without we help them. So you see that the Lord has answered our prayers, and again averted the blow designed for our heads. *In regard to the emigration trains passing through our settlements, we must not interfere with them until they are first notified to keep away. You must not meddle with them. There are no other trains that I know of. If those who are there will leave, let them go in peace.* While we should be on the alert, on hand, and always ready, we should also possess ourselves in patience, ever

Haslem returned by relay of horses, arriving at Cedar on Sunday the 13th of September, and delivered his message from Governor Young to Isaac C. Haight, who as he read it, burst into tears and said:

*"Too late, too late!"*

"The massacre," adds Haslem, "was all over before I got home."<sup>25</sup>

Not only was a messenger sent to President Young in persuance of the agreement of the council held at Cedar on the 6th of September, but messengers were also sent to leading men at Pinto, a small settlement within five or six miles of the Mountain Meadows, directing that the Indians be held in check until word could be received from Brigham Young with reference to the emigrants, and giving the information that a messenger was then starting for Salt Lake City.<sup>26</sup>

Meantime several hundred Indians had gathered at Mountain Meadows, and at breaking of day on Monday or Tuesday morning<sup>27</sup>—began an attack upon the emigrant camp, killing,—it was afterwards learned,—seven and wounding sixteen at the first volley. Though taken unawares the emigrants fought

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remembering that God rules. He has overruled for our deliverance thus once again, and He will always do so if we live our religion and be united in our faith and good works.

All is well with us. May the Lord bless you and all the Saints forever.

Your Brother in the gospel of Christ,

BRIGHAM YOUNG.

Territory of Utah,  
County of Salt Lake.

I, Nephi W. Clayton, a notary public, within and for the county of Salt Lake, Territory of Utah, hereby certify that the foregoing is a full, true and correct copy of an impression of the foregoing letter; as witness my hand and official seal, at my office in Salt Lake City, Utah, this 18th day of October, A. S. 1884.

NEPHI W. CLAYTON,  
Notary Public, Salt Lake County, U. T."

25. Haslem's Testimony, "Mountain Meadows Massacre," Supplement, p. 95. Haslem's ride stands among the foremost of such achievement. He had ridden over six hundred miles in six days, and largely through a wilderness country.

26. See Haslem's Affidavit, *Ibid.*, p. 102. Joel White and Philip Klingensmith were intrusted with this message to Pinto. En route they met, near Cedar City, and going towards it, John D. Lee. They acquainted him with the nature of their mission and message, to which Lee answered: "I have something to say about that." Testimony of Klingensmith, at Lee's first trial, July, 1875, Court record; and testimony of Joel White at Lee's second trial, Court record, September, 1876.

27. Lee says the first attack was made on Tuesday morning. Confession, "Mormonism Unveiled," p. 226. Others place it on Monday morning, Sept. 7th. See Linn's "Story of the Mormons," p. 521; Bancroft's Utah, p. 550.



bravely and repulsed the Indians, killing several braves and mortally wounding two of their chiefs. This checked the attack; and afforded the emigrants an opportunity to draw their wagons into a close circle, sink the wheels to the hubs, and in the center of the inclosure dig a rifle pit large enough to afford protection to the whole party. They were in a state of siege.

Meantime the Indians sent runners into the surrounding country to gather more tribesmen,<sup>27½</sup> and one to John D. Lee, urging him to come to the place of the conflict and lead them to victory. Lee crossed the mountains from his home at the settlement of Harmony, and arrived among the Indians whom he reports as in a frenzy of excitement and demanded that he lead them in an attack upon the now intrenched camp, threatening if he did not do it they would declare war upon the "Mormons" and kill every one in the settlements.

Unfortunately for these statements we only have the word of Lee to support them, as he was the only white man up to this stage of the proceedings with the Indians, and he can never be accepted as a reliable witness. But according to his statements he induced the Indians to allow him to leave the vicinity of the Meadows to bring up more Indians from the south. Sixteen miles southward he met about one hundred Indians and a number of white settlers from the Santa Clara valley. The Indians proceeded forthwith to join their friends at the scene of conflict, the whites camped together with Lee that night, and moved on to the Meadows the next day. From the encampment which these whites formed near Hamblin's ranch, and at no great distance from the emigrant train, word was sent to Cedar detailing the situation. But whether that was a message asking for help to protect and save the emigrants and pacify the Indians, as claimed by Lee;<sup>28</sup> or a call for reinforcements to help effect

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<sup>27½</sup>. The following statement is from the report of Hon. George A. Smith, to Brigham Young, on Aug. 17, 1858: "When the attack was made on the emigrant party, the Indians sent out runners to the various bands in every direction, to gather additional help. The news reached the settlement at Cedar through that means. Ahwonup, the Piede chief at Parowan, received an invitation to join the foray against the emigrants. He went to Col. Dame to tell him what he was going to do, upon which the Colonel succeeded in inducing him and the most of his warriors to abandon the project. (Hist. of Brigham Young Ms., entry for 9th of Sept., 18—, pp. 481-9).

<sup>28</sup>. Lee's Confession, "Mormonism Unveiled," p. 229.



their destruction; or a call for a gathering of more settlers for consultation to determine what could be done, and what it would be best to do, may not be determined, as Lee's statement cannot be trusted. The call, however, whatever its purport, brought to Mountain Meadows a number of white settlers from Cedar, on Thursday, the 10th of September, enough to swell the number of whites now there to between fifty and sixty, many of whom were but very young men.

That night and the following morning the fate of the emigrants was debated among the leaders of the settlers. One incident which may have been a large determining factor in the subsequent tragedy was the killing the night before of one of the emigrants by white men some distance from the emigrant camp. It appears that two men of the emigrant company on Wednesday left their camp in the Meadows, evaded the watchfulness of the Indians and were making their way to Cedar for help; at or near the settlement of Pinto they met three white men to whom they told their errand, but were immediately attacked and one of them was killed. The other escaped and returned to the emigrant camp, with his news, of course, that the white settlers were doubtless in league with the Indians for their destruction, since his companion had been killed by white men. Should any of the emigrants escape with that story to California, in the then excited state of mind towards the "Mormons," the likelihood would be that a military force would soon be moving upon them from the west as well as the one now invading the Territory from the east. This is not said by way of paliation for the crime of the massacre which followed, but is mentioned as one of the important facts of the tragedy, and as one of the contributing causes, doubtless, to the decision arrived at that all of the emigrants should be killed who would be likely to retain any memory of what had occurred, or was likely to occur.<sup>29</sup>

This gives fear a large place among the motives that led to the crime of the Mountain Meadows. It has already been stated that the course of the emigrants in passing through the southern

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29. Lee's Confession, *Mormonism Unveiled*, p. 235; also Lee's Second Trial, Court record, Testimony of Jacob Hamblin. Lee states that two men left the camp, Hamblin reports that Lee told him that there were three, and that two escaped. *Id.*

settlements had awakened the resentment of the people. Though much of their boasting about participation in the Missouri and Illinois "Mormon" troubles may have been the mere bravado of "the Missouri Wild-Cats;" and their threats against the then presiding Mormon leaders, and their expressed intention to return in force and destroy the Latter-day Saint settlements may have been but the vain ranting of the reckless spirits of the camp, yet it was suicidal to indulge in that bravado and such ranting. It would have been so in any community who had suffered such injustice as the Latter-day Saints had suffered; with which suffering they were now taunted, and of which there was now—as the settlers viewed it—a threatened repetition, and in which repetition this reckless company of emigrants expressed determination to participate. Such procedure even under normal conditions would have aroused resentments and led to trouble, and most likely to some acts of violence. But to make these boasts, and to indulge in these threats at a time when great excitement prevailed in the Mormon settlements, and the war spirit of the people was aroused by reports of the approach of an invading army whose purpose the Saints were left to suspect by their cruel experiences with state troops in both Missouri and Illinois—for the Arkansas emigrants to indulge in boastings of past achievements with armed movements against the Saints, to swagger and threaten a repetition of these things was, under all the circumstances, to invite calamity. And now that one of their number had been shot down by whitemen, and they had evidence that white settlers of Utah were leagued with the Indians in less made it easy for some of the leaders to persuade the white settlers gathered at Mountain Meadows to conclude that the emigrants if allowed to escape would be able to carry out their threat of returning from California with the necessary force to destroy the Mormon settlements. And so I say this fear undoubtedly became a weighty argument in determining the fate of the emigrant company.<sup>29½</sup>

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29½. Nearly all Anti-Mormon writers mention as motive for "Mormon" bitterness, or "animus" against the Arkansas company, the murder of Elder Parley P. Pratt in Van Buren county, Arkansas, and name revenge for his death as a motive for the crime at Mountain Meadows, Stenhouse viciously and wickedly saying, in this connection, that "the Indian is not the only human being who fails to dis-

The fate of the emigrants was debated among the leaders of the white settlers at the Meadows; we need not attempt to trace the discussion in detail where there is so much that is unreliable on account of the character of the witnesses, and so much that is contradictory. Nor is it possible to know the distress and suffering of the besieged emigrants. It is known, however, that their suffering was very great. Their corral of wagons was some distance from the spring on the north side of which they had camped, and they could get no water without exposing themselves to the attacks of the Indians who watched the spring; and the same is true as to wood, though at intervals, and usually at night, both were obtained, but at great risk. Great and sickening must have been their consternation when they learned from their man who had escaped from the Pinto assault that white men as well as the Indians were arrayed against them.

After the discussion referred to ended, it appears that leading spirits among the white settlers who had assembled at Mountain Meadows determined upon the destruction of the emigrants; and in order that it might be accomplished without risk

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criminate between the innocent and the guilty (Rocky Mountain Saints, p. 428). And even Bancroft attributes Mormon "disfavor" for the Arkansas company to "the murder of a well-beloved Apostle of the Mormon Church." (Hist. of Utah, p. 545). Yet there is not a scintilla of evidence that justifies in the remotest manner any such suggestion, much less any such conclusion. Elder Pratt was killed on the 13th of May, near the line, between Indian Territory and the state of Arkansas, and on which side of it is not quite certain, and while news of his death had reached Salt Lake City before the departure southward of the Arkansas company, no particulars of that sad event were known in Utah, as the eastern mail service between Independence and Salt Lake City had been suspended for several months; and there were no feelings of revenge existing in Utah against Arkansas citizens on account of the Pratt murder. Equally vain are the attempts to connect the Mountain Meadows tragedy with alleged threats made by Brigham Young in his conversation with Captain Van Vliet, and with which Bancroft's chapter on the Massacre opens. In that conversation Brigham Young said: "If the government persists in sending an army to destroy us, in the name of the Lord, we shall conquer them. If they dare to force the issue, I shall not hold the Indians by the wrist any longer, for white men to shoot at them; they shall go ahead and do as they please. If the issue comes, you may tell the government to stop all emigration across this continent, for the Indians will kill all who attempt it." (Hist. of Brigham Young, Ms. entry for 9th of September, 1857). This conversation is said by Bancroft to have occurred upon the 9th of September, two days later the massacre, over three hundred miles distant, took place. "In the absence of telegraph and railroads it would be impossible," Bancroft concedes, "to execute a deed three hundred miles away in two days." But as a matter of fact this Young-Van Vliet interview in which the above statement occurs took place on Sunday, the 13th of September, two days after the massacre at Mountain Meadows (See Woodruff's Journal Ms., entry for 13th September, 1857). Brigham Young's words to Captain Van Vliet constituted a warning rather than a threat.



to themselves it was decided to decoy the emigrants from their fortified camp, disarm them and treacherously put them to death. The conception was diabolical; the execution of it horrible; and the responsibility for both must rest upon those men who conceived and executed it; for whatever of initiative may or may not have been taken by the Indians in the first assault upon these emigrants, responsibility for this deliberately planned massacre rests not with them.

A flag of truce was sent to the emigrant camp, carried by one William Bateman, he was met outside the camp by a Mr. Hamilton from the emigrant company, and an arrangement was made for John D. Lee to hold a parley with the emigrants and explain in what way they could be delivered from the vengeance of the surrounding Indian tribes. The terms were that the emigrants give up their arms; that the wounded be loaded into wagons followed by the women and larger children, the men of the company in single file coming after them. On condition of such surrender the white settlers were to give the emigrants safe conduct back to Cedar, where they would be protected until they could continue the journey to California in safety. The surrender was made by the emigrants; two wagons were brought to their camp and the arms and the wounded loaded into them, the procession formed, and the march toward Cedar began.

Meantime the Indians, several hundred in number, had concealed themselves in patches of scrub oaks and cedars behind a swell of the hillside out of view from the emigrant camp, but beside the road over which this forming procession would move. A short distance from the emigrant camp the settlers from Cedar City and the Clara valley were drawn up in double file, and between the files the procession of wagons, women and children and men passed. The file of settlers was then changed from double to single order, an armed settler by this arrangement marching on the right of each unarmed emigrant man. When the wagons and the women and children had reached the stretch of road beside which the Indians were in ambush, the signal agreed upon was given, *and in from three to five minutes the Mountain Meadows Massacre was made a horrible fact of history.* Only three men escaped the first deadly assault, and



these were followed to the desert and killed.<sup>30</sup> Seventeen of were all that were saved from the slaughter. From one hundred and fifteen to one hundred and twenty men, women and older children were slain, and given but an imperfect burial.

The children that were saved were distributed among the settlers, but two years later they were gathered up by Mr. Jacob Forney, who succeeded Brigham Young as Indian Agent for the Territory of Utah, and were sent east where, as far as possible, they were given in charge of relatives or friends of the ill fated emigrants, Congress having in the meantime appropriated the sum of \$10,000 for their recovery and restoration,<sup>31</sup> but most of them were received into and cared for by a child's orphanage in St. Louis.

The property of the emigrant company was seized upon by both Indians and white men, some of it being sold in Cedar, at public auction, and referred to as the "property taken at the siege of *Sevastopol*."<sup>32</sup> The same authority mentions a report that Lee, Haight, and Klingensmith counseled with Brigham Young "about what should be done with the property. They took with them the ready money they got from the surrender of

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30. There is some conflict as to the number of men who escaped the first assault. Lee says three escaped, but Indians were put upon their trail and they overtook and killed them ("Mormonism Unveiled," p. 244). Forney reports that three escaped, but they were overtaken and killed. Sen. Doc. 36th Cong. 1st sess. ii no. 42, p. 89. Cradlebaugh says two escaped and fled to the desert, but were followed and finally overtaken and killed, one of them 150 miles from the Meadows. Congressional Globe, Appendix 37th Congress, 1862-3, p. 123. Burton condensing from official reports tells of three escaping from the first assault, but being taken and killed. "City of the Saints," p. 340, note.)

31. See Bancroft's Utah, pp. 557-8, and Forney's Report in Sen. Doc. 36th Congress, 1st session, ii, no. 42, *passim*, appendix, p. 123. Relative to the charge made by some Anti-Mormon writers that the children were ill cared for and poorly clad by the people who had charge of them in Utah, it is only necessary to quote Forney's report on this point: "It is proper to remark that when I obtained the children they were in a better condition than children generally in the settlements in which they lived." Senate Documents, 36th Congress, 1st sess., ii, no. 42, p. 87, 89. All the official reports deny the charge that the children were left in the custody of the Indians.

32. Letter of Major James H. Carleton to Major W. W. Mackall, Assistant Adj. General U. S. A., San Francisco, Cal., from Mountain Meadows date of May 25, 1859. "Hand Book of Mormonism," p. 67, *et seq.* "The property of the emigrants was taken to Cedar, where it was put up at public auction and sold." Report of Captain R. P. Campbell to Major F. J. Porter. Sen. Doc. 1st sess. 36th Congress, Vol. II, p. 208. Hon. George A. Smith's report to Brigham Young states concerning the conduct of the Indians in seizing upon the emigrant property that on the arrival of Col. Haight at the Meadows he found "the Indians were pillaging and destroying the property, and driving off the cattle in every direction; each one endeavoring to secure to himself the most plunder, without respect to the others. When they had secreted one back load in the hills, they returned and got another, thus continuing with the most unrelenting energy, till everything was cached."

the emigrants and offered it to Young. He said he would have nothing to do with it. He told them to divide the cows and cattle among the poor. They had taken some of the cattle to Salt Lake City when they went up, and after the talk with Brigham they sold these to the merchants there. Lee told Brigham that the Indians would not be satisfied if they did not have a share of the cattle. Brigham left it to Lee to make the distribution."<sup>33</sup> Of course these were merely the rumors current in southern Utah at the time (1859) Major Carleton wrote this letter from Mountain Meadows. In his deposition admitted in evidence at the second Lee trial, on the subject of the distribution of this property President Young said:

*"Eleventh*—Did you ever give any direction concerning the property taken from the emigrants at the Mountain Meadows Massacre, or know anything as to its disposition?

*Answer*—No, I never gave any directions concerning the property taken from the company of emigrants at the Mountain Meadows Massacre, nor did I know anything of that property, or its disposal, and I do not to this day, except from public rumor."<sup>34</sup>

Responsibility for this massacre is a subject of great importance. It appears from all the circumstances that it was the intention of the white men engaged in the tragedy to place the responsibility for it upon the Indians. This is emphatically the assumption of the report made by George A. Smith to President Young in 1858, about one year after the event; although after thus placing the responsibility he says:

"It is reported that John D. Lee and a few other white men were on the ground during a portion of the combat, but for what purpose, or how they conducted, or whether indeed they were there at all, I have not learned."

Except for this paragraph the report very pronouncedly lays the responsibility for the crime upon the Indians.<sup>35</sup>

About two weeks after the tragedy, being urged by Isaac C.

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33. Carleton's Report. Also "Life in Utah," Beadle, p. 184, and Stenhouse in Rocky Mountain Saints, p. 452; and Cradlebaugh's Speech, Congressional Globe, 37th Congress, 3d sess., Appendix, p. 123.

34. Court record Second Lee Trial, Sept., 1876, Deposition of Brigham Young.

35. The Smith report is dated Aug. 17, 1858, Hist. of Brigham Young, Ms. entry for Sept. 9th, 1857, pp. 481-89. See Note I, end of chapter, for this early version of the tragedy.

Haiget to do so, John D. Lee visited Salt Lake City to report what had been done at Mountain Meadows to Governor Young. According to Lee's statement, he made a full report of all that had been done.<sup>36</sup> According to Governor Young's deposition at the second trial of Lee he (Governor Young) refused to hear the story in detail.<sup>37</sup>

Wilford Woodruff was present at this interview, and at the time set down in his most excellent daily journal what took place, and this may be relied upon as being more accurate than anything that would be remembered in subsequent years. Following is his record of the interview.

29th [September, 1857]. "We have another express in this morning, saying that the army are rapidly marching towards us, will soon be at Bridger, and they wish men immediately sent out. Elder John D. Lee also arrived from Harmony with an express and an awful tale of blood. A company of California emigrants, of about 150 men, women and children. Many of them belonged to the mob in Missouri and Illinois. They had many cattle and horses with them. As they traveled along south, they went damning Brigham Young, Heber C. Kimball and the heads of the Church, saying that Joseph Smith ought to have been shot a long time before he was. They wanted to do all the evil they could, so they poisoned beef and gave it to the Indians, and some of them died. They poisoned the springs of water, several of the Saints died. The Indians became enraged at their conduct and they surrounded them on the prairie, and the emigrants formed a bulwark of their wagons, and dug an entrenchment up to the hubs of their wagons, but the Indians fought them five days until they killed all the men, about sixty in number. They then rushed into their corral and cut the throats of the women and children, except some eight or ten children which they brought and sold to the whites. They stripped the men and women naked and left them stinking in the boiling sun. When Brother Lee found it out he took some men and went and buried their bodies. It was a horrid, awful job. The whole air was

36. Confession in "Mormonism Unveiled," p. 252.

37. From the Deposition: *Ninth*—Did John D. Lee report to you at any time after this massacre what had been done at that massacre, and if so, what did you reply to him in reference thereto? *Answer*—Within some two or three months after the massacre he called at my office and had much to say with regard to the Indians, their being stirred up to anger and threatening the settlements of the whites, and then commenced giving an account of the massacre. I hold him to stop, as from what I had already heard by rumor, I did not wish my feelings harrowed up with a recital of details." (Court record of the Second Lee Trial. Deposition of Brigham Young.)



filled with an awful stench. Many of the men and women were rotten with [unnameable disease] before they were hurt by the Indians. The Indians obtained all the cattle and horses and property, guns, etc. There was another large company of emigrants who had 1,000 head of cattle, who was also damning both the Indians and the 'Mormons.' They were afraid of sharing the same fate, and Brother Lee had to send interpreters with them to the Indians to help save their lives, while at the same time they were trying to kill us. We spent most of the day in trying to get the brethren ready to go to the Mountains. Brother Brigham while speaking of the cutting of the throats of women and children by the Indians down south, said that it was heart-rending; that emigration must stop, as he had before said. Brother Lee said that he did not think there was a drop of innocent blood in their camp, for he had two of the children in his house, and he could not get but one to kneel down in prayer-time, and the other would laugh at her for doing it, and they would swear like pirates." The scene of blood has commenced, and Joseph said that we should see so much of it that it would make our hearts sick."<sup>38</sup>

Jacob Hamblin, a reputable witness, testified at the second Lee trial that "soon after it [the massacre] happened, he reported to Brigham Young and George A. Smith what Lee had told him of the affair; of the part that white men had taken in it; and that in greater detail than he had given it, or was able to give in his testimony in court, because he then more clearly remembered it; and that Brigham Young said to him that 'as soon as we can get a court of justice we will ferret this thing out, but till then, don't say anything about it.'"<sup>39</sup> It must be remembered that at the time of Hamblin's report everything was in a state of *chaos* in Utah; an army was within the borders of the territory on the east, the purpose of which was not clearly known; the territory was under martial law by proclamation of the Governor *de facto*, Brigham Young; and the people were making preparations for the destruction of their settlements and another flight into the wilderness. Hamblin makes an important statement in his biography respecting the action of Governor Young in regard to this tragedy, locating the incident to be related as happening "soon after the United States army had

38. Woodruff Journal, Sept. 29, 1857.

39. Court record Lee's Second Trial, Testimony of Jacob Hamblin.



entered Salt Lake Valley;" and the army entered the valley on the 26th of June, 1858.

Following is the incident which occurred:

"It is generally known that the enemies of the Latter-day Saints have accused them of shielding from justice the white men, who, it was supposed, joined with the Indians in the Mountain Meadow massacre. Mr. Cumming succeeded President Brigham Young as governor of Utah Territory in the early spring, before the arrival of the United States army in Salt Lake Valley.

President Brigham Young requested Elder George A. Smith to have an interview with the new governor, and learn his views concerning the Mountain Meadow massacre, and assure him that all possible assistance would be rendered the United States courts to have it thoroughly investigated.

Brother Smith took me with him, and introduced me as a man who was well informed regarding Indian matters in Southern Utah, and would impart to him any information required that I might be in possession of. He also urged upon Governor Cumming the propriety of an investigation of this horrid affair, that, if there were any white men engaged in it, they might be justly punished for their crimes.

Governor Cumming replied that President Buchanan had issued a proclamation of amnesty and pardon to the "Mormon" people, and he did not wish to go behind it to search out crime.

Brother Smith urged that the crime was exclusively personal in its character, and had nothing to do with the general officers of the territory, and, therefore, was a fit subject for an investigation before the United States courts.

Mr. Cumming still objected to interfering, on account of the President's proclamation.

Brother Smith replied substantially as follows: 'If the business had not been taken out of our hands by a change of officers in the territory, the Mountain Meadows affair is one of the first things we should have attended to when a United States court sat in Southern Utah. We would see whether or not white men were concerned in the affair, with the Indians.' ''<sup>40</sup>

The reasons for Brigham Young not acting more promptly and vigorously in the matter, and the general conditions then prevailing in the Territory are thus stated by himself in his deposition admitted in evidence in the second Lee trial:

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40. "Jacob Hamblin, a Narrative of His Personal Experiences," edited by James A. Little, 1881, pp. 56-7.

*“Twelfth—*Why did you not, as Governor, institute proceedings forthwith to investigate that massacre, and bring the guilty authors thereof to justice?

*Answer—*Because another governor had been appointed by the President of the United States, and was then on the way to take my place, and I did not know how soon he might arrive, and because the United States judges were not in the Territory. Soon after Governor Cumming arrived, I asked him to take Judge Cradlebaugh, who belonged to the Southern District, with him, and I would accompany them with sufficient aid to investigate the matter and bring the offenders to justice.”

It is often charged that Brigham Young made no report of this massacre to the government; he at least made such report of it as John D. Lee, in his capacity as farmer to the Indians in the locality where the event occurred, sent to him in writing. Governor Young had made a report on general conditions and current accounts to the Indian Department at Washington on Sept. the 12th, 1857. Lee supplements his verbal report to Gov. Young—already considered,—by a written one from Harmony, his home in Iron county, under date of November 20th, 1857, in which the then Lee version of the massacre was given.<sup>41</sup> Then in an official letter to Hon. James W. Denver, Commissioner of Indian Affairs, Washington City, D. C., under date

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41. The written report of Lee so far as it relates to the Arkansas company of emigrants is as follows:

HARMONY, WASHINGTON Co., U. T., November 20th, 1857.

To His Excellency Gov. B. Young, Ex-Officio and Superintendent of Indian Affairs:

DEAR SIR:—My report under date May 11th, 1857, relative to the Indians over whom I have charge as farmer, showed a friendly relation between them and the whites, which doubtless would have continued to increase had not the white *mans* been the first aggressor, as was the case with Capt. Fancher's company of emigrants, passing through to California about the middle of September last, on Corn Creek, fifteen miles south of Fillmore City, Millard county. The company there poisoned the meat of an ox, which they gave the Pah Vant Indians to eat, causing four of them to die immediately, besides poisoning a number more. The company also poisoned the water where they encamped, killing the cattle of the settlers. This unguided policy, planned in wickedness by this company, raised the ire of the Indians, which soon spread through the southern tribes, firing them up with revenge till blood was in their path, and as the breach, according to their tradition, was a national one, consequently any portion of the nation was liable to atone for that offense.

About the 22d of September, Capt. Fancher and company fell victims to their wrath, near Mountain Meadows; their cattle and horses were shot down in every direction, their wagons and property mostly committed to the flames.” (From Lee's report “Mormonism Unveiled,” p. 255.) The faulty diction of the original is followed.

of January 6th, 1858, Governor Young as superintendent of Indian Affairs, quoted as follows from Lee's report:

" 'About the 22nd of September, Capt. Fancher & Co. fell victims to the Indians' wrath near Mountain Meadows. Their cattle and horses were shot down in every direction; their wagons and property mostly committed to the flames.' "

This quotation the governor followed by the following comments:

"Lamentable as this case truly is, it is only the natural consequence of that fatal policy which treats the Indians like the wolves, or other ferocious beasts. I have vainly remonstrated for years with travelers against pursuing so suicidal a policy, and repeatedly advised the Government of its fatal tendency. It is not always upon the heads of the individuals who commit such crimes that such condign punishment is visited, but more frequently the next company that follows in their fatal path become the unsuspecting victims, though preadventure perfectly innocent." <sup>42</sup>

Following the ill-fated Arkansas company, came one several days later of about the same size, captained by a man of the name of — Duke, and hence it was known as "Duke's Train." They had some trouble with the Indians near Beaver. Lee's written report to Governor Young, which mentions the Mountain Meadows affair—quoted above—states that Duke's company "had many of their men shot down near Beaver City, and had it not been for the interposition of the citizens at that place, the whole company would have been massacred by the enraged Pahvants. From this place they were protected by military force, by order of Col. W. H. Dame, through the Territory, besides providing the company with interpreters, to help them through to the Los Vegas. On the Muddy, some three to five hundred Indians attacked the company, while traveling, and drove off several hundred head of cattle, telling the company that if they fired a single gun that they would kill every

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42. These reports of Brigham Young are published at length in the Court records, Second Trial of John D. Lee, Sept., 1876, also in "Mormonism Unveiled," pp. 302-16. For interesting incident in connection with a member of the Fancher family, see Note 2, end of chapter.



soul. The interpreters tried to regain the stock, or a portion of it, by presents, but in vain. The Indians told them to mind their own business, or their lives would not be saved. Since that occurrence no company has been able to pass without some of our interpreters to talk and explain matters to the Indians.”<sup>43</sup>

Hon. George A. Smith also reports this second company:

“At this time [i. e., about the time of the massacre] another company of emigrants fired upon a party of Pahvants in the neighborhood of Beaver, some thirty-five miles north of Parowan, and wounded one of them. This occurrence created so much excitement among the Pahvants of that region, that they were determined to exterminate those emigrants, which was only prevented by a detachment of militia sent from Parowan by Col. Dame who effected a compromise with the Indians, and guarded that company safely from that place to the Vegas, some three hundred miles.”<sup>44</sup>

This company is also spoken of by Jacob Hamblin, and he it was who selected the interpreters to go with the emigrants through the Indian country. The Indians tribes on the Muddy, however, taxed them heavily in cattle for the otherwise peaceful passage through their country, taking from them four hundred and eighty head, but the company continued its journey in safety to California, while the two interpreters, “Brothers Knight and Leavitt,” who had safely conducted them beyond danger, returned to the Santa Clara settlements. “As soon as possible,” says Hamblin’s narrative, “I talked with the principal Indians engaged in this affair, and they agreed that the stock not killed should be given up. I wrote to the owners in California, and they sent their agent, Mr. Lane, with whom I went to the Muddy, and the stock was delivered to him as the Indians had agreed.”<sup>45</sup>

Still later in the Autumn of 1857, Hamblin piloted safely through the southern Indian country a company made up chiefly of merchants who had been doing business in Salt Lake City; but who, not desiring to be involved in the difficulties between

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43. Lee’s written report to Gov. Young, from Harmony, under date of Nov. 20th, 1857.

44. Hist. Brigham Young, Ms. entry Sept. 9, 1857, pp. 481-89.

45. Jacob Hamblin, a narrative of his Personal Experiences, etc., p. 47.



the "Mormons" and the United States, were now fleeing to the Eastern states *via* California and the Isthmus of Panama. The company carried with them a letter from Brigham Young to Hamblin directing him to see that the company was safely conducted to California, which was done.<sup>46</sup>

When the new United States judiciary for the territory of Utah, who, with Alfred Cumming as Governor of the territory, were finally installed in their offices;<sup>42½</sup> and when through the investigation of Indian agent Jacob Forney he reported that "the massacre in question was concocted by white men and consummated by whites and Indians," it could but follow that the judiciary would seek to bring to judgement the guilty parties, notwithstanding the attitude assumed by Governor Cumming in refusing to investigate the matter as represented by Jacob Hamblin, and President Young. Accordingly Judge Cradlebaugh, to whom was assigned the southern judicial district, and who held his first term of court at Provo, opening on the 8th of March, 1859, called the attention of the grand jury he impanelled to the Mountain Meadows Massacre and some other homicides that had been committed at Springville, in Utah county. "To allow these things to pass over gives a color as if they were done by authority," said the judge. And then added:

"The very fact of such a case as that of the Mountain Meadows shows that there was one person high in the estimation of the people and it was done by that authority; and this case of the Parrishes (The Springville homicides) shows the same, and unless you do your duty, such will be the view that will be taken of it. You can know no law but the laws of the United States and the laws you have here. No Person can commit crimes and say they are authorized by higher authorities, and if they have any such notions they will have to dispel them."<sup>45</sup>

This was proceeding upon an unwarranted assumption, and of course gave offense. The grand jury not moving with that alacrity in these matters that the impatience of the judge demanded,

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46. Jacob Hamblin, etc., Ch. VII.

44½. The new judiciary were D. R. Eckles, of Indiana, chief justice; Charles E. Sinclair and John Cradlebaugh, associate justices; Alexander Wilson, of Iowa, was United States Attorney for the Territory, and Peter K. Dotson, Marshal.

45. Judge Cradlebaugh to the Grand Jury, the charge is published in full in *Deseret News* of March 16th, 1859.

after two weeks in session, and while still in deliberation, they were summoned into court, soundly lectured by his honor and summarily discharged "as an evidently useless appendage of a court of justice."<sup>46</sup> The Judge announced that the court would "think of the propriety of venireing another grand jury," and concluded as follows:

"When this people come to their reason, and manifest a disposition to punish their own high offenders, it will then be time to enforce the law also for their protection. If this court cannot bring you to a proper sense of your duty, it can at least turn the savages in custody loose upon you."<sup>47</sup>

The grand jury failing to indict according to the suggestions of the judge of the district, the court proceeded to issue bench warrants based upon sworn information, and the U. S. marshall for the territory aided by a military posse made some arrests of parties charged with committing the Springville homicides, and doubtless a like policy was intended to be pursued with reference to the perpetrators of the Mountain Meadows Massacre.

In the evident furtherance of such a project judge Cradlebaugh, after closing his term of court at Provo, accompanied by a small detachment of U. S. troops, commanded by Captain Reuben P. Campbell, and by a deputy marshall, visited the southern part of the Territory, including the Santa Clara Valley, Mountain Meadows, Cedar City and all the surrounding settlements. En route the judge met the Indian agent Forney returning from his investigations, with the surviving children of the massacre. Forney gave him the names of a number of whitemen reported

46. The words are from Judge Cradlebaugh's speech in the House of Representatives, February 7th, 1863. Congressional Globe, 37th Congress, 3d session, Appendix, p. 122.

47. The remarks of Judge Cradlebaugh to the grand jury are published at length in *Deseret News* of March 30, 1859, and as corrected from a stenographic report by Mr. J. V. Long. Stenhouse says "the grand jury would not have listened to such language had there been no foundation for the accusations" (*Rocky Mountain Saints*, p. 408). The fact is the grand jury did not listen to the judge without protest. "A remonstrance signed by the grand jury without a dissenting voice against Judge Cradlebaugh's unprecedented course in peremptorily and vindictively discharging them when about consummating the business before them," says the editor of the *News*, in a note immediately following the full statement of Judge Cradlebaugh to the jury, "was presented; but we have been unable, as yet, through some inadvertency to obtain a copy of it." *Ibid.* Stenhouse's quotation from Judge Cradlebaugh in which he censures the jury for not resenting, were not addressed to the grand jury, but were the summing up of the evidence in the Springville murder cases.

to be prominent in the affair at the Meadows. The judge and his deputy marshal made inquiries among the Indian tribes of the Santa Clara, and of the people at Cedar, and surrounding settlements, with the result that a formidable list of the names of men prominent in military, civil, and ecclesiastical life were enrolled as being connected with the tragedy.<sup>48</sup> At this juncture however, Captain Campbell's command was recalled by the commanding General A. S. Johnston, as by instruction from the War Department at Washington, "the services of the army in connection with the civil affairs of this Territory—are to be invoked only to assist in the 'execution of the sentences of the law, or the judicial decrees of the court'; and then only on the written application of the governor when the service of a civil *posse* are found to be insufficient."<sup>49</sup> This put an end to the judge's over-zealous activities as one of the associate justices of Utah. He soon afterwards was appointed over the judicial district that included Carson Valley, where he became one of the prime movers in the creation of the Territory of Nevada from the western half of Utah and was twice elected delegate to congress from the new Territory; and in the national house of representative continued his anti-Mormon attacks upon the leaders of the Church of the Latter-day Saints.<sup>50</sup>

Of this Cradlebaugh effort to probe into the Mountain Meadows affair, agent Forney, who, earlier in the summer of

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48. Judge Cradlebaugh claims that while at Cedar City he "was visited by a number of apostate Mormons," who gave him "every assurance that they would furnish an abundance of evidence in regard to the matter, as soon as they were assured of military protection." "While there," he also says, "I issued warrants on affidavits filed before me for the arrest of the following named persons: Jacob [Isaac C.] Haight, President of the Cedar City stake; Bishop John M. Higbee, and Bishop John D. Lee [Lee never was, at any time or place, a Mormon Bishop], Columbus Freeman, William Slade, John Willis, William Riggs, ——— Ingram, Daniel McFarlan, William Stewart, Ira Allen and son, Thomas Cartwright, E. Welean, William Halley, Jabez Nomlen, John Mangum, James Price, John W. Adair, ——— Tyler, Joseph Smith, Samuel Pollock, John McFarlan, Nephi Johnson, ——— Thornton, Joel White, ——— Harrison, Charles Hopkins, Joseph Flang, Samuel Lewis, Sims Matheny, James Mangum, Harrison Pierce, Samuel Adair, F. C. McDulange, William Bateman, Ezra Curtis, and Alexander Loveridge. (Congressional Globe, 37th Congress, 3d session, Appendix, p. 123).

49. For Campbell's report, see Sen. Doc., 1st session, 36th Congress, Vol. ii, no. 56, p. 190; also no. 64, pp. 205-208. Also Cradlebaugh's speech, 37th Congress, 3d session, Appendix, 123.

50. See his speeches in the 37th Congress, *passim*; and especially in 3d sess., Congressional Globe, Appendix, p. 119, *et seq.*



1859 had been zealous in the support of Judge Cradlebaugh,<sup>51</sup> in a letter to the Commissioner of Indian Affairs at Washington, in August, wrote:

"I fear, and I regret to say it, that with certain parties here there is a greater anxiety to connect Brigham Young and other Church dignitaries with every criminal offence than diligent endeavor to punish the actual perpetrators of crime."<sup>52</sup>

That continued to be the sentiment of those who manifested any interest in the matter of the Mountain Meadows affair; but fourteen years will pass away before another official agitation of the matter occurs, and eighteen years before the most conspicuous leader in that horror is led to the Mountain Meadows by officers of the law and the death sentence of the court executed upon him at the scene of his great crime.<sup>53</sup> Of all those who participated in the massacre he alone was brought to execution. How meagre the retribution in this world when weighed against the repulsive perfidy practiced against those emigrants, and the largeness of the crime! But the end is not yet—the murderer hath never forgiveness: "Vengeance is mine, I will repay, saith the Lord,"<sup>54</sup> and in his own time and way he will doubtless be the minister of his own retribution. "Some men's sins are open before hand, going before to the judgment, and some men they follow after."<sup>55</sup> This much, and only this need to be said here, both in respect of this great crime of the Mountain Meadows and of other deeds of blood perpetrated in those trou-

51. See his letter to Gen. Johnston May 1st and June 15th, 1859. Sen. Doc., 36th Cong., Vol. ii, pp. 172-3.

52. Sen. Doc., 36th Congress, 1st sess., ii, no. 2, p. 86. Also quoted by Bancroft, p. 561.

53. Lee was executed on the 23d of March, 1877.

54. Rom. 12:19. These were the words which Major James H. Carleton caused to be inscribed upon a rude wooden cross he erected above the cairn that marked the burial place of the Arkansas Emigrants; but which later was destroyed either by some vandal's hand or the ruthless ravages of time; the cross has fallen and nothing now marks the resting place but the ruck of stones, placed above the common grave of the emigrants by United States troops some two years after the massacre (see report of Charles Brewer, Ass. Surgeon U. S. A., to Capt. R. P. Campbell, Sen. Doc., 1st sess., 36th Cong., Vol. ii, pp. 206-7; Judge Cradlebaugh's speech, in the 37th Congress, 3d sess., Appendix, p. 123). The destruction of this inscription is unjustly connected by the judge with President Young's first visit to southern Utah after it was erected. *Id.* Anti-Mormon malice adds that when Brigham Young read the inscription on that occasion he "with unfaltering voice changed the purport of its language, and said to those around him that it should read thus: 'Vengeance is mine, saith the Lord, and I have repaid!'" Stenhouse's Rocky Mt. Saints, p. 453.

55. I Tim. v:24.



bled, and unsettled years of Utah's history,<sup>56</sup> when men's worst passions were highly wrought upon by memories of past injustice, and by threatening portents of oppression yet to come—of all this it will be enough to say, let the finger of accusation point at whom it may, and the just verdict of history pronounce guilty whom it will, this much I hold to be clear, the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints bears no stain, and carries no responsibility for blood shed at any time or any place. Her law was announced from the beginning, by the son of God, saying:

*“Behold, I speak unto the Church. Thou shalt not kill; and he that kills shall not have forgiveness in this world, nor in the world to come. And again I say, thou shalt not kill, but he that killeth shall die. \* \* \* And it shall come to pass, that if any person among you shall kill, he shall be delivered up and dealt with according to the laws of the land; for remember that he hath no forgiveness, and it shall be proven according to the laws of the land.”*<sup>57</sup>

Such the great law of the Church, and whosoever has violated that law of God or whosoever shall violate it in the future, he and not the Church which forbids his wickedness, is responsible to God and to the laws of the land for his crime. And when Brigham Young said to Jacob Hamblin, after he had listened to the latter's report of the part Lee and other white men had taken in the crime, *“As soon as we can get a court of justice,*

56. This has reference to some homicides committed at Springville in Utah county, in March, 1857. The victims were members of the Parrish family, and the deed was committed on the eve of the intended departure of the family for California. Also to the killing of the Aiken party, in 1857. The party received its designation from two brothers of the name of Aiken, who, with four other men, were returning from California to the eastern states. Four of the party were arrested in southern Utah as “spies,” and *en route* for Salt Lake City *via* Nephi the party was attacked at night; two were killed outright, the other two, though wounded, made their way to Nephi, whence they started for Salt Lake, but were killed on their way at Willows Springs. The remark of the text also has reference to all other homicides committed in 1857, and in all antecedent years; whatever was done in that kind was done on the responsibility of the guilty individuals; and in all subsequent years, whatever was done stands upon the same footing. The law of God has not lodged the right of capital punishment with the Church. Even where there is a Church trial had, and proof given of the worthiness of death; at that point it becomes the duty of the Church to turn over those guilty of offenses worthy of death to the law of the land, to be dealt with according to that law, and through its ministers. What the law of God does not authorize the Church to do, it has not authorized individuals to do.

57. Doc. & Cov., sec. XLII. This revelation was given Feb. 9th, 1831.

*we will ferret this thing out, but until then don't say anything about it;*"<sup>58</sup> and when later Brigham Young sent Jacob Hamblin and George A. Smith to Governor Cumming—as already detailed in this chapter, to "*learn his views concerning the Mountain Meadows Massacre, and assure him that all possible assistance would be rendered to United States courts to have it investigated;*"<sup>59</sup> and when Brigham Young, soon after Governor Cumming arrived in Utah, went to him and "*asked him to take Judge Cradlebaugh, who belonged to the southern district with him,*" and that he [Brigham Young] would also "*accompany them with sufficient aid to investigate the matter and bring the offenders to justice*"—when President Young did these several things he was seeking to follow the law of the Church, above quoted and to vindicate it.

In 1870, through some representations made by Elder Erastus Snow and Bishop L. W. Roundy, who had been meantime investigating the crime of the Mountain Meadows, President Brigham Young became convinced of the absolute responsibility of John D. Lee in that affair; and of Isaac C. Haight's responsibility for failing to restrain Lee and to take prompt action against him, since he was Lee's superior officer in the Church. These representations were made to President Brigham Young on the occasion of his visit to the southern settlements in the aforesaid year of 1870; and on his return to Salt Lake City the matter was taken up at the meeting of the Twelve Apostles, the facts laid before them, and "President Young himself proposed, and all present unanimously voted to excommunicate John D. Lee and Isaac C. Haight." "President Young gave instructions at that time that John D. Lee should, under no circumstances, ever be again admitted as a member of the church."<sup>59½</sup>

Later, when some of the accused were before the secular court,

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58. Court record Hamblin's Testimony at Lee's second trial, Sept., 1876. It must be remembered that then, late in 1857, and early in 1858, a United States army was within the northeastern borders of the Territory, and "the United States judges were not in the Territory." Deposition of Brigham Young, Second Trial of Lee, see Court record, Second Lee Trial, Sept., 1857.

59. Jacob Hamblin, a Narrative of Personal Experience, etc., etc., p. 57.

59½. See Affidavit of Erastus Snow under date of 21st of February, A. D. 1882, "Mountain Meadows Massacre," Penrose, pp. 67, 68. Some mitigating circumstances subsequently were learned respecting Haight's responsibilities in the matter of not restraining Lee, and he was restored to church fellowship.

and Lee was tried and found guilty, Sumner Howard, the prosecuting attorney, inclosing his plea in the case against Lee, said:

*"He had had all the assistance any United States official could ask on earth in any case. Nothing had been kept back, and he was determined to clear the calendar of every indictment against any and every actual guilty participator in the massacre, but he did not intend to prosecute any one that had been lured to the Meadows at the time, many of whom were only young boys and knew nothing of the vile plan which Lee originated and carried out for the destruction of the emigrants."*<sup>60</sup>

The report of the deed at the time it was committed sent a thrill of horror through the whole community in Utah, and when later developments compelled the belief that whitemen had apparently taken the leading part in the betrayal and murder of the emigrants, sorrow, humiliation and a sense of shame prevailed. Perhaps the best description of the attitude of mind, and the sentiments of the Latter-day Saints towards this most unfortunate, pitiful and disgraceful affair, was voiced by the late President John Taylor when he said:

"I now come to the investigation of a subject that has been harped upon for the last seventeen years, [this in 1874] viz: The Mountain Meadows Massacre. That bloody tragedy has been the chief stock in trade for the above named time, for penny-a-liners, the press, and pulpit, who have gloated in turns, and by chorus, over the sickening details. Do you deny it? No. Do you excuse it? No. There is no excuse for such a relentless, diabolical, sanguinary deed. That outrageous infamy is looked upon with as much abhorrence by our people as by other parties, in this nation or in the world; and at its first announcement, its loathing recital chilled the marrow and sent a thrill of horror through the breasts of the listeners. It was most certainly a horrible deed; and like many other defenceless tragedies, it is one of those things that cannot be undone. The world is full of deeds of crime and darkness; and a question often arises, who is responsible therefor? It is usual to blame the perpetrators. It does not seem fair to accuse nations, state and communities of deeds perpetrated by some of their citizens, unless they uphold it."<sup>61</sup>

60. Second Lee Trial, 1876, Court record, also *Deseret News* of Sept. 27th, 1876.

61. From a series of Letters to the *Deseret News* on "Utah and the Mormons," 1874, impression of April 15th, of that year.



And this the Latter-day Saints have never done with respect of this massacre at Mountain Meadows, or other homicides which unhappily have been committed in their communities.

NOTE 1: EARLY REPRESENTATIONS OF INDIAN RESPONSIBILITY FOR THE MOUNTAIN MEADOWS MASSACRE. (*Letter of Geo. A. Smith to President Brigham Young*). "This party of emigrants consisted of some fifty or sixty men. They were attacked in the fore part of September by Indians, near what is called the Cane Spring, about forty-five miles beyond Cedar City, which was the most southern settlement of any importance on the road to California. \* \* \*

\* \* \* "When the attack was made upon the emigrant party, the Indians sent out runners to the various bands in every direction, to gather additional help. The news reached the settlement at Cedar through that means. Ahwonup, the Piede Chief at Parowan, received an invitation to join the foray against the emigrants. He went to Col. Dame, to tell him what he was going to do, upon which the Colonel succeeded in inducing him and the most of his warriors to abandon the project.

\* \* \* "No news of the attack at the Mountain Meadows had reached Parowan except the Indian rumor, until it was too late for Col. Dame to take any measures to relieve the company, which was some sixty miles distant.

"On the 6th of September I understand that rumor reached Cedar that the emigrant train had been attacked in camp by the Indians at Mountain Meadows, that several of the emigrants and Indians had been killed and others wounded, and that more Indians were gathering, from various parts in considerable numbers, being very much exasperated.

"Immediately upon the arrival of this intelligence, Major Haight dispatched some interpreters to conciliate the Indians. The interpreters left Cedar the same evening, and when they arrived the next day at the scene of the difficulty, they found the Indians in a stage of intense excitement, in consequence of the killing and wounding of some of their men. The interpreters sought to conciliate them, but they threatened them with death if they did not either leave immediately, or turn in and help them, accusing them of being friendly to the emigrants, or 'Merocats,' as they called them. The Indians said that if the interpreters attempted to go to the emigrants' camp, they would kill every one of them. Finding that their services would avail the emigrants nothing, the interpreters returned to Cedar, after a ride of some 80 miles on the same animals, and dallying



most of the day with the Indians, and reported the condition of the camp.

“On the 9th Major Haight, with a party of about 50 men, started from Cedar City to endeavor to relieve the emigrants, and arriving at Mountain Meadows the next morning, found the Indians had killed the entire company, with the exception of a few small children, who were with difficulty obtained from them. The Indians were pillaging and destroying the property and driving off the cattle in every direction; each one endeavoring to secure to himself the most plunder, without respect to the others. When they had secreted one back load in the hills, they returned and get another, thus continuing with the most unremitting energy, till everything was cached.

“Major Haight and party found the bodies of the slain stripped of their clothing, and scattered along the road for half a mile. The party obtained a few spades from a ranch about six miles distant, and buried the dead as well as they could, under the circumstances. The ground was hard, and the party being destitute of picks, and having had a limited number of spades, the pits could not be dug to a very great depth.

“From the appearance of the camp ground the wagons, previous to the attack were scattered promiscuously, but the emigrants, upon being attacked, gathered most of them into a close circle, inside of which they dug two rifle pits.

“It appears that on the 9th the Indians withdrew from the siege; that, towards evening, the emigrants left their camp and started back towards Hamblin’s ranch, and that proceeding about a mile and a half, they were attacked again, and slain except the children above mentioned.”

The effect of the Meadows’ Affair upon the Indians who participated in it is thus described in Elder Smith’s report:

“I have been told that, since this transaction, many of the Indians who had previously learned to labor, had evinced a determination not to work, and that the moral influence of the event upon the civilization of the Indians has been very prejudicial. (History of Brigham Young Ms., Sept. 9, 1857, pp. 481-89).

NOTE 2: A FANCHER INCIDENT: Elder Orson F. Whitney, author of a four volumed History of Utah, also the author of “A School History of Utah,” under the title “*The Making of a State*,” very kindly prepared for the writer of this history the following statement of a “Fancher Incident,” which shows that family prejudice even may not always blind men to truth.

## STATEMENT BY ELDER ORSON F. WHITNEY

“On the 24th and 25th of August, 1912, in company with Elder Joseph W. McCurrin, I attended the Latter-day Saint Big Horn Stake Conference, held at Cowley, Wyoming. During one of the meetings connected with the Conference a young man named Fancher, who I believe was Clerk of the stake, was invited to the stand to address the congregation. He was about to resign his office, and remove to California, and this was his farewell address to the Latter-day Saints in Big Horn, with whom he had been identified as a member of the Church for several years. He had come from Arkansas originally, and in Davis County, Utah, had fallen in with a Mormon family who were about moving to Wyoming. He accompanied them, and subsequently married a Mormon girl, became a convert to her faith, and rendered valuable service as a member of that Stake. He was a relative of Captain Fancher, who was killed at Mountain Meadows in 1857, and at one time had shared the bitter prejudice felt by the family toward the Mormon people. He had become convinced, however, that the Church was in no way responsible for the awful affair at the Meadows, and that the people, excepting a few hot-headed zealots, who had joined with the Indians, were innocent of any participation in the crime. His conversion to the Gospel was genuine. His father, on learning what he had done, disowned him, accounted him as one dead, and would not have his name mentioned in his hearing. Young Fancher wept at this point in his recital, and the whole congregation was visibly affected. He went on to say that he was not leaving because he had lost his faith; it was stronger than ever, and he hoped to continue faithful to the end. But his father, who now lived in California had softened toward him and had sent for him, needing his help in the management of his property. As none of his brothers were willing to go, he felt it his duty to rejoin his father and be with him in his declining years. He therefore resigned his office and parted regretfully from his many friends in that Stake.

“It was evident that he was held in high esteem by the authorities and the people in general, whose good wishes, he was assured, would follow him to his new place of residence.”

# Historic Views and Reviews

## MORE AMERICANA SOLD

London, May 21, 1913.—The manuscripts in to-day's sale at Sotheby's of the Sir Thomas Phillipps collection consisted chiefly of Americana.

A volume relating to the Loyalists who settled in Nova Scotia brought \$405. It consists of the Original Minute Book of the Proceedings of the Port Roseway Association, 1782-83; the Original Muster Book of the Free Black Settlement of Birchtown, Port Roseway, 1784; the Petition of the Overseers of the Poor to the Magistrates of Shelburne, 1789, and "A Sketch of Shelburinian Manners," 1787, in the autograph of District Judge Francis of the Province of New Brunswick. The minutes begin with a list of the associates, who were Loyalists in New York, organized for the purpose of settling at Port Roseway in Nova Scotia in order to remain a part of the British Empire with the immunities of British subjects.

The members were mostly those whose property had been confiscated and lost because they sided with the British Government. Included in these papers is a memorial to Sir Guy Carleton. The Birchtown Muster Book gives the numbers, names, occupations, etc., of the settlers. It is a volume of extreme interest.

A collection of original papers relating to the Government of Virginia, mostly indorsed by William Blathwayt, Commissioner of Trade and Plantations, bound in one volume folio, 1675-1715, sold for \$230. Among these papers are the commission of Lord Culpeper as Governor of Virginia, 1675, and the rent roll of the Proprietors of Virginia, 1680-83.

## LONDON PRICES FOR AMERICANA

London, May 19, 1913.—The sale of another portion of the famous collection of the classical, historical, topographical, genealogical, and other manuscripts and autograph letters of the late Sir Thomas Phillipps of Middle Hill, Worcestershire, and Thirlestaine House, Cheltenham, was begun at Sotheby's to-day. Of the 202 lots dispersed this afternoon nearly all related to America in colonial times.

A large folio manuscript, entitled "A particular discourse concerning the greate necessitte and manifolde comodities that are like to growe to this Realme of Englande by the Westernre discoveries lately attempted, written in the yere 1584 by Richard Hackluyt," etc., brought \$1,075. This unique volume formerly belonged to Sir Peter Thomson. It was afterward owned by Lord Valentia, and at the sale of his collection was purchased by Henry Stevens of London. After fruitless efforts to have it go to some public or private library in America or to the British Museum, Mr. Stevens sold it to Sir Thomas Phillipps. It has never been decided whether the manuscript is actually in the autograph of Hackluyt.

A volume marked "Papeles MSS. de Indias," consisting chiefly of manuscripts of the eighteenth century, brought \$530.

"The Original Entry Books of the Evidence and Decisions upon Such Cases as Come Before the Commissioners under an Act of Parliament passed in July, 1783, to enquire into the Losses and Services of all Such Persons who have suffered in their Rights, Properties and Professions in America in Consequence of their Loyalty," seven volumes folio, 1783, brought \$1,800.

The original office book, partly in the autograph of William Blathwayt, Surveyor and Auditor General, of "All that passes in office of trade and plantations," 1682-9, went for \$455.

The sale will be continued to-morrow.



## LATIN AMERICAN COLLEGES OLDER THAN OUR OWN

Six universities in Latin American countries were established before the first one in the territory that afterward became the



United States, according to a recent bulletin of the Bureau of Education. The universities of Mexico and Lima were founded in 1551; Santo Domingo, 1558; Bogota, 1572; Cardoba, 1613, and Sucre, 1623.

Another group of Latin American universities sprang into existence in the era of independence, typifying a developing sense of national unity. Among such are the University of Buenos Aires, the University of Trujillo in Peru, the University of Arequipa and the institution at Medellin in Colombia. In Brazil the university idea did not at first find favor; instead independent professional schools for medicine and law were established.—*N. Y. Sun*.



#### HARVARD UNIVERSITY PRESS FORMED, WITH ROBERT BACON AS CHAIRMAN

Robert Bacon, Ambassador at Paris, and Fellow of the university, has been appointed chairman of the Harvard University Press, the establishment of which is announced. Under new conditions, the university will undertake the publication of works of a "high scholarly character, whether produced within or without the university." It will take over and extend the publishing business carried on heretofore by the publication office and, with a substantial working capital, will build up a distributing system and other organization necessary to a regular publishing business. At present the work will be tentative.

It may be said that this preliminary step is to demonstrate what the college could do if an endowment were provided. There is little doubt that one of several hundred thousand dollars, which is needed, will come in time.



#### BOOM IN BUSINESS BOOKS—GREAT DEMAND FOR PRACTICAL LITERATURE A SIGN OF MODERN PROGRESS

"One of the most interesting phenomena of the book business to-day," said a down-town bookseller, "is the increasing demand for business literature. I am not referring to stories of business life, such as the popular weeklies and magazines are publishing

nowadays in large amount, but to sober treatises and manuals dealing with the problems of the commercial and financial world in a practical way. Judging from the output of late of books of real solid quality, a great period of reconstruction of business methods is here."

Whether the demands is creating the supply or the supply of thoroughly useful books has really awakened the demand is a debatable question; certain it is that the production of good literature on business has been very heavy in the last few years. At least two concerns in New York make a specialty of books on finance, business management, salemanship, industrial efficiency, and the wide range of kindred subjects. A catalogue issued by one of these firms runs to over 150 pages and lists more than 500 books, which range from the slender volume, discussing the best ways of handling an office force to encyclopedias of accounting and other tomes extending to several volumes. A large proportion of these have come from the press within the last five years, and the number bearing the date of 1911 or 1912 is fairly astonishing.

Even in the realms of banking, insurance, and railroading, where general principles have long been known and practiced, an abundance of new material is coming to the front, influenced in part, no doubt, by the great activity visible everywhere in the reorganization of factory and office to cope with modern conditions.

A significant sign of the new spirit in business is the increasing attention that is being given to questions of individual efficiency. Without question much of this development, which is reflected in the many books published on the subject within a very brief period, is due to the outspoken indictment of the American railroad by Louis D. Brandeis of Boston before the Inter-State Commerce Commission when he made such a clear exposition of the Taylor system of scientific management.

Parallelling this new feature of commercial and industrial practice is a remarkable tendency to apply psychology more and more to the solution of problems that perplex the merchant and the manufacturer. A decade ago a business man would have shooed off his place any one who dared to suggest that his profits

might be added to by study of the workings of the human mind; to-day the great importance of conforming the advertisement, the circular, and even the business letter to certain principles of effective appeal is a matter of common recognition. And this same science of psychology, mixed with plain common sense in right proportions, is giving a new dignity to the modern salesman.

But this multiplying of the printed word about selling and manufacturing processes and profitable publicity has a larger meaning than the very practical purpose that it serves. It shows, as do the increase in business publications and the establishment of university schools of commerce, that trade is emerging from the era of the haphazard and the rule of thumb and drawing on every branch of knowledge to win its victories.



#### THE HOME UNIVERSITY LIBRARY OF MODERN KNOWLEDGE,

Published by Henry Holt & Company, New York, increases in interest as it grows in volume. No. 65 is before us. This number is entitled "The Literature of the Old Testament," by George Foot Moore of Harvard University. Its twenty-four chapters beginning with "The Canon of the Old Testament," includes a brief analysis of the respective books with their original purpose and authorship outlined in two hundred and ten pages, making a twelve mo. book of over 250 pages with an ample bibliography and comprehensive index, the whole substantially bound in cloth and sold at 50 cents per volume, net, or 56 cents by mail. For the use of Bible teachers and Sabbath Schools No. 65 of this series possesses peculiar interest and its handy size makes it the more desirable for such a purpose.



#### ERRATUM

In the article by Capt. Edward Gibson, M. D.: "The Standishes of Standish," in the genealogical data tracing the relationship of the author with the associate editor of *AMERICANA*, tenth line after Captain Gibson's read (instead of mother) *great-grandmother, Mary (Pixley) Tinkham*. Capt. Gibson's father was Edward G. (not Dr. Samuel) Gibson, and his mother Sarah E. Tinkham.









